M. L. WEST

Hellenica

Selected Papers on Greek Literature and Thought

Volume III: Philosophy, Music and Metre, Literary Byways, Varia

OXFORD

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Preface

It is painful to an artistic spirit to have to give a volume so limp and sprawling a subtitle as this one has, but such is the price I must now pay for not having channeled my scholarly output more purposefully and into fewer fields. I hope that others similarly open in their interests will find enough here that they think worthy of their attention.

The 'Philosophy' section itself spans a broader gamut than many students of ancient philosophy may feel at home with, from hunter-gatherer foragings in barbarian theology and cosmology down to diverting trifles of textual criticism that may, if nothing else, serve to temper the *utile* with the *dulce*. The essay on the date of Zoroaster is new. The 'Music and Metre' rubric speaks for itself. The first chapter under this heading contains several pages more than the version previously published. The remaining portion of the book really is miscellaneous in content; 'Literary Byways' covers most of it but not all. The chapter on Greek poetesses was previously published in German.

I take this opportunity of explaining why in recent years I have gone over to using 'BCE' and 'CE' instead of 'BC' and 'AD'. I have done so for several more compelling reasons than the desire to be modern. First, 'BC' and 'AD' are not well matched, one being English and the other Latin. Second, while the phrase 'the fifth century Before Christ' is unobjectionable, 'the fifth century Anno Domini' is a nonsense. Third, our dating system (the 'Common Era') is based on an erroneous calculation of the date of the Nativity, so '490 BC' was in fact somewhat less than 490 years before the birth of Christ; 'BCE' neatly avoids the inaccuracy. Fourth, most of us do not regard Jesus as our *dominus*.

As in Volumes I and II, the original places of publication are given at the beginning of each chapter at the foot of the page with any relevant bibliographical annotation. The original pagination is indicated in the body of the text by a vertical divider followed by the number of the page that began at that point. Footnotes are numbered sequentially through each chapter. In most cases this was so in the original papers, so that the numbering remains the same.

Where it diverges for any reason I have noted the fact at the beginning of the chapter and indicated how the original numbering of a footnote can be worked out.

I have updated references and occasionally slipped a new one into the text, or tacitly made some other small improvement. Otherwise additional material and corrigenda are stowed in supplementary notes at the ends of chapters. These are signalled by references in the form s1, s2, etc. The reader will therefore find three kinds of reference sign in the text with raised numbers: [6]refers to a footnote, [s6]to a supplementary endnote, [|6]to the break between pages 5 and 6 in the original publication.

At the end, besides the usual indexes, will be found an index of all the publications reproduced or excerpted in the three volumes.

Once again I thank the staff of Oxford University Press for their unfailing and apparently enthusiastic assistance in the preparation and production of these volumes.

M.L.W.

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Abbreviations

AGM	M. L. West, *Ancient Greek Music*
AJP	*American Journal of Philology*
Ant. Class.	*L'Antiquité Classique*
APF	*Archiv für Papyrusforschung*
ARV	J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, 2nd edn.
ARW	*Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*
BCH	*Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*
BICS	*Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*
BMCR	*Bryn Mawr Classical Review*
BPhW	*Berliner philologische Wochenschrift*
BSA	*Annual of the British School at Athens*
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
CAG	*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*
CEG	P. A. Hansen, *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca*
CJ	*Classical Journal*
CMG	*Corpus Medicorum Graecorum*
Coll. Alex.	J. U. Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina*
CPh	*Classical Philology*
CQ	*Classical Quarterly*
CR	*Classical Review*
CRAI	*Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*
DAGM	E. Pöhlmann–M. L. West, *Documents of Ancient Greek Music*
DK	Diels–Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*
EGPO	M. L. West, *Early Greek Philosophy and the Orient*
FGrHist	F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*
GDK	E. Heitsch, *Die griechischen Dichterfragmente der römischen Kaiserzeit*
GGA	*Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*
GRBS	*Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*
GVI	W. Peek, *Griechische Vers-Inschriften*

HE	A. S. F. Gow–D. L. Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams*
HSCP	*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
IEG	M. L. West, *Iambi et Elegi Graeci*, 2nd edn.
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JBAA	*Journal of the British Astronomical Association*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JJP	*Journal of Juristic Papyrology*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
KAI	H. Donner and W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*
Kl. Schr.	*Kleine Schriften*
KTU	*Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit*
LIMC	*Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*
Mnem.	*Mnemosyne*
Mus. Helv.	*Museum Helveticum*
NGG	*Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*
NJb.	*Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum*
OCT	Oxford Classical Text
PBA	*Proceedings of the British Academy*
PCG	R. Kassel–C. Austin, *Poetae Comici Graeci*
PCPS	*Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*
PG	*Patrologia Graeca*
Phil.	*Philologus*
PLRE	A. H. M. Jones and others, *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*
PMG	D. L. Page, *Poetae Melici Graeci*
PMGF	M. Davies, *Poetarum Melicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*
QUCC	*Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica*
RE	Pauly–Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*
RÉG	*Revue des études grecs*
Rh. Mus.	*Rheinisches Museum*
Riv. Fil.	*Rivista di Filologia*
Roscher	W. H. Roscher (ed.), *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*

SB	*Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten*
SBAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*
SGEI	M. L. West, *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus*
SH	H. Lloyd-Jones and P. J. Parsons, *Supplementum Hellenisticum*
SIG	W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 3rd edn.
SLG	D. L. Page, *Supplementum Lyricis Graecis*
SPAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*
SVF	H. von Arnim, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*
Symb. Osl.	*Symbolae Osloenses*
TAPA	*Transactions of the American Philological Association*
TrGF	B. Snell, R. Kannicht, S. Radt, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*
Wien. St.	*Wiener Studien*
YCS	*Yale Classical Studies*
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

Philosophy

1

Towards Monotheism

I looked up 'monotheism' in Chambers' *Twentieth Century Dictionary*. It said 'the belief in only one God'. That seemed satisfactory.

I then looked up 'god'. It was not quite so crisp on 'god'. It said: 'a superhuman being, an object of worship: (with *cap.*) the Supreme Being of monotheist religions, the Creator: an idol: an object of excessive devotion: a man of outstandingly fine physique.' (I confess that this last usage is unfamiliar to me.) A superhuman being, the Supreme Being: the term 'being' seemed to be important, so I looked that up. It apparently means 'any person or thing existing'.

At this point I gave up seeking God by means of lexicography. There are no doubt hundreds of definitions to be found in theological and anthropological literature; but I have not looked for them. I decided instead to try to formulate my own definition. It seems to me that a god (and gods, of course, embrace goddesses) may be provisionally defined as an entity identified or postulated, by one or more members of the species *Homo sapiens*, as a wilful agent possessing or exercising power over events that appear to be beyond human control or not governed by other intelligible agencies.

The difference between polytheism and monotheism, then, comes down to this: do we postulate different gods to account for different kinds of event, or do we adopt a reductionist approach and postulate one highly versatile God, responsible for every kind of divine intervention, from the Big Bang to the school chaplain's deliverance from temptation?

In the modern world monotheistic religions have the highest profile: Christianity, Judaism, Islam. But we know enough about the

P. Athanassiadi and M. Frede (edd.), *Pagan Monotheism in Late Antiquity* (Oxford 1999), 21–40.

history of these religions to see that they are not survivals from a primitive monotheism. Christianity and Islam are descended from Judaism, and Judaism developed fitfully and recidivistically from a polytheistic background. Among the ancient civilizations polytheism was the norm. You had many gods and goddesses—many hundreds, in some cases—with differing functions, worshipped accordingly on different occasions, in different circumstances, by different groups of people. You prayed to one deity for victory or survival in battle, to another for recovery from illness, to another for redress of injustice, to another for a safe sea-crossing, to another for success in love, to another for success in fishing. Or you revered a certain god because you were a potter, or a metal-worker, or [22] a seer, or a singer, or a burglar, and he was the patron god of your particular craft. Or you worshipped a certain god because he was the god of your clan or your tribe, while accepting that it was perfectly natural and proper for other tribes to worship their own gods.

The point of polytheism is that the gods are independent individuals with different interests and different constituencies. In real life, that is, in the worshipper's mind, they remain dormant most of the time and come alive when the appropriate need arises or when the cult calendar says it is their day. Normally they come alive singly and not collectively, because they are significant as individual, autonomous powers, not as part of a collective body of gods.

In poetry, however, a different picture is presented. Think of the Homeric epics, from which many people get their first and strongest impression of Greek polytheism. Here we see the gods indeed often acting as individuals, and sometimes at cross-purposes. Some of them support the Achaeans and some the Trojans; some have a specific relation to certain individual heroes; now and then they are seen to exercise specialized powers, as when Apollo sends and later dispels a plague, or when Poseidon stirs up a storm at sea. On the other hand we find the gods from time to time meeting in assembly in the house of Zeus on Olympus and debating earthly affairs there. Zeus is represented as their chief (in Hesiod and later he is called their king). He is stronger than the rest of them, and if they fail to agree with his plan he can impose it on them. Hesiod calls the gods' assembly a βουλή; the Homeric poet speaks of their ἀγορή or ὁμήγυρις, and of their being ὁμηγερέες. The gathering is thus described in terminology parallel to that for a civic assembly. But it is not a democratic body; it is monarchic. Sometimes the chief god

simply issues his orders, and there is little or no discussion. Sometimes he invites proposals on what should be done in a particular situation; sometimes other gods initiate things by expressing discontent or making representations about some matter; but it is for the chief to decide on or approve any action that is taken as a result. A god may go away in rebellious mood and take action behind Zeus' back. But the idea implicit in the assembly procedure is that the gods act in concert and promote a single plan.

This motif of the assembly of the gods is equally at home in the literatures of the Near East, in Sumerian, Akkadian, Hittite, Ugaritic, Phoenician, and Hebrew.[1] The Akkadian texts refer to the *puḫur ilāni*, 'assembly of the gods'; the Ugaritic texts refer to the 'congregation of the [23] gods', 'the assembly of El', or of the sons of El, or of the gods, or the sons of the gods, or to the 'assembly congregate'. Like the expressions used in Homer, these are terms appropriate to a political assembly. So are two of the terms used in the Old Testament for the Lord's heavenly entourage, *ʿădat-ʾĒl* 'congregation of El' and *qʿhal qʿdōšim* 'assembly of the holy ones', whereas another term, *sōd* (complemented by *qʿdōšim* or *Yhwh* or *ʾĕlōᵃh*) suggests a private circle or company.[2]

In the Near East mention of this divine assembly is not confined to literature, as it is in Greece. It appears in Old Babylonian and Ugaritic ritual texts, not in a functional role but appended to lists of individual deities to cover all who may not have been mentioned, as in Greek cult inscriptions lists of deities are often rounded off by 'and all gods and all goddesses'. Similarly in Phoenician inscriptions, such as the temple rebuilding inscription of king Yeḥimilk of Byblos, dated *c.*940 BCE, which contains the prayer, 'May Baʿalšamēm and the Lady of Byblos and the assembly (*mpḥrt*) of the holy gods of Byblos lengthen Yeḥimilk's days and his years over Byblos'.[3]

Where the workings of these divine assemblies are portrayed in poetry, they are similar to what we see in Homer, in that the chief god is the convener, the chairman, and the essential taker or ratifier of decisions. The effect, then, is, at intervals in the narrative, to unite

[1] E. T. Mullen, *The Divine Council in Canaanite and Early Hebrew Literature* (Cambridge, Mass. 1980).

[2] Ps. 82; 89: 6(5)–8(7); 1 Kngs. 22: 19–22; Job 1: 6–12; 2: 1–7; 15: 8; Jer. 23: 18, 22.

[3] J. C. L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions*, iii (Oxford 1982), 18 no. 6 (*KAI* 4).

the potentially divergent wills of the sundry gods and goddesses into a single collective will. This is advantageous in literature, or in officially scripted cultic settings, when the poet or theologian has a whole college of gods present to his consciousness and wants them to authorize a particular situation. But this collectivization of the gods really negates the principle of polytheism. These gods were meant to function separately in different situations as individuals; not contradicting each other, but simply not running into each other. In this Near Eastern poetic tradition, then, which goes back at least to the early part of the second millennium BCE, we see the emergence of a tendency to imagine the gods as a body of councillors who fall in with the will of their chief executive—a mirror of the earthly king in council. This means in effect that just as the king's will prevails on earth, so in heaven, in the end, there is only one god who counts. Oriental monarchy is at least one historical factor predisposing towards a monotheistic theology.

The idea of a unified divine purpose finds a more pointed expression I[24] in Homer in the phrase *Διὸς νόος* or *Διὸς βουλή*, the mind or will of Zeus, which is represented as prevailing over all oppositions and temporary setbacks and governing the final outcome. Mortals cannot apprehend it, and the lesser gods sometimes misconstrue it, so that the final outcome cannot be predicted in advance; but when it comes to pass, you realize that that was what Zeus planned all along. Zeus, then, is not merely an autocrat but a Master Mind. In some circumstances, at any rate, he operates according to a long-term plan. The events of much of the *Iliad* are governed by the plan which he adopts in Book 1 in order that Achilles may be restored to the honour which is his due. In the *Cypria* (fr. 1) the whole Trojan War was represented as having been designed by Zeus in order to relieve the earth of her burden of excess population. Divine plans on such a scale are essentially a feature of monotheistic thinking. In the Hebrew prophets we find national victories or defeats interpreted as reflecting a divine plan or purpose: for example, Isaiah 14: 24–7,

> The Lord of Hosts has sworn, saying
> 'As I have planned, so shall it be,
> and as I have purposed, so shall it stand forth—
> to smash Assyria in my land, and on my mountains trample her . . .
> This is the purpose that is purposed over all the earth,
> and this is the hand stretched out over all the nations.'

Monotheism may seem a stark antithesis to polytheism, but there was no abrupt leap from the one to the other. No one, so far as we know, suddenly had the revolutionary idea that it would be more economical to assume a single god responsible for everything rather than a plurality of gods. Where we see a god emerging as plenipotentiary, the existence of other gods is not denied, but they are reduced in importance or status, and he is praised as the greatest among them. This is what is sometimes called 'henotheism'. Let me quote a couple of sentences that Miriam Lichtheim has written about Egyptian religion:[4]

> As early as the Old Kingdom [third millennium BCE], Egyptian religion had tended to attribute supreme power to one god, and to subordinate the other gods to him. But while increasingly heaping attributes of universal power on the sun-god Re, the religion remained essentially polytheistic.

In the fourteenth century Amenophis IV, otherwise known as Akhenaten, took this Sun-worship to an extreme which has often been I[25] interpreted as a monotheism. In his Great Hymn to the Aten (the sun-disc) no other gods are mentioned, and the Aten is even addressed with the words 'O unique god, beside whom there is none!'—or as others translate, 'with whom there is none to compare'.[5] Whether this amounts to a denial of the existence of other gods, as is sometimes maintained, I am doubtful. We find a parallel situation in the *Gāthās* of Zoroaster. In general we have the impression of a monotheistic exaltation of Ahura Mazda, but in two passages Zoroaster uses the expression *Mazdāscā Ahurāŋhō*, 'Mazda and (you other) lords', showing that he did not after all deny the existence of the other gods.[6]

There had always been a tendency, in hymning a deity, to dwell on those aspects and accomplishments in which he or she surpassed the rest. It was not a big step from this to awarding the deity in question absolute supremacy. In Mesopotamia, for instance, 'king of the gods' was a standard title, applied at different times to the gods Anu, Narru, Shamash, Marduk, and Aššur.

In the case of Marduk we have a detailed narrative about his acquisition of the kingship in the Babylonian Creation Epic, *Enūma*

[4] *Ancient Egyptian Literature. A Book of Readings*, vol. ii: *The New Kingdom* (Berkeley–Los Angeles 1976), 89.
[5] Lichtheim, op. cit., ii. 96–100.
[6] *Yasna* 30. 9, 31. 4.

eliš, which dates from the latter part of the second millennium BCE. It is particularly interesting because the concentration of the gods' powers into Marduk's hands is dealt with rather explicitly. He has come forward as the saviour of the gods from the oppression of Tiamat and her followers, and he demands the supreme power as his fee. The gods (after becoming extremely merry at a feast) agree to this and confer power on him. They tell him that he is honoured among the great gods, and that from this day forth his command shall be irrevocable, his utterance shall be law, none of the gods shall transgress the limits he lays down; his word shall be pre-eminent in the assembly. After he returns from defeating Tiamat, they all kiss his feet, hail him as king, and undertake to obey his every command. He assigns to them their various stations and functions. From this point on, the picture is of a completely harmonious company of gods with Marduk as sovereign. But although nominally they are all just as divine as before, in effect they have downgraded themselves to functionaries of Marduk.

We find rather a similar picture in Hesiod, whose *Theogony* certainly owes much to Near Eastern mythology. The disputes and conflicts among the gods all belong to a time now long past. Zeus led the Olympians to victory over the Titans; they then urged him to assume |[26] kingship over them, and he allotted them their functions and privileges.[7] Now he rules benignly over them, and the impression is given that they are all in perfect accord.

The Old Testament, despite its reputation as a monotheistic publication, preserves many relics of the polytheism that prevailed widely in Palestine, at least down to the seventh century. Yahweh introduces himself to Moses as 'the god of your fathers, the god of Abraham, the god of Isaac, the god of Jacob'. He says 'You shall have no other gods besides me'; not 'there are no other gods but me'. He is the god of the Hebrews, the god of Israel; the Hebrews call him *our* god, the Egyptians call him *your* god, or, when speaking among themselves, *their* god. It is acknowledged that other nations have other gods. Jephthah says to the king of the Ammonites, 'Why will you not be content with what Kemosh your god has given you, and we will keep what Yahweh our god has requisitioned for us?'[8] In one of the oldest Hebrew poems, the Song of Moses, it is explained that

[7] Hes. *Th.* 624–720, 881–5.

[8] Jdg. 11: 24.

> When the Most High gave the nations their inheritance,
> when he divided the sons of Adam,
> he fixed the bounds of the peoples
> according to the number of the sons of God.[9]

The 'sons of God', as we shall see in a moment, represent the gods of the old polytheism. The sense of the verse, therefore, is that there was an original allocation of one god per nation.

Hebrew poets took over the old Canaanite motif of the assembly of the gods, presided over by El, which we find in the Ugaritic poems, and they made Yahweh the central figure, identifying him with El and sometimes giving him this name. We read of his assembly in several passages. In the 82nd Psalm, for example, he speaks fiercely to the other gods:

> God (*'Ĕlōhîm*) was standing in the congregation of El;
> amid the gods (*'ĕlōhîm*) he was holding judgment.
> 'How long will you give unjust judgments
> and show favour to the wicked?'

And a few verses later he threatens them with demotion:

> 'I say: you are gods (*'ĕlōhîm*) and sons of the Most High (*bᶜnê 'Ĕlyôn*), all of you,
> yet truly like man you will die, and like some chieftain you will fall.'

|[27] Those who attend these gatherings are elsewhere referred to as 'the holy ones', *qᶜdōšîm*, or 'the sons of gods', *bᶜnê 'ēlîm* or *bᶜnê 'ĕlōhîm*; according to normal Semitic idiom 'sons of gods' means 'members of the class "god", not individually distinguished', just as 'sons of craftsmen' means 'craftsmen'. In the 29th Psalm these lesser deities are actually addressed directly:

> Render to Yahweh, O sons of gods, render to Yahweh glory and strength;
> render to Yahweh the glory of his name, worship Yahweh in the splendour of holiness.

In more orthodox parts of the Old Testament the lesser divinities surrounding Yahweh are reduced to emissaries and agents of his will, his 'messengers' (*mal'ākîm*), correctly translated into Greek as ἄγγελοι, from which we have made them into 'angels'; but this shift

[9] Deut. 32: 8. 'Sons of God' is restored from LXX ἀγγέλων θεοῦ; the Hebrew text has 'the sons of Israel', i.e. *'Ēl* has been expanded to *Yiśra'ēl*.

does not always succeed in concealing their originally independent status. The later myth of the Fallen Angels formalizes the elimination from the world of all those divinities who persisted in showing independent spirit; only the lackeys are left.

This polarization is parallel to what we have seen in the Babylonian and Hesiodic myths: those who oppose the chief god, such as Tiamat or the Titans and Typhon, are killed or consigned to the underworld, while those who remain subordinate themselves completely to his will. Prometheus in the pseudo-Aeschylean play is one more who defies Zeus and is sent down; much is made of his *αὐθαδία*, his independence of spirit, while he for his part mocks Zeus as a tyrant and Hermes, the messenger of Zeus, as a lackey. All these myths, then, convey the notion of a great shakeout, in which plurality and diversity of divine agents, with the potential for conflict between them, are reduced to a totalitarian unity.

Aeschylus in the plays of his last years (especially the *Supplices* and *Agamemnon*) glorifies Zeus in such exalted terms that many older critics saw him, not exactly as a monotheist, but as a noble heathen straining towards the enlightenment that would culminate in monotheism, in Christianity. He is in fact continuing and developing the Hesiodic theology of a Zeus who has vanquished the opposition and imposed his law on the world. We have only to think of the roles of Apollo, Athena, and the Erinyes in the *Eumenides* to realize that there is no question of monotheism in any real sense. But Aeschylus has devoted that play to the subject of the reconciliation of these gods' past differences and their harmonization in one cosmic system. The last words of the play, l[28] chanted as the Eumenides take up residence in their new lodgings at Athens, are

> *Παλλάδος ἀστοῖς Ζεὺς παντόπτας*
> *οὕτω Μοῖρά τε συγκατέβα.*
>
> With the citizens of Pallas Zeus the all-seeing
> and Fate has thus come to terms.

We have seen Athena and the Erinyes come to terms on stage, but the final message is that this new dispensation is a dispensation of Zeus and Fate—a Zeus and Fate so closely linked that they govern a singular verb. In general it is a feature of Aeschylean tragedy that the poet interprets the myths, much more consistently and insistently than epic poets had done, in religious terms, as case histories of the workings of divine forces. These forces have various identities, but

they operate in a principled way as parts of a unified system governed by Zeus.

Aeschylus considerably develops the idea of Zeus as Master Mind, laying a novel emphasis on the depth and profundity of Zeus' thinking. The Danaids observe that Zeus' wishes are not easy to track down,

> *δαῦλοι γὰρ πραπίδων*
> *δάσκιοί τε τείνου-*
> *σιν πόροι, κατιδεῖν ἄφραστοι.*
>
> For the paths of his mind
> stretch thick-grown and deep in shadow,
> and cannot be pointed out to the view.[10]

His intellect is vast, insuperable, 'a bottomless vista' (*ὄψιν ἄβυσσον*).[11] Mysterious in his designs, but mighty, he is a unique being whose nature cannot be apprehended but who commands faith.

> Zeus, whoever he may be . . .
> I cannot find a likeness (for him)—
> though I try everything in the scales—
> save Zeus (himself), if the vain burden of thought
> is truly to be shed.[12]

He alone controls the outcome of events and the fulfilment of human expectations:

> What of these things is not bought forth by the mind of Zeus?
> l[29] What is fulfilled for mortals without Zeus?
> What of these things is not divinely ordained?[13]

These and some other features of Aeschylus' Zeus are clearly taken over from Near Eastern theology. Very similar predications can be quoted from the Hebrew poets:

> How great are thy works, Yahweh: very deep are thy thoughts/designs.
>
> He does not tire and he does not grow weary:
> there is no searching out his cleverness.
>
> To whom will you liken El, or what likeness will you set against him?
>
> For who is God apart from Yahweh, or who is a rock except our God?[14]

[10] *Supp.* 93–5. [11] *Supp.* 1049, 1057 f. [12] *Ag.* 160–6.
[13] *Supp.* 599, *Ag.* 1487, cf. *Supp.* 823.
[14] Ps. 92: 6; Isa. 40: 28, 40: 18; Ps. 18: 32 = 2 Sam. 22: 32.

The Sumerian poet of a hymn to Enlil already describes the complexity of the god's mind in imagery that Aeschylus would not have disdained:

> Enlil, your ingenuity takes one's breath away!
> By its nature it is like entangled threads which cannot be unravelled,
> crossed threads which the eye cannot follow . . .
> Who can comprehend your actions?[15]

In other Sumerian and Akkadian works a god is said to have a heart 'unfathomable as inmost heaven', or an extensive wisdom and a heart so profound (*rūqu*, lit. 'remote') that none of the other gods can grasp it. As Aeschylus' chorus asks 'What is fulfilled for mortals without Zeus?', so in Assyrian and Babylonian hymns we find the formula 'Without him who can do what?' Such parallels confirm that the Greeks poets' development from a pantheon of independent-minded divine agents towards a quasi-monotheistic regime, in which Zeus is the only real source of divine initiative and the other gods are supporters and executants of his will, is the reflection of a similar but earlier development in the Near Eastern traditions.

It is time to turn to the so-called philosophers, those Greeks of the sixth and fifth centuries who thought critically and constructively about the physical world, the place of gods and souls in it, the relationship between reality and appearance, and the origins and nature of human society.[16]

It might be thought that, inasmuch as they were trying to explain the world in terms of intelligible physical principles and laws, it must have [30] been their ambition to eliminate the realm of the unintelligible and capricious, which is the realm of God. To invoke God as an explanation of phenomena is to confess that you do not know how to explain them rationally—unless you are prepared to provide a rational explanation of God. The Presocratics, however, did try to explain God. What they sought to eliminate from the world was not divinity as such but caprice and the arbitrary events which had formerly been ascribed to divine initiative.

[15] *Enlil in the E-kur* 131–6 (Jeremy Black *et al.*, *The Literature of Ancient Sumer* (Oxford 2004), 324).

[16] Cf. W. Jaeger, *The Theology of the Early Greek Philosophers* (Oxford 1947).

Given this aim, they were bound to discard some aspects of the traditional gods. They had to depersonalize them; they could no longer treat them as beings with humanoid emotions, reactions, and impulses. But instead of rejecting divinity altogether, they sought to locate and identify it in new ways, making a selective use of the traditional names and predicates. Find the unchanging forces and agencies which govern the working of the universe, and there (they considered) you will have the immortal and ageless powers that truly deserve the title of gods.

Among the principles that informed these men's theorizing were economy and coherence. They preferred single causes to multiple ones, and to account for as many of the phenomena as possible with the fewest hypotheses. In theological terms, this meant that the number of gods, at any rate of top-rank gods, should be kept to the minimum, and for a really unified universe there would be much attraction in having one god as the supreme guiding force. I say top-rank gods, because some of these thinkers operate with several different orders of divine being.

As regards Thales' theology, we have only the intriguing report that he said 'everything is full of gods', or 'there are gods everywhere'. This is usually associated with the statement that he held the magnet to have a soul, because it moves iron. Would he have classed this 'soul' as a god? We cannot say; but if these reports are reliable, they at least give an indication that Thales had started on the road of emancipating such terms as 'soul' and 'god' from the limitations of their conventional applications and making them stand for forces intrinsic to the natural world. On the other hand, they suggest an unlimited plurality of such forces, with no hint of anything pointing towards monotheism. If Thales attributed divinity to the water from which everything came, or to the δύνη by which it must have been possessed, Aristotle has heard nothing of it.

He and we know much more about Anaximander. Anaximander wrote that everything came out of the Infinite; he described this Infinite as encompassing and 'steering' everything (πάντα κυβερνᾶν), and as being 'eternal and unaging' (ἀΐδιον καὶ ἀγήρων). From this last predil[31]cation Aristotle inferred that Anaximander identified his Infinite as τὸ θεῖον, the divine element in the universe. We do not know whether Anaximander said this explicitly, but he did hold that the Infinite is in ceaseless motion, which leads to the formation of worlds in it. This intrinsic property

of perpetual motion, which has no ulterior cause but functions as the driving force of the universe, would seem to make the Infinite a prime candidate for divine status, even though there is no question of its having consciousness or intelligence. Alcmeon of Croton (DK 24 A 12) said that the soul was immortal because it was always in motion and so like immortal and divine things which are in constant motion, such as the sun, moon, stars, and the whole heaven. We might conclude, then, that Anaximander was not only a monist but a monotheist, in that he derived everything from a single divine principle.

However, it is not quite so straightforward as that, because we are also told[17] that he identified as gods the numberless worlds that form and pass away within the Infinite in the course of time, each world being a globular system enclosed by a heaven and with a solid earth at the centre. These gods would not be immortal and ageless, only very long-lived. If the Infinite was the supreme God, we might say that the worlds were the sons of God, born from him and manifesting his powers at the material and local level. In this way we could find a surprising (though perhaps fanciful) structural analogy with the contemporary Hebrew conception of an unfathomable supreme God who communicates with us through Messengers who are perishable divine beings of an inferior order.

There is yet a further candidate for high godhead in Anaximander's system, namely Time. He wrote that all things perish back into what they came out of, by obligation (*κατὰ τὸ χρεών*), 'for they pay the penalty to each other for their unrighteousness according to Time's ordinance/assessment' (*κατὰ τὴν Χρόνου τάξιν*, 12 B 1). Basically this means that the formation of a world or of the things inside it is an imbalance in the Infinite, an 'injustice' which must in due course be corrected. But Anaximander has chosen to express the idea in personalized, theological language. The world-gods, like rebellious Angels, are out of order and will have to pay the penalty. Time is the deity who lays down the law. Is Time the same as the eternal Infinite? It seems clear that Anaximander did not say so, or the doxographers would have told us. He might have found it an interesting suggestion. But as it is, we must allow that he was not overly concerned to concentrate the attributes of divinity on one object.

[17] *Placita* and Cicero, DK 12 A 17.

[32] Anaximander's younger fellow-citizen Anaximenes replaced the mysterious Infinite by infinite Aer, giving it the same qualities of immortality and perpetual motion leading to the formation of worlds. He derives everything from a particular material substance, but it is a live substance, akin to the soul that is in us. That Anaximenes identified it as divine is stated by one branch of the tradition[18] and is entirely credible. But some sources[19] say that he spoke of gods who were born from the Aer. Who or what these were is not recorded, but clearly there is a parallel with Anaximander's long-life cosmic gods born from the Infinite. Hippolytus also refers to 'descendants' (*ἀπόγονοι*) of these second-order deities, suggesting that the cosmogony was to some extent cast in the form of a theogony. No monotheism here, then, but again a unified system in which one supreme divine principle is ultimately responsible for everything, while lesser divinities have a dependent, mediating status and a less permanent existence.

If Anaximander's Infinite and Anaximenes' Aer qualify as gods, it is because they have immortality and unfailing vitality and because they make things happen; but they are mindless gods. There is no suggestion that they conceive intelligent designs, or indeed take any thought for what is happening, what is going to happen, or what should happen. Other philosophers soon supply this element, taking us back closer to the poetic concept of the Master Mind who plans ahead. The philosopher's god, though, could not be anthropomorphic.

The first we know of who made this explicit was Xenophanes. He ridiculed Homer and Hesiod for their accounts of gods who practised thieving, adultery, and mutual deception, and he exposed the folly of men's conceiving the gods in their own image, arguing that if horses and cows were capable of producing paintings and sculptures, they would represent the gods as horses and cows.[20]

[18] *Placita* and Cicero, 13 A 10. [19] Hippolytus, A 7 §1; Augustine, A 10.

[20] DK 21 B 11–16. On the last point I think Xenophanes was wrong. I feel sure that the domestic cat, for instance, does not conceive of a feline deity but identifies his or her owner as the supreme power in the world, providing each day his daily bread, capable of projecting articles through the air, of opening or closing the most massive and unyielding doors, of turning a room in an instant from light to dark or from dark to light, a controller of heat sources, no doubt also responsible for day and night, sunshine and rain. It is by no means self-evident that it was natural for man from the beginning to conceive his gods in human form. Many peoples ascribe divinity to animals, which, after all, are often more mysterious, unpredictable, and terrible than other humans.

It is in Xenophanes that we first encounter what was later to become a significant religious slogan: εἷς θεός, One God. This sounds like a [33] declaration of monotheism; only the line goes on ἔν τε θεοῖσι καὶ ἀνθρώποισι μέγιστος. 'One god, the greatest among gods and men.' So this god is not the only god that exists, but a god who towers above the rest. This is a pattern we are becoming accustomed to. Xenophanes goes on to say that this supreme god is not like mortals either physically or mentally, οὔ τι δέμας θνητοῖσιν ὁμοίιος οὐδὲ νόημα. According to three further hexameter fragments which are likely to come from the same context (21 B 24–6), he sees and hears with his whole being; by means of his mind, without effort, he shakes everything; he stays always in the same place, motionless, for it does not befit him to travel about. Here, all of a sudden, is the Unmoved Mover, a mighty Mind with no moving parts that controls matter. Yet there is mention of other gods, not only in the line I have just quoted but in others too. Xenophanes says that 'the gods have not revealed everything to mortals from the beginning', and that 'no man has ever known or ever will know for sure about the gods and all the things I speak about' (B 18, 34).

Heraclitus thought Xenophanes a fool; but he had his own version of the brainy supreme god. Here for the first time we find intellect without sex: not a male θεός but a neuter σοφόν, a Wisdom or Skill which is unitary (ἕν) and exists independently of everything else, πάντων κεχωρισμένον (22 B 108). It does and does not want to be called by the name of Zeus (B 32); in other words, it has certain attributes which might justify its equation with the traditional Zeus, but not others. In two further fragments, both unfortunately corrupt, Heraclitus seems to be saying that this ἓν σοφόν knows everything, or knows that knowledge which steers everything through everything (B 41, 50). Elsewhere (B 64) he said that everything is steered by the thunderbolt, κεραυνός, or (according to Philodemus' version of the fragment) by the thunderbolt and Zeus. The thunderbolt was the traditional instrument of Zeus' will, and at the same time it is presumably to be associated with Heraclitus' concept of the world as an ever-living fire (B 30). The combination suggests that the disembodied intelligence, the ἓν σοφόν, manages and directs the world by directing a fiery pulse through the universe, and this is assimilated to Zeus sending his thunderbolt.

Again we seem to be close to monotheism; but again the picture is confused by references to other gods. We hear of Erinyes who

monitor the movements of the sun. They are the agents of Dike, who is the embodiment of cosmic balance (B 94). Dike is identified with Eris, Conflict, which Heraclitus regarded as essential to the maintenance of the cosmos (B 80). He speaks of Polemos in the same sense, as king and [34] father of all, a power which makes some into gods and others into men, some slaves and others free (B 53). He mentions Dionysus and Hades, stating that they are really the same (B 15). He says that gods and men honour those slain in battle (B 24). He criticizes people who pray to statues, 'as if one were to hold conversation with a house, not recognizing what gods or heroes are' (B 5). 'Immortals are mortals, mortals are immortals, these living out the death of those and being dead for the duration of their life' (B 62). I have not the time or the stomach to discuss the question of how many of these statements are genuinely theological, or how they are all to be fitted into one system. But it is clear that we cannot call Heraclitus a monotheist without qualification.

In both Heraclitus and Anaximander we have met the notion that the world is 'steered' (κυβερνᾶν) by a divine power. 'Steer' must not be understood too literally; it was not a matter of turning the universe to port or starboard, but of guiding cosmic events in chosen directions. Parmenides, in his account of the phenomenal world, the δόξαι βρότειαι, refers to a goddess who steers everything, a δαίμων ἣ πάντα κυβερνᾶι (28 B 12). She is located in the middle of a system of circles of fire and darkness, and she rules over all birth and mixture by bringing male and female together. The *Placita* tradition identifies her as Dike or Ananke, figures whom Parmenides names elsewhere, but in view of her matchmaking activities we must surely equate her with Aphrodite, as Plutarch seems to have done. Another fragment (B 13) is quoted from a cosmogonic context, in which 'first of all the gods she contrived Eros'. 'Contrived' translates μητίσατο, which implies creation by the exercise of mental power or ingenuity. Once again we have to reckon with a hierarchy of gods. There is a first-order deity who is credited with steering everything; for Parmenides it is love that makes the world go round, not lightning. But there is also a category of lesser deities created by the goddess of love. And there are the figures of Dike and Ananke, who exercise cosmic power on a wide scale but whose relationship to Aphrodite we cannot define and Parmenides may well have left undefined.

Parmenides' poem has a number of points of contact with the oldest of the Orphic theogonies, the one which in my study of

the Orphica I have called the Protogonos Theogony. I have argued that, whether or not Parmenides knew it, it was composed at the same period as his poem and in a related area of tradition.[21] Now, a theogony by definition relates the births of a whole series of gods; you cannot have a monotheistic theogony. But in this Orphic one a remarkable thing happened. On |[35] succeeding Kronos as king of heaven, Zeus swallowed Protogonos or Phanes, the bisexual god who first appeared from the cosmic egg with the seed of the gods inside him or her. By swallowing him, Zeus swallowed the universe. At once

> all the immortals became one with him, the blessed gods and goddesses
> and rivers and lovely springs and everything else
> that then existed: he became the only one.

There followed a hymnic passage about Zeus in which stood the verses:

> Zeus was born first, Zeus last, god of the bright bolt:
> Zeus is the head, Zeus the middle, from Zeus are all things made . . .
> Zeus is the king, Zeus the ruler of all, god of the bright bolt.

Zeus then re-created the gods and the world out of himself. He 'brought them up from his holy heart'; the poet's phrase suggests the execution of an intelligent design.[22] In this poem, then, there is still a full pantheon of gods, but they have all become creatures and emanations of Zeus, after an episode in which he was temporarily the only god.

This extraordinary story of a god who absorbs the universe into himself and then regenerates it from out of himself is evidently one of the models that inspired Empedocles. In Empedocles' system the four divine elements which represent the totality of matter are periodically absorbed under the influence of Love into one uniform mass, becoming a single god called Sphairos, the Sphere. This rotund divinity 'rejoices in his circular solitude', until the return of Dissension sends tremors through his body and the separating elements begin to take the shapes of all the beings that are now in the world (31 B 27–31).

Empedocles has taken over something of the pattern of the Orphic story, but his theology is differently balanced. The Sphere that takes the gods into himself is a bigger god, but not a controlling agent. He

[21] *The Orphic Poems* (Oxford 1983), 8–92, 109 f.
[22] Frr. 12–14 and 31 Bernabé.

is not Zeus, for Zeus is identified with one of the four elements. He is a poor, passive figure and a short-lived one, his self-satisfaction rudely shaken as the seismic waves of Strife course through him and he starts to crack up. A monotheism based on him would soon leave us in the lurch.

Empedocles is not, after all, a monist in the way that Anaximenes is. For Empedocles four elements, earth, air, fire, and water, represent the irreducible minimum stock of ingredients for the cosmic cake. Each of them is identified with a different god; so there is an irreducible minimum of four gods. In fact there are others besides these. There are Love |[36] and Strife, who govern the relations of Zeus, Hera, and the other elemental gods, not by sporadic assaults as in Homer but in regular alternation according to the terms of a treaty. There is also a general class of θεοὶ δολιχαίωνες, long-life gods, included among the things produced by the mixture of the elements, together with trees, men and women, animals, birds, and fishes (B 21. 9 ff.). These are the gods whose misbehaviour can condemn them to 30,000 years of incarnation in animal and vegetable bodies (B 115). In one fragment (B 134) Empedocles describes a god who does not have human form—no head, no arms, no feet, no knees, no hairy genitals—but consists simply of a marvellous holy mind, darting across the whole universe with its swift thoughts. This may remind us of Xenophanes' and Heraclitus' accounts of a disembodied intelligence; but they were speaking of a unique being, whereas Empedocles' description may have been applicable to any of the long-life gods. Ammonius, who quotes the fragment, says it refers primarily to Apollo, but likewise to divinity in general.

The philosopher who first gives us a clear statement of the role of the controlling Mind in the material universe is Anaxagoras, who was a little older than Empedocles. Like Heraclitus, he emphasizes that Mind or Intellect is something separate from everything else. He says it is unlimited, unalloyed, homogeneous, eternal, autonomous, the finest and purest of all substances, with knowledge of everything and the greatest power, governing all living beings, and responsible for initiating the rotation of the cosmos, which led to the separation of all things from the original mixture and continues to be productive in the same way. Every combination or separation has been decided by Mind (πάντα ἔγνω νοῦς); whatever kinds of thing were to be, or were and are no longer, or are now, or will be in the future, all have been organized by Mind (πάντα διεκόσμησε νοῦς) (59 B 12).

Here we have a single power, uniquely responsible for shaping the world we know. There is no mention of other gods. We might say that here at last is a clear case of a monotheistic system, except that it is difficult to justify treating Anaxagoras' Nous as divine. He does give it some godlike attributes: it is everlasting, powerful, and subject to no higher power; it intervenes in the world according to its own judgment. On the other hand he makes it quite clear that it is a material substance, differing from other substances in being *λεπτότατόν τε πάντων χρημάτων καὶ καθαρώτατον*, the most rarefied and the purest of all things. It is unique in not combining with other substances, though it is *in* some things, namely living creatures. We may say that it is fulfilling [37] the role of a god, being invoked by Anaxagoras to account for what he cannot explain by means of physical mechanisms; only he is doing his best to portray its activity as a physical mechanism, and he avoids calling it 'divine' or applying predicates strongly associated with divinity such as 'immortal and ageless'. He did, after all, attain notoriety as a thoroughgoing scientific rationalist who went about reducing the supernatural to the natural and whose doctrines made him vulnerable to the charge of impiety or actual atheism (A 17, etc.). Nevertheless, theistic or not, his system interestingly illustrates the tendency to look for a single, intelligent governing power in the world.

The cosmology of Diogenes of Apollonia, which formed the prologue to his treatise on human physiology, stands very much in the tradition of Anaximenes, with air as the primary element from which everything else is constituted. We saw that Anaximenes regarded his Aer as divine, but that he also accorded divine status to the products of Aer, and indeed to more than one generation of them. In Diogenes' case the identification of Aer with God is more absolute, and we are fortunate enough to have his reasoning on the point. It is by breathing air that human and other animals live: this is their soul and consciousness (*ψυχὴ καὶ νόησις*). 'And it seems to me', he says, 'that the carrier of consciousness is what people call air, and that all are steered by this element and it has power over all. For this is precisely what seems to me to be God, and to extend everywhere and dispose everything and be in everything; there is nothing at all that does not have a share of it, though nothing has a share in it in the same way as anything else, there being many forms both of air itself and of consciousness.' (64 B 5.)

Diogenes considers that the world shows evidence of intelligent design; for without *νόησις*, he says, 'it would not have been possible for things to be so distributed as to preserve the balance in everything, winter and summer, night and day, rains and winds and fine spells. And for the rest, if one cares to consider, one will find that they are arranged in the finest possible way.'[23] These meteorological phenomena are of course conditions of the air, and it is Air itself that is responsible for their orderly planning.

Like Anaxagoras, Diogenes connects mind or consciousness with a material element, but he differs from him in identifying this element as one of which we have direct perception, namely air, and in calling it God. Is this the only god? We are told that Diogenes commended Homer [38] for speaking of the divine not just in mythical but in real terms, for he held that when Homer spoke of Zeus and his omniscience he meant the air. Now, allegorical interpreters of Homer usually had explanations for all the Homeric gods, not just one. So we wonder whether Diogenes had other equivalences for other gods. That would imply that at one level, at least, he was prepared to acquiesce in a polytheistic construct. On the other hand we may be sure that in his interpretation of Homer the dominance of Air was absolute and all other powers subordinate.

The idea of a divine agency which has organized the world with intelligent forethought appears also in Herodotus. He tells of the flying snakes of Arabia, which would overrun the world if it were not that the female has the salutary habit of biting through the male's throat at the climax of mating, and the unborn young avenge their father by eating their way out of the mother and destroying her in the process. Herodotus here digresses with the observation that divine Providence (*τοῦ θείου ἡ προνοίη*, literally 'the forethought of the divine'), being *σοφή*, has seen to it that all those species which are timorous and edible are also prolific, so that they do not die out from being eaten, while those which are tough and disagreeable have few offspring (3. 108 f.).

This theory might be thought to imply belief in a single God; but it does not. The Greeks were quite capable of combining the Argument from Design with polytheistic language, as we see from

[23] DK 64 B 3. On the Argument from Design in the fifth century see R. C. T. Parker, 'The Origins of Pronoia: A Mystery', in *Apodosis. Essays presented to Dr W. W. Cruickshank to mark his eightieth birthday* (London 1992), 84–94.

two well-known passages in Xenophon's *Memorabilia* (1. 4; 4. 3). Socrates argues for theism from the usefulness of each part of the human body, the existence of life-preserving instincts, the order of the heavens, and so on, but he says things like 'the gods have made man, alone of all creatures, to stand upright . . . they have given other creatures legs, but to man they have given arms too . . . they give us light to see by'. He does not stick to the plural consistently but moves easily between *οἱ θεοί* and *ὁ θεός*, as well as using the less specific term *τὸ θεῖον*, which means something like 'the divine element in the world' without commitment as between a singularity or plurality of powers. Herodotus too, in different contexts, uses *οἱ θεοί*, *ὁ θεός*, or *τὸ θεῖον*, without a significant doctrinal difference.

These terms are typical of the fifth century and can be paralleled in the Hippocratic corpus and in tragedy. Whenever some theological truth is formulated, some statement about the regime under which mankind lives, the writer typically does not name one of the traditional gods but says *οἱ θεοί* or *ὁ θεός* (in tragedy commonly without the article). The indifference as between singular and plural is possible because when someone says 'the gods', the assumption is that these gods act as a [39] unanimous body. Because of the force of tradition there was no hurry to discard polytheistic language, and yet there was a general disposition to see the divine regimen as unified and purposeful. This was a situation in which monotheism could develop without causing upset.

It is time to recapitulate. All the ancient cultures were polytheistic from the earliest times for which there is evidence, and there is no reason to imagine that at some earlier stage of human history monotheism had prevailed. When people started postulating unseen agencies to explain phenomena, they naturally attributed one kind of phenomenon to one agency and other kinds to others.

So long as different gods act at different times and in different contexts, there need be no conflict among them. But once people imagine them living together in one divine society, the question arises whether their individual wills and interests clash or whether they all agree on what is to be done. In Near Eastern literature from at least the early second millennium, and in Homeric poetry in the first, we find the *fable convenue* of the assembly of the gods at which courses of action are established. In this forum the poet can show that the individual gods do indeed disagree over some matters, and

the clash of their wills can be represented dramatically. On the other hand the clash has to be resolved, because the story can only accommodate one sequence of events. There are essentially two ways of achieving this: the monarchic way and the democratic way. Either there is one god powerful enough to impose his will on the rest—in this case the independent status of the rest is compromised, and they become the chief god's agents and representatives—or the gods' debate issues in consensus, and we arrive at the concept of the plural pantheon with a united policy.

Already in the second millennium it was common to exalt one god as supreme and to represent the others as having willingly subordinated themselves to him after he had definitively defeated his and their enemies. This points the way towards the Hesiodic or Aeschylean scenario as opposed to the Homeric: a scenario in which the various deities work together as members of a unified organization enacting the designs of Zeus, the Master Mind.

The philosophers' search for economical explanations of the universe naturally led to economy in the assumption of divine principles, with in some cases a single divine element or entity being identified as responsible for the formation, design, or direction of the world. Yet it is difficult to find a Presocratic who can be counted as a monotheist without [40] qualification. They nearly all admit some sort of hierarchy of 'divine' beings, or feel the need to accommodate conventional names of gods, even if only with figurative or allegorical value. The non-philosophical writers of the fifth century also continued, under the influence of tradition and habit, to speak of 'the gods', while increasingly thinking in terms of a unitary divine will and even a purposefully designed universe. At the same time they will sometimes speak of *ὁ θεός* in the singular—avoiding identification with any of the old named gods—or still more non-committally of *τὸ θεῖον*.

It was a small step from here to dogmatic monotheism; but there was no pressure or haste to take that step. People are slow to adjust their religion to their philosophy.

2

Early Greek Philosophy

In the eighth and seventh centuries BCE the Greeks appear as a lively and talented people, active in trade and exploration, endowed with no little skill and individuality in the visual arts, rich in heroic legend, and above all remarkable for a poetry in which a wide range of human experience and feeling was given highly articulate expression. If they had achieved nothing more than that, they would still claim our attention as the most interesting and sympathetic of ancient peoples. In fact they went on to add immensely to that claim. They added to it in many fields: art, literature, mathematics, astronomy, medicine, government, to name half a dozen. But the most significant single addition was perhaps philosophy. Its origins and development make an essential strand in the cultural history of the sixth and fifth centuries.

As in dealing with other aspects of archaic and classical Greek culture, it is important to remember that different towns and regions had their own traditions, and that initiatives taken in one did not necessarily affect others quickly or at all. We must not assume that each philosopher's pronouncements were public knowledge, from one end of the Greek world to the other, as soon as he made them, or that divergent pronouncements by subsequent philosophers were necessarily made in reaction or modification. Early Greek philosophy was not a single vessel which a succession of pilots briefly commanded and tried to steer towards an agreed destination, one tacking one way, the next altering course in the light of his own perceptions. It was more like a flotilla of small craft whose navigators did not all start from the same point or at the same time, nor all aim for

J. Boardman, J. Griffin, O. Murray (edd.), *The Oxford History of the Classical World* (Oxford 1986), 113–23.

the same goal; some went in groups, some were influenced by the movements of others, some travelled out of sight of each other. We run them together as 'philosophers', but they had no generic name for themselves. Philosophy is of course a Greek word—it meant originally something like 'devotion to uncommon knowledge'—but it did not acquire a specialized sense or wide currency until the time of Plato. It is not easy to draw a line between 'philosophers' and others. There were some for whom a philosophical theory, original or borrowed, served as a basis or buttress for something else—a religious or moral diatribe, a [114] dissertation on some aspect of medicine, or an essay on the development of civilization. Some such writers are traditionally included among the philosophers while others are excluded. There were others again, especially poets, who made use of philosophical arguments or theses on occasion but in whose work this was no more than a minor element.

Some examples will help to make clear the variety of the subject. The first 'school' that we can identify is constituted by three sixth-century thinkers from Miletus, one of the principal Ionian towns on the coast of Asia Minor: Thales, Anaximander, and Anaximenes. Thales left no writings to posterity, though Aristotle, who regarded him as the first real philosopher, knew of certain doctrines which were ascribed to him. Presumably he expounded his ideas orally to those of his fellow-citizens who were interested in hearing them, and certain of them were recorded as his by some early Ionian writer. In subsequent decades Anaximander and Anaximenes likewise gave discourses (Anaximander is said to have worn splendid clothes, as did later sophists and rhapsodes), and their books, which were among the earliest works written in Greek prose, were the record of their discourses. This Milesian phenomenon of the philosopher who discoursed before an audience and also issued a written account of his opinions presently became a wider Ionian phenomenon. But it may have been some while before readers outnumbered listeners. Heraclitus, about the beginning of the fifth century, refers to people hearing his discourse; and in alluding to other philosophers he does not say 'all those whose books I have read' but 'all those whose discourses I have heard'.

This, then, was one mode of philosophical expression. Less direct ones were employed by Pythagoras of Samos, who seems to have been part philosopher, part priest, and part conjuror. He too is said to have worn imposing costume, to wit a gold coronet, a white robe,

and trousers. Instead of discoursing in reasoned prose he appealed to the authority of poems under the name of Orpheus, which he was suspected of having composed or at least doctored. He also bequeathed to his disciples in south Italy a quantity of brief maxims, catechisms, and enigmatic sayings, some expressing old religious taboos, others cosmological or eschatological dogmas. Some of his followers added to these, or composed new Orphic poems embodying a picturesque metaphysics. Others, taking their inspiration from Pythagoras' (probably mystical) interest in number and music, developed the study of mathematics and harmony in a more scientific spirit. 'Pythagoreanism' thus came to cover a strange gamut of different phenomena, and it became difficult to disentangle the master's own ideas and achievements from those of his successors.

There were others in the early fifth century, especially in the western colonies, who regarded poetry as a suitable medium for reasoned argument: Xenophanes, who, like Pythagoras, migrated from Ionia to the west; Parmenides of Elea; Empedocles of Acragas. Empedocles was another who dressed to attract attention, and besides expounding the nature of the world he claimed to impart cures for [115] sickness or old age, and the ability to control wind and rain or raise men from the dead. People followed him in droves, he tells us, adorning him with ribbons and garlands, and asking for oracles and remedies.

Clearly the identification of 'philosophy' is a delicate task. Our primary concern is with the development in Greece of critical and constructive thought about the physical world, the place of gods and souls in it, the relationship between reality and appearance, the origins and nature of human society, and the principles which ought to govern it. But this process was concurrent with, and to some extent implicated in, the spread of untraditional doctrines derived not from pure reason but from oriental myth. The mind that was willing to question conventional assumptions was receptive to novel ideas from abroad; or perhaps the mind that was aware of alternative accounts of things was stimulated to think.

Thales taught that everything is derived from water and that the earth rests on water. Perhaps he was attracted to these tenets, as Aristotle conjectures, 'from seeing that the nutriment of all things contains moisture, and that heat itself comes from this and is sustained by it; and because the seeds of all things have a moist

nature, and water is the basis of moisture'. At the same time it is hard to separate Thales' world picture from Egyptian and Semitic creation stories in which the initial state is a waste of waters, now covered over by the earth.

Anaximander taught that the world, and countless other worlds beyond our ken, came into being out of the Boundless and will eventually be absorbed back into it. He gave a detailed account of the stages by which the parts of the cosmos were differentiated, and of their shape and arrangement. What we see as the sun, moon, and stars are really, according to him, great rings of fire, respectively twenty-seven, eighteen, and nine times the diameter of the earth, and encircling it, but each concealed in a tube of mist except for certain holes through which the fire shines out. The earth, a drum-shaped body with its depth a third of its diameter, floats in the middle. The cosmos's existence is an imbalance in the Boundless, an 'injustice', which must in due course be corrected in accordance with an ordinance of Time. All cosmic change, in other words, has its appointed season. The Boundless itself is everlasting and inexhaustible, encompassing and directing all things. Now we may admire the grandeur of this system, and allow that it is in some sense philosophical. Anaximander attempts to explain the visible world as the product of orderly, universal processes, which, he infers, must continually be producing other worlds elsewhere. (As Metrodorus of Chios later remarked, you do not get only one ear of corn growing in a field.) But the system is only to a limited extent deduced from the visible world. Much is postulated that can have no basis in rational inference, and some of it is undoubtedly inspired by Iranian cosmology. The sequence earth–stars–moon–sun is distinctively Iranian, not Greek, and the Boundless that lies beyond the sun corresponds to the Beginningless Lights which are the abode of Ohrmazd and the highest paradise for the Zoroastrian. Ohrmazd created this world with the blessing of the unaging god Time, and a finite duration of 12,000 years has [116] been appointed for it. Thus the 'ordinance of Time' in Anaximander's system was not a creation of his intellect but can be traced to barbarian theology. There, however, it is a single, non-recurrent act of will; Anaximander made it into something resembling a law of nature. This illustrates an important feature of the Greek philosophers' approach. They sought to eliminate the arbitrary events characteristic of mythical narratives; but this did not by any means incline them to eliminate divinity from

the world. They preferred to depersonalize their gods and identify them with the unchanging forces that govern the working of the universe.

The third of the Milesians, Anaximenes, goes further in the direction of extrapolating from the visible world to what lies outside it. He holds that it is encompassed not by an undefined Boundless but by air, to which he gives the qualities of Anaximander's Boundless: infinite extent, immortality, and perpetual motion leading to the formation of worlds. Air surrounds and contains the world just as the soul, which also consists of air, holds the body together. All other substances are derived from air by condensation or rarefaction. The earth is flat and thin like a table and supported by air, as in Thales it was supported by water. Vapours rising from it become rarefied and form fiery discs which also float on the air, like leaves, and are the sun, moon, and stars. Among them, invisible to us, move certain solid bodies, probably intended to account for eclipses.

It is difficult not to find Anaximenes' system somewhat crude after Anaximander's. Anaximander had made a tremendous imaginative leap forward by reducing the earth to a small body in relation to the cosmos and by dispensing with a material support for it; he apparently thought that equipoise was enough. Anaximenes reverted to more conventional presuppositions. At the same time his is a more economical construct. Nature does not change into something unimaginable at the edge of his cosmos. Everything, inside and outside the cosmos, is based on something we have experience of, air and its transformations. It is in a sense a materialistic cosmology. But Anaximenes does not conceive of his air as an inert substance which needs something else to set it in motion. He regards movement as an intrinsic property of air. It is, as it were, a live substance, and the parallel he draws between the cosmic air and the human soul implies an assumption that certainly became general in the fifth century, namely that the soul is not something apart from the material world but a natural part of it. It is tempting to see here an affinity with the Upanishadic doctrine of a universal wind or breath with which both the unchanging life-soul of the world and the individual self are identical, by which living things and worlds are held together, and which the whole universe obeys. Two details in Anaximenes' system which do not suit it very well, the dark bodies that cause eclipses and the notion that the heavenly luminaries circle round a great mountain in the north, seem to be of Iranian provenance.

The Milesians were unable completely to free themselves from the preconceptions of the myth-makers of the pre-philosophical age. Like them, they assumed [117] that something so complex as the present world must have originated from something simple; that the earth is finite in extent and more or less circular, with something different underneath it; that the sky is a physical entity at a definite distance from the earth; that there are immortal sources of energy which are the moving or directing forces in the universe. Their new, philosophical assumptions were that these forces operate in a perfectly consistent way that can be observed in everyday phenomena; that everything can thus be explained from the working of a few universal processes in a single original continuum; and that there is no such thing as creation from nothing or decay to nothing, only change of substance. They tried to account systematically for all the most notable features of the world about us: the movements of the heavenly bodies, phases of the moon, eclipses; lightning, thunder, rain, snow, hail, rainbows, earthquakes, the annual inundation of the Nile.

One thinker who did succeed in breaking right away from conventional world models was Xenophanes. His independence of mind took him in a direction so contrary to the truth that he gets little but derision from modern writers; yet no one else so ruthlessly followed the rule of measuring the unseen by the seen. What he saw was earth stretching in all directions, with empty air above it. He accordingly declared that the earth was of infinite length, breadth, and depth, and that the air extended infinitely upwards. The disappearance of the sun and other luminaries beyond the western horizon he explained as an optical illusion: they were really continuing in a straight line, just getting further away. The sun that arrives in the east the next morning is a different one. There are, moreover, other suns and moons moving on parallel tracks over other regions of the earth, because the rising vapours form clouds which become incandescent, and this happens with strict regularity.

His theology also was radical, without being so eccentric. He was certainly not the first to reject the idea of gods having human shape or behaving as immorally as they do in Homer, but it was he who pointed out that the Thracians represent the gods as like Thracians, the Negroes as negroid, and if cows and horses had hands they would no doubt depict their gods as cows and horses. The late sixth to the early fifth century was a time when the Greeks were developing

a particular interest in the beliefs and customs of other nations. As Xenophanes' argument illustrates, the effect was to make them aware how much their own beliefs and customs were based on mere convention, which might profitably be challenged. Xenophanes' god is equally suitable for Thracians or cows. He does not have eyes or ears: every part of him is sentient. He does not go about from place to place but stays still, effortlessly moving everything else by the power of his thought.

Heraclitus, who wrote in a particularly haughty and oracular manner, and was unusual among the early philosophers in criticizing others by name, castigated Xenophanes as one of several notable men to whom learning had not taught sense. Yet he shared some concepts with him, including that of a unique divine |[118] intelligence which governs everything. Both men accepted the existence of other gods, but looked for an overriding master purpose. Heraclitus said that the Intelligence 'does and does not want to be called Zeus'. This, he is saying, is what your 'Zeus' really is, but it is an inadequate name. He also speaks of the thunderbolt, Zeus' traditional weapon, as directing all things. He holds the cosmos to have always existed, and to be a fire which is never extinguished, though not all parts of it are alight at once. The parts that are not alight exist as other substances, convertible with fire at a measured rate, as goods are for money. So he finds unity in the apparent diversity of the world by regarding everything as participating in one great continuous process—a conception which a few centuries later was to form the basis of Stoic cosmology. This process is controlled by divine agents of justice, and perhaps given direction and momentum by the thunderbolt. It is characterized as 'strife' or 'war', because Heraclitus sees the continuance of the cosmos as dependent upon the sustained differentiation of opposites. But because of the underlying unity, apparent opposites are really aspects of the same thing. Heraclitus collected many quite dissimilar examples to illustrate this paradox. Hot and cold, wet and dry, living and dead, are not irreconcilable opposites, since things pass from one state to the other. The road up is the same as the road down. Sea water is simultaneously drinkable (for fish) and undrinkable (for men). A monkey may be at once handsome (by monkey standards) and ugly. In one extraordinary fragment Heraclitus identifies day and night, summer and winter, war and peace, famine and abundance, as different manifestations of God.

He did not offer answers to all the cosmological questions which exercised the Milesians—he had nothing to say, for example, about the shape or support of the earth, or what there was outside the cosmos—and there is reason to think that what lay at the centre of his interest was rather religion, morality, and the destiny of the soul. The cosmic stock exchange, however, is the setting in which this is seen. Souls die by turning into water, which dies in its turn by becoming earth; they thus participate in the cyclic transformation of elements which, starting from fire, continues throughout the world. To preserve one's soul one must keep it dry, especially by avoiding alcoholic and sexual indulgence. At death, according to a plausible reconstruction of Heraclitus' theory, souls rise into the air, the damper ones to the level of the moon, where they contribute to winter, night, and rain, drier ones to the purer region of the sun and stars; some particularly favoured ones become the watchers of living and dead that men call heroes. The cosmos is crowded with spirits. There is, moreover, a Great Year of 360 human generations in which the balance swings between the dominance of damp and bright—a concept which was to be developed further by Plato and the Stoics.

Heraclitus could not have arrived at such a system by pure reason, and it has many points of contact with Zoroastrianism and with the Upanishads. In the latter, souls which fail to pass the moon return to earth as rain and are reincarnated in whatever animal form is appropriate to their conduct in their last life. |[119] The doctrine of reincarnation is not attested for Heraclitus, but it had gained a foothold in Greece in the mid sixth century, a century or so later than in India. Pythagoras believed in it, and it was taken up by Empedocles, who denounced the killing and eating of animals as murder and cannibalism, and implored men to abandon it.

Like Heraclitus, Empedocles endeavoured to integrate his teaching about the fortunes of the soul in a general theory of cosmology involving cyclical changes over vast periods of time. Everything in the world is produced by the mixture and separation of four elements, earth, air, fire, and water, which Empedocles identifies with certain of the traditional gods. Xenophanes, as we saw, rejected Homer's gods, so much prey to love and strife. At about the same period one Theagenes from Rhegium developed a line of defence that was to remain popular into the Middle Ages, interpreting the Homeric deities as allegories of the physical world. What Empedocles is doing is akin to this. He elevates the gods' love and strife into a

pair of supreme powers who rule in regular alternation by the terms of a treaty. When Love's power is absolute, the divine elements are completely blended into a featureless, homogeneous sphere. As Strife gradually makes its way in, they begin to separate and form a cosmos. Eventually they will be four separate masses, a ball of pure earth in the centre with successive spheres of water, fire, and air surrounding it. We can see that the universe is on the way towards that state. Subsequently the reverse process will operate until the cycle is completed. Empedocles went into much ingenious detail in explaining astronomical and meteorological phenomena and the evolution and physiology of living creatures. He apparently found room for gods within the cosmos other than the elements themselves. They are presumably entities of a fiery nature. When one of them yields to the influence of Strife, he is torn away from the company of his fellows and forced to consort with the other elements for myriads of years, a soul going through countless animal and plant lives.

Empedocles has turned away from the idea held by some Ionians that one original substance can change into others. To account for the diversity of substances in the world he finds it necessary to postulate a set of contrasted primary elements which can be combined in countless ways. This pluralist approach was taken to an extreme by Anaxagoras, an Ionian who taught at Athens for many years in the mid fifth century. Like Empedocles, only without his cyclicalism, Anaxagoras begins his cosmogony from a state of perfect mixture which is then unbalanced by the operation of a divine force. But there is no limit to the number of ingredients in the mixture, and the separation process is never absolute. There always remains a proportion of every substance in everything; we name each thing according to what predominates in it, as if it were composed purely of that substance. This is why whatever Miss T. eats turns into Miss T. It always contained flesh (even the vegetables), and when she eats it a material rearrangement takes place making flesh the dominant constituent. The only thing not mixed with everything else, and therefore able to control everything else, is the finest I[120] and purest of all: Mind. This is the divine force that gives the cosmos its initial impulse and supervises the whole process of creative separation.

Socrates, according to Plato, read Anaxagoras' book and was disappointed that he still made so much use of mechanistic explanations instead of making Mind shape each detail of the world

for an intelligent reason. Anaxagoras seems here to have fallen between two stools: the Milesian desire to explain the world as the natural product of certain given processes, and a new inclination (perhaps implicit in Xenophanes and Heraclitus) to see it as planned. Diogenes of Apollonia, a somewhat younger man who began his book on human physiology with a cosmology, argues explicitly that the balanced arrangement of the seasons, among other things, must be the work of intelligence. He identifies this divine intelligence with the material element air, which, like Anaximenes, he regards as the single substance from which all others are derived. Everything that breathes air partakes of intelligence.

A sense of proportionate arrangement, whether imposed by a divine Mind or resulting automatically from natural processes, had been a feature of cosmological thought since Anaximander. The discovery that simple mathematical ratios underlie the fundamental musical concords led some Pythagoreans to focus on number as the essence of the universe. One of them (perhaps Philolaus) formulated a theory according to which numbers are generated from an initial One as it 'breathes in' a portion of the adjacent infinity; this portion becomes finite and at the same time divides the one into two. The evolution of the cosmos from a primordial unity is simply an example of this process. Things are numbers, and their relationships (justice, for instance) are mathematical relationships. Aristotle's allusions to the theory hardly allow us to grasp its meaning, and he was doubtless justified in complaining that it left all sorts of questions unanswered. But it is regrettable that we do not understand more about a doctrine which threw the universe into such a novel perspective.

The thinkers so far discussed accepted that the material world is on the whole (allowing for certain misinterpretations on our part) as our senses represent it to us. Meanwhile Parmenides, at the beginning of the fifth century, had struck out along a path of logical reasoning about Being which threatened to undermine that assumption. To put the argument in a nutshell: only Being can exist; there can be no coming-to-be or passing-away, because they imply non-being; no gap or discontinuity in Being; no movement, for lack of space (= non-being); not even any qualitative change, for that would mean the not-being of what had been. *Ergo*, reality consists simply of indivisible, changeless, featureless, motionless, rock-solid Being. The whole phenomenal world with its colour, movement, and

impermanence must be a sham. It is of course a sham with a pattern, and Parmenides feels obliged to offer an account of it, while emphasizing that he is analysing an illusion or *fable convenue*. He reduces its diversity to a basic duality of light and dark, each of which subsumes a range of other qualities. He claims that this is the best analysis attainable by man, but, being unable to reconcile it [121] with his account of the nature of Being, he has to say that it is ultimately false.

Parmenides' reasoning, though brilliant, is at the same time so artificial that we may suspect his conclusion of being preconceived, particularly as his vision of Being shows resemblances to a certain type of mystical experience in which space and time seem to lose all significance and there is an acute sense of the unbroken unity of all things with each other and with the self. He actually presents his philosophy as derived from a private divine revelation. But nothing is more significant of the intellectual climate in which he lives than the fact that he does not say 'the goddess showed me, and I saw', but 'the goddess proved it with the following arguments'. He is concerned to rationalize his vision.

Parmenides had two followers. Zeno also came from Elea, Melissus from Samos; by convention the three are collectively called the Eleatics. Zeno reinforced the case against plurality and motion with arguments and paradoxes of a mathematical nature, including the famous paradox of Achilles and the tortoise: Achilles can never overtake the tortoise because every time he reaches the point where it was, it has moved on. Melissus went beyond Parmenides in arguing that Being is infinite in extent (Parmenides had made it finite and spherical) and that it is incorporeal, because otherwise it would have parts, implying plurality. The divorce between the philosopher's 'reality' and the world of experience could not be made more complete.

Eleaticism was in one sense a dead end. But the concept of an unchanging reality beyond the material world endured in, and because of, Plato; and a passage in which Melissus argues that if there were after all a plurality of things, they would all have to be as unchanging as his One, points the way to the greatest inspiration of ancient physical theory, the atomism of Leucippus of Miletus. Leucippus follows the Ionian tradition for the general shape of his cosmos, and contradicts the central axiom of the Eleatics by asserting that Non-being (empty space) exists just as much as Being. But he

reduces matter to minute particles which resemble the Eleatic One in being indivisible (*atoma*), indestructible, and qualitatively neutral; they differ from one another only in shape and orientation. Different rearrangements of them produce the effect of changeable qualities such as colour, heat, hardness, etc. There is no guiding intelligence, just the blind mechanical interplay of flying and colliding atoms.

The atomist system was appropriated by the prolific writer Democritus, perhaps to serve as the background to his account of the origin and development of civilization. This became a popular subject of theorizing in the mid fifth century. It quickly came to be common ground that primitive man was merely an animal, sheltering in caves and eating whatever grew wild, until gradually he developed his skills, built houses and cities, tamed animals, invented language, and so on. Socrates' teacher Archelaus gave an account (prefaced by a cosmology on Anaxagorean lines) designed to bring out the conventional nature of law and justice. The most influential of these reconstructions of prehistory may have been due to Protagoras, whose several visits to Athens (like Democritus, he was a native of [122] Abdera) attracted much attention. Protagoras stands at the head of that series of intellectuals whose discourses on a range of philosophical and technical subjects seemed so instructive that they were able to charge attendance fees, and who are called Sophists. They offered, among other things, stimulating reflections on the theme of nature versus custom, the bases of morality, the power of education; scientific treatment of subjects like grammar, metre, music; not least, displays of the adaptability of argument to support any conclusion, or either of two opposite conclusions. At this point we can no longer take it for granted that what appears to be a philosophical argument is meant seriously. Gorgias, an orator and essayist from Sicily notorious for his euphuistic style, published a lengthy proof that nothing exists. He was, no doubt, simply enjoying himself, as when he devoted another work to the defence of the infamous Helen of Troy, describing it as 'an encomium for Helen and amusement for me'. Socrates had some of this playfulness.

The early philosophers were aware that they were seeking answers to questions that lay beyond the bounds of possible human knowledge. 'No one has ever known or ever will know for sure,' says Xenophanes, 'for even if what he says is exactly right, he does not *know* it is—it is all a matter of opinion.' It was something of a commonplace that our senses are weak and easily misled, but that we

must extrapolate from the observed to the unobservable. The Greeks were not as quick as they might have been to draw the inference that an accumulation of systematic scientific observation is desirable, though we do see something of the sort in the fifth century in the field of medicine. Some real ground was gained, though gradually, by astronomy. About 500 BCE it was realized that the moon shines by reflected light, while by 400 the view that the earth is spherical was gaining adherents, and the planets had perhaps all been identified. In other areas unverifiability precluded consolidation. Atomism remained one theory among many. There was no agreement on which facts to extrapolate from. One seized on one physical phenomenon or logical formula as the key to the universe, another on another. What provokes admiration is the mental vigour and independence with which these people sought after coherent systems and did not shrink from following their lines of thought to astonishing conclusions. It may well be that contact with oriental cosmology and theology helped to liberate their imagination; it certainly gave them many suggestive ideas. But they taught themselves to reason. Philosophy as we understand it is a Greek creation.

3

Alcman and Pythagoras

I

By the colours and decoration of a vase fragment one determines the period and style to which the original belonged; while its physical contours show from what part of the original it comes. The material may be insufficient for a reconstruction of the whole design. But it is often legitimate to go beyond what is actually contained in the preserved pieces. If one finds a pair of shoulders, it is not rash to assume that they were surmounted by a head. If one finds a Minotaur, it will be natural to exclude any reconstruction that does not allow for the presence of Theseus.

So it is with the fragments of lost cosmogonies. Unless they are too small, one can determine the kind of tradition from which they come. On this basis one may proceed to supplement what is preserved, by adding first what organically belongs to it and second what is regularly associated with it: the second step is controlled speculation, the first is reasoning.

It could be objected to this analogy that a cosmogony must justify its creation by some degree of originality, whereas a vase-painter may repeat himself for decades. But we cannot tell to what extent cosmogonies were newly created and to what extent they were reproduced; for we should certainly be wrong to suppose that the few we have heard of were the only ones propounded. We had not heard of Alcman's cosmogony until 1957, and we should never have heard of it at all if Alcman had not made himself famous as a lyric poet. Hesiod, Alcman, Epimenides, Xenophanes, and others show us that cosmology was not the private preserve of a select academy of

CQ 17 (1967), 1–15. There the footnotes were numbered anew on each page.

'Presocratics':[1] in any Greek town, in any generation, there must have been rhapsodes, seers, and amateur sages who would be ready to give an account of the origin of the world. They are nameless, and for the most part they were no doubt unoriginal. But it was among them that ideas slowly evolved and basic assumptions hardened, and if we forget them we shall exaggerate the originality of our Presocratics. Most histories of philosophy do this; each Presocratic in turn is treated as if he had read Diels–Kranz as far as his own entry and then set about replying to his last recorded predecessor. In reality human thought does not bound from peak to peak in such a way. The modern world is well enough documented to show that even the greatest genius reaches his eminence not in free flight but by nimbly climbing on the shoulders of his toiling fellows. The ancient world must have been the same; and all new information about the thought of the Greeks and their neighbours brings us closer to the understanding that it was so.

II

In my earlier discussion of Alcman's cosmogony[2] I restricted myself to the I[2] question what Alcman said and meant. I now want to consider how he came to be saying those particular things, and in what relationship he stands to other Greek cosmologists.

His system, as I analysed it, is as follows.

1. The original state of the world is a confused, unformed mass.
2. The goddess Thetis comes into being. She plays some kind of demiurgic role.
3. Poros and Tekmor appear, and with them Darkness. What Poros represents is still somewhat obscure, but Tekmor, 'boundary-mark', 'sign', is recognizable as a principle of differentiation.

[1] The term 'Presocratic' has so established itself that we should greatly inconvenience ourselves by abandoning it now. But it has two grave disadvantages: it exaggerates the effect of Socrates; and it lumps together an assortment of people—priests, doctors, vagabond poets, experimental physicists—whose methods and intentions were very various, and implies that they were somehow united in a common search.

[2] *CQ* 13 (1963), 154–6. The text is *PMGF* 5 iii.

4. Now that Differentiation exists, Darkness is followed by light in its various forms: Daylight, and the moon and stars. At this point the papyrus breaks off.

Of these four stages, the last is the most ordinary. It is a regular feature of Greek cosmogonies that darkness exists very early and is followed by light.[3] The only point worth remarking is that Alcman did not mention the sun. Probably he meant it to be understood in 'daylight', as the commentator assumes; in Hesiod Day appears long before the sun,[4] but on the other hand the sun does normally appear at the same time as the moon.[5]

The first stage of the cosmogony is also unsurprising. It is common for Greek cosmogonies to begin with the description of an original unformed state of the world.[6] The same feature is found in Genesis, *Enūma eliš*, and other non-Greek cosmogonies.

It is the second and third stages of Alcman's system that are strange; and nothing in them is stranger than the pair Poros and Tekmor. In other early Greek cosmogonies we meet such personifications as Eros and Metis. But these are powers that man experiences in himself, and there is nothing unusual in their being treated as independent beings. To say that they are operating is to interpret and describe certain observed events. But what event could one describe by saying 'Poros and Tekmor are operating'?

The answer is, I think, 'the world is being fashioned out of a rude mass that is *ἄπορον καὶ ἀτέκμαρτον*'. It is only by assuming that Alcman thought (not necessarily spoke) of the primeval state of the world in these negative terms that we can account for his abstraction of Poros and Tekmor. If the world-mass was *ἄπορον καὶ ἀτέκμαρτον*, trackless and featureless, affording neither passage nor orientation, then Poros and Tekmor were the two beings immediately needed to bring it into shape. In the passages quoted above to illustrate the practice of describing the original state of the world, it is noticeable that it is often described negatively. *οὐδὲν ἔνδηλον ἦν*, says Anaxagoras; *γῆ δ' οὐδ' ἀὴρ οὐδ' οὐρανὸς ἦν*,

[3] See G. S. Kirk and J. E. Raven, *The Presocratic Philosophers* (Cambridge 1957), 19–24.

[4] *Th.* 124, 371.

[5] *Th.* 371, cf. 19.

[6] Anaxagoras 59 B 1; Ar. *Av.* 693–5; 'Linus' (fr. 80 Bernabé) *ap.* Diog. Laert. 1. 4; Ap. Rhod. 1. 496–8; Ov. *M.* 1. 5–20; *GDK* 24 verso 1–4 and 46. 6–10.

chirrup the birds, and so Ovid and the papyrus texts. 'The earth was without form, and void', according to Genesis (ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος, LXX). 'When on high the heavens had not been named, and earth below had not been called by name. . . . Farmland had not been matted, the reed-bed was not yet recognizable'—so the scene is set in *Enūma eliš*.[7] The commentator on l[3] Alcman says π[οιεῖ] οὖν ὁ Ἀλκμὰν τὴν ὕλην πάν[τηι τετα]ραγμένην καὶ ἀπόητον, and later διὰ τὸ μηδέπω μήτε ἥλιον μήτε σε[λ]ήνην γεγονέναι ἀλλ' ἔτι ἀδιάκριτ[ο]ν εἶναι [τ]ὴν ὕλην.

Of what could Alcman say that it had no πόρος or τέκμωρ in it? The commentator speaks of ὕλη, but this is obvious paraphrase. It has been suggested[8] that Alcman said πάντα (an expression also used by the commentator: καὶ τὰ μὲν πάντα [ὁμο]ίαν ἔχει τὴν φύσιν τῆι τοῦ χαλκοῦ ὕληι, κτλ.). Anaxagoras certainly says πάντα χρήματα. But this goes more easily with the predicate ἦν ὁμοῦ than it would with any negative predicate; and it perhaps suggests that all that is now found in the world was already present in the original chaos, an idea which is indeed Anaxagorean but not lightly to be attributed to a poet earlier than Thales. At Alcman's date we should expect the world to begin as a simple element: the same element as in Thales, water. There are traces of a water-cosmogony in Homer, and it is the commonest type of cosmogony all over the world.[9]

The epithets ἄπορος and ἀτέκμαρτος might reasonably be applied to a waste of waters.[10] But the clearest indication of water is the presence of Thetis. She is a goddess whose name Alcman may

[7] *Enūma eliš* 1. 1–6. See also *Rigveda* 10. 129. 1, 'Neither non-being nor being was then; there was not the lower air, nor the heaven above', etc.

[8] C. M. Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry*, 2nd edn. (Oxford 1961), 26.

[9] H. Schwabl, *RE* Suppl. ix. 1510, with literature.

[10] The sea is εὐρύπορος, *Il.* 15. 381, etc.; cf. *Od.* 12. 259 πόρους ἁλός. Impassable water is ἄπορον καὶ ἀδιερεύνητον, Pl. *Tim.* 25d. πόρος is not used of roads on land. The word is discussed by M. Rudolph, *ΠΟΡΟΣ* (Diss. Marburg 1912); O. Becker, *Das Bild des Weges* (*Hermes* Einzelschr. 4, Berlin 1937), 23–34. It may be worth recalling that πόντος originally meant 'path' (P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* (Paris 1968–80), s.v.; A. C. Moorhouse, *CQ* 34 (1940), 123–8; 35 (1941), 90–6). For the impassability of the primeval ocean cf. Ovid's *innabilis unda* (*M.* 1. 16).

A navigator needs a τέκμαρ such as a guiding star, Eur. *Hec.* 1273. Cf. from late epic Ap. Rhod. 4. 1538 πόρους τ' ἀπετεκμαίροντο; Opp. *H.* 1. 364 Ποσειδάωνος ἀτέκμαρτοι περιωπαί; [Orph.] *Arg.* 1150 f. οὐδ' ἀτέκμαρτον | ὕδωρ Ὠκεανοῦ κελαρύζεται; Nonn. *D.* 13. 537 εἰς βυθίους κευθμῶνας ἀτεκμάρτοιο θαλάσσης.

have felt to be particularly appropriate for a demiurge;[11] but the fact remains that she is a sea-goddess. It is hard, in spite of her name, to imagine her being chosen by someone who merely wanted an organizer of undefined matter.[12] But to deal with an unmanageable world-ocean, few gods male or female are more suitable. We may think of the Nereids as dainty creatures, but we must not underestimate their power. It is to them, not to Poseidon, that Sappho prays for the safety of her brother (fr. 5); to them, and in particular to Thetis, that Darius' priests sacrifice in order that the gales may abate (Hdt. 7. 191). It was Thetis who saved Zeus by bringing Briareos up from the deep (*Il.* 1. 402 with sch., cf. sch. Ap. Rhod. 1. 1165).

Before I proceed further with the assumption of a water cosmogony, I must deal with a piece of evidence that appears at first sight to indicate something quite different. The commentator writes:

καὶ ἔστιν ὁ μὲν Πόρος οἷον ἀρχή, τὸ δὲ Τέ-
κμωρ οἱονεὶ τέλος. τῆς Θέτιδος γενο-
l[4] μένης ἀρχὴ καὶ τέ[λ]ο[ς ἅμ]α πάντων ἐ-
γένε[τ]ο· καὶ τὰ μὲν πάντα [ὁμο]ίαν ἔχει
τὴν φύσιν τῆι τοῦ χαλκοῦ ὕληι, ἡ δὲ
Θέτις τ[ῆι] τοῦ τεχνίτου, ὁ δὲ Πόρος καὶ τὸ Τέ-
κμωρ τῆι ἀρχῆι καὶ τῶι τέλει.

In the comparison of Thetis to a bronze-worker Bowra suggested that an image used by Alcman might be seen. I repeated this, while Burkert went a good deal further.[13] We were all wrong. The simile is the commentator's own, or rather it was a standard illustration in this style of exegesis. Cf. sch. Hes. *Th.* 116, ἡ τέχνη καὶ ὁ κόσμος τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὑποπέπτωκε πράγμασι, καὶ ἔχει τεχνίτην μὲν

[11] H. Lloyd-Jones *ap.* Bowra (as n. 8), 26 n. 1; Schwabl (as n. 9), 1467; *CQ* 13 (1963), 154–5; Hermann Fränkel, *Dichtung and Philosophie des frühen Griechentums*, 2nd edn. (Munich 1962), 290 n. 2, which I ought to have seen and referred to. One of us might have recalled in this connection Alcman's play on names in *PMGF* 3. 73 f., Ἀστυμέλοισα . . . μέλημα δάμωι (cf. also *CQ* 15 (1965), 188).

[12] Cf. Schwabl (as n. 9), 1467: 'Thetis . . . ist hier "die die Dinge zu setzen weiß", zugleich aber erhebt sich die Frage, ob ihr noch etwas vom Wasserwesen geblieben ist.' W. Burkert, *Gnomon* 35 (1963), 828: 'Thetis als die berühmteste der Nereiden könnte dann vielleicht die Urflut repräsentieren.'

[13] 'Wenn dann die ὕλη aber mit χαλκός (Z. 18) verglichen wird, weist dies in der Konfrontierung mit Thetis auf eine zweite, griechische Traditionslinie . . .: glühendes Metall und Wasserbad als Urbild alles "Entstehens" in Handwerk and Brauchtum der Schmiede. Thetis war es, die den stürzenden Hephaistos auffing (Σ 395 ff.)—der Mythos spiegelt wohl eine Schmiede-Initiation', and so on (ibid.).

τὸν θεόν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς τέχνης τόδε πεποίηται. ἔστι δὲ τὰ προϋφεστῶτα τοῦ παντὸς ὕλη καὶ ἀρχὴ καὶ στοιχεῖα. καὶ οἱ μὲν συνώνυμα ἔφασκον ἔχειν τὰ προειρημένα καὶ ἕν· ἕτεροι δὲ (ἓν ἕτερον οἱ δὲ codd.) διαφέρειν λέγοντες τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν γένει ἐοικέναι φασίν, εἶδος δὲ τὴν ὕλην οὐσιωδῶς λαμβάνουσιν. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ τὴν ὕλην διαφέρειν, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἔννοιαν τῆς ὕλης ἀνήκουσαν πρὸς τὸν τεχνίτην, τὴν δὲ τῆς οὐσίας πρὸς τὸ γεγονός· οἷον τῶι ἀνδριαντοποιῶι ὕλη μέν ἐστιν ὁ χαλκός, οὐσία δὲ ἡ διατύπωσις τοῦ χαλκοῦ, καθ' ὃ δηλονότι εἶδος ὁρμώμενος ὁ τεχνίτης τὸν ἀνδριάντα ποιεῖ. <ἀρχὴ οὖν τοῦ κόσμου> ὕλη τις ἀποίητος, ἀσχημάτιστος, ἣν ὁ θεὸς παραλαβὼν ἐπέθηκεν αὐτῶι σχῆμα ... οὐκ ἐξ ἄλλου τὴν ἔννοιαν λαβών, ὥσπερ ὁ ἀνδριαντοποιὸς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἶδος ὁρμώμενος πλάττει. The ἀνδριαντοποιός and his bronze are familiar as examples of the meaning of technical concepts.[14]

The scholiast on the Louvre Partheneion v. 14 (where Poros again appears, in company with Aisa) says ὅτι τὸν Πόρον εἴρηκε τὸν αὐτὸν τῶι ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡσιόδου μεμυθολογημένωι Χάει. This equation does not seem to have any point in the passage concerned and must be based on an interpretation of the cosmogony poem. To understand it, we must consider how the commentator on the cosmogony interprets Poros, and how Hesiod's Chaos was interpreted in antiquity. The Alcman commentator says (*PMGF* 5 iii 6–8)

> Πόρον ἀπὸ τῆς πορ . [. .]. [
> ὡς γὰρ ἤρξατο ἡ ὕλη κατασκευα[σθῆναι,
> ἐγένετο πόρος τις οἱονεὶ ἀρχή,

and this is followed after a short interval by the passage quoted in the last paragraph. The cosmogony is analysed in Aristotelian terms. Poros is the ἀρχὴ (κινήσεως), because that is what must come after the ὕλη, and Tekmor, as its name suggests, is the τέλος or τὸ οὗ ἕνεκα.[15] The efficient and final causes appeared simultaneously with the τεχνίτης (τῆς Θέτιδος γενομένης ἀρχὴ καὶ τέ[λ]ο[ς ἅμ]α πάντων ἐγένε[τ]ο).

[14] e.g. Arist. *Pol.* 1256a8 λέγω δὲ ὕλην τὸ ὑποκείμενον ἐξ οὗ τι ἀποτελεῖται ἔργον, οἷον ὑφάντηι μὲν ἔρια, ἀνδριαντοποιῶι δὲ χαλκόν.

[15] The *locus classicus* for the Aristotelian causes is *Physics* 194b16 ff.; but more helpful here is the application of them to the pre-Aristotelian cosmogonies in *Metaphysics* A, beginning at 983a24 ff. It is interesting that although Aristotle mentions early poetic cosmogonies (not only Hesiod, but even the passing allusions in Homer), he does not mention Alcman. Perhaps he did not know him.

I[5] Hesiod says

> ἤτοι μὲν πρώτιστα Χάος γένετ'

(*Th.* 116). Some interpreters argued on the basis of etymological speculation about *Χάος*, connecting it with χεῖν or with χαδεῖν. But others were struck by the use of the verb γένετο rather than ἦν:

Theophil. Antioch. *ad Autol.* 84A (*Apolog. saec. secundi*, viii. 60) καὶ ὕλην μὲν τρόπωι τινὶ ὑποτίθεται, καὶ κόσμου ποίησιν λέγει· "ἤτοι μὲν πρώτιστα" κτλ.

'He assumes matter as pre-existent, and only speaks of the fashioning of the world.'

Proclus *in Crat.* 115 ὁ δέ γε Ἡσίοδος καὶ σιγῆι πολλὰ σέβει, καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ὅλως οὐκ ὠνόμασεν· ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν τὸ μετ' ἐκεῖνο ἀπ' ἄλλου προῆλθεν δηλοῖ διὰ τοῦ "ἤτοι μὲν πρώτιστα Χάος ἐγένετο".

Simplic. in Arist. *Cael.* 560. 24 καὶ γὰρ καὶ Ἡσίοδος εἰπὼν πρῶτον γενέσθαι τὸ Χάος ἐνεδείξατο εἶναί τι καὶ πρὸ τοῦ Χάους.

These are relatively late authors; but Epicurus is said to have asked at school what Chaos came *from* (Sext. *adv. math.* 10. 19), and there is some reason to think that Zeno the Stoic took Hesiod to assume something as existing before Chaos.[16] On this view, the appearance of Chaos represented the first movement towards the world's creation. One might say ὡς ἤρξατο ἡ ὕλη κατασκευασθῆναι, ἐγένετο χάος τι οἱονεὶ ἀρχή. It must have been an interpretation on these lines that led a commentator on Alcman's cosmogony to say that Alcman's Poros was the same as Hesiod's Chaos. But he cannot have meant merely that Poros and Chaos fulfilled the same function in the two different cosmogonies. He must have thought that Hesiod and Alcman had the same idea about what the first stage of the world's creation actually was. If he was one of those who, like the Stoics, connected *Χάος* with χεῖν and interpreted it as water, it would follow that he found in Alcman something that indicated a water cosmogony, and that he took Poros to stand for water in its first

[16] Zeno interpreted Chaos as water: sch. Ap. Rhod. 1. 496–8b καὶ Ζήνων δὲ (fr. 104, *SVF* i. 29) τὸ παρ' Ἡσιόδωι Χάος ὕδωρ εἶναί φησιν. οὗ συνιζάνοντος ἰλὺν γίνεσθαι, ἧς πηγνυμένης ἡ γῆ στερεμνιοῦται· τρίτον δὲ Ἔρωτα γεγονέναι καθ' Ἡσίοδον, ἵνα τὸ πῦρ παραστήσηι, πυρωδέστερον γὰρ πάθος ὁ ἔρως. Cf. Prob. in Virg. *E.* 6. 31, p. 21. 14 Keil (Zeno fr. 103). [Remainder of note deleted.]

organized condition as opposed to the original ἄπορον. This would be a confirmation of my earlier arguments for water; but it is too uncertain to use, for the commentator's idea of Chaos may have been a different one.

The content of the cosmogony has now become intelligible, and we are in a position to consider its affinities. It begins, I have argued, with a waste of waters, characterized as trackless and featureless, and the appearance of a I[6] deity who can make something out of it. Nothing similar to this is found in Greece. But there is an obvious parallel in Genesis:

> And the earth was without form, and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep. And the Spirit of God was moving over the face of the waters.

The similarity does not end there. Thetis' appearance is directly followed by that of Differentiation, Darkness, and then Daylight and the luminaries of heaven. In Genesis the darkness has already been mentioned. The first thing God does is to create light and divide it from the darkness (1: 3–4). The next day he does more dividing:

> And God said, 'Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it separate the waters from the waters.' And God made the firmament, and separated the waters which were under the firmament from the waters which were above the firmament. And it was so. (6–7)

Then on the fourth day:

> And God said, 'Let there be lights in the firmament of the heavens to separate the day from the night; and let them be for signs and for seasons and for days and years, and let them be lights in the firmament of the heavens to give light upon the earth.' And it was so. And God made the two great lights, the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night; he made the stars also. And God set them in the firmament of the heavens to give light upon the earth, to rule over the day and over the night, and to separate the light from the darkness. And God saw that it was good. (14–18)

The monotheistic Hebrew cosmogony is related to the Babylonian one in *Enūma eliš*. Here there is not the same emphasis on division of light from darkness. But we cannot overlook the important part played by the female personification of the deep, Tiamat. She is the mother of all the other gods, and it is she who preserves them from the aggression of their father. The Hebrew god has vanished from the face of the waters;[17] instead, the decisive steps towards the creation of a world are taken by a goddess who dwells in the waters.

In view of these parallels it would appear that a Semitic-type cosmogony lies behind Alcman. Burkert has suggested that Alcman's Lydian origin may be relevant to any oriental influence that his cosmological thought shows,[18] though we really have no notion what kind of cosmology was current at Sardis before its fall. It is not to be forgotten that for a century before Alcman Sparta had been littered with ivories, lead figurines, and scarabs that prove connections (whether direct or indirect) with the Near East, and specifically with Semitic peoples.[19]

If we now look for a connection between Alcman's cosmogony and a later I[7] Greek system, we shall find one; and it will appear again that the philosophical systems of the sixth and fifth centuries were not built overnight. We shall find the connection in what may be an unexpected place: the Pythagorean cosmology based on number. The foundation of this cosmology is the opposition of ἄπειρον and πέρας, which are identified with the arithmetical concepts odd and even and manifested in various other pairs of opposites such as left and right, female and male, darkness and light, rest and motion.[20] The world begins with the appearance of a Unit which 'breathes in' a portion of the surrounding Infinite and limits it. Arist. *Met.* 1091a12:

> ἄτοπον δὲ καὶ γένεσιν ποιεῖν ἀϊδίων ὄντων, μᾶλλον δὲ ἓν τι τῶν ἀδυνάτων. οἱ μὲν οὖν Πυθαγόρειοι πότερον οὐ ποιοῦσιν ἢ ποιοῦσι γένεσιν οὐθὲν δεῖ διστάζειν· φανερῶς γὰρ λέγουσιν ὡς τοῦ ἑνὸς

[17] He seems an Egyptian overlay. See S. Morenz in *Aus Antike u. Orient. Festschrift Wilhelm Schubart zum 75. Geburtstag* (Leipzig 1950), 71 f.

[18] Burkert as n. 12.

[19] Contrast this: 'We can quickly dispose of the question whether any non-Greek elements are to be found in him [Alcman] ... there is no question of his being influenced by any foreign literature; there was no contemporary foreign literature, at any rate nothing known to any Greek; and there was no contact with any civilization of the past except indirectly through Homer and Hesiod. ... His subject-matter, when it is not himself and his chorus girls, is usually some local tale of no interest to anyone but a Spartan—even his gods and goddesses are parochial mumbo-jumbo, hardly recognizable to a Greek from another city.' (D. L. Page, *The Listener* 61 (Jan.–July 1959), 110.)

[20] It will be recognized that I am simplifying a complex and controversial matter. On the fundamental position of the ἄπειρον/πέρας antithesis in the whole see W. K. C. Guthrie, *History of Greek Philosophy*, i (Cambridge 1962), 245 ff.; W. Burkert, *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism* (Cambridge, Mass. 1972), 32.

συσταθέντος, εἴτ' ἐξ ἐπιπέδων εἴτ' ἐκ χροιᾶς εἴτ' ἐκ σπέρματος εἴτ' ἐξ ὧν ἀποροῦσιν εἰπεῖν, εὐθὺς τὸ ἔγγιστα τοῦ ἀπείρου ὅτι εἴλκετο καὶ ἐπεραίνετο ὑπὸ τοῦ πέρατος.

So the world begins in a state characterized as *ἄπειρον*, and then *Πέρας* appears. This is evidently the twin of Alcman's system in which the world begins in a state characterized as *ἀτέκμαρτον* and then *Τέκμωρ* appears;[21] and it follows that this element in the Pythagorean cosmology belongs to a pre-Pythagorean tradition. It is no accident that the same way of looking at things appears much later in the Hesiodic scholium quoted above, where the demiurge takes matter *ἀσχημάτιστον* and imposes *σχῆμα* on it. We can trace a continuous line from the *Theogony* scholia back to the Stoa and Lyceum, from there back to Plato [cf. *Tim.* 53ab], from there back to fifth-century Pythagoreanism. And now we can trace it back to Alcman.

III

Presently I shall consider another, no less striking point of contact between Alcmanic and Pythagorean speculation. But next a problem more immediately related to the cosmogony: Aisa and Poros in the Partheneion.

× – ∪]αρ *Αἶσα παντῶν*
– ∪ –] *γεραιτάτοι*
15 × – *ἀπ*]*έδιλος ἀλκά.*
μή τις ἀνθ]*ρώπων ἐς ὠρανὸν ποτήσθω,*
μηδὲ πη]*ρήτω γαμῆν τὰν Ἀφροδίταν.*

In order to interpret these lines it is necessary to consider the whole context. But I will begin by discussing the single phrase *ἀπ*]*έδιλος ἀλκά*.[22] The most recent interpretation, put forward by Hugh Lloyd-Jones,[23] is based on Pindar's expression *ἀδαμαντοπέδιλοι κίονες*

[21] I cannot refrain from citing, though it adds nothing of significance to the argument, Arist. *Rhet.* 1357b9 *τὸ γὰρ τέκμαρ καὶ πέρας ταὐτόν ἐστι κατὰ τὴν ἀρχαίαν γλῶτταν.*

[22] I abide by the accepted supplement of]*έδειλος*: alternatives could be devised (*χαλκοπέδιλος*, etc.), but I cannot think of one that is plausible.

[23] *ap.* Bowra (as n. 8), 42.

(fr. 33d. 8): if these are pillars with bases of adamant, it is argued, then *ἀπέδιλος* might mean 'lacking firm foundation'. But I[8] while one can understand what 'shoes' are in relation to pillars,[24] it is hard to see what the shoes of *ἀλκά* would have been if it had had any. One may, however, share Lloyd-Jones's and Bowra's dissatisfaction with the explanation advocated simultaneously by D. L. Page and Hermann Fränkel in 1951.[25] They make no punctuation after *ἀλκά*: *ἀπέδιλος ἀλκὰ μή ποκ'* (or *μή τις*) . . . *ποτήσθω*. They translate: 'let not the bravery of man leave the ground and soar to Heaven'; 'nie soll sich menschlicher Kampfwille im Fluge zum Himmel aufschwingen'. '*ἀπέδιλος*', Page writes, '"without walking-shoes", signifies "not walking on the ground (but being conveyed through the air)", here as in Aeschylus (*P.V.* 135), *σύθην ἀπέδιλος ὅχῳ πτερωτῷ*; the meaning is assisted by *πτερωτῷ* in Aeschylus, as by *ποτήσθω* in Alcman.' I fail to see that aerial travel implies bare feet, let alone that bare feet imply aerial travel; as if 'I came without a mackintosh' might be a recognizable way of saying 'I came in a taxi'. The word order assumed strikes me as very curious; and *ἀλκά* does not mean 'bravery' or 'Kampfwille', for which one would expect *τόλμα* or *θράσος*.

It is better to keep *μή τις ἀνθρώπων* as a new sentence and give *ἀλκά* a genitive in 15.[26] People who travel unshod elsewhere in Greek poetry generally do so because they have set out in too much of a hurry to spend time on the process *ὑποδεῖσθαι*.[27] In at least three places we find the picture of someone going unshod or ungirt to give immediate assistance to another.[28] *ἀλκά* can mean just this: aid or support in danger. If Alcman said that someone's *ἀλκά* was *ἀπέδιλος*, he will have meant that the assistance that came from that

[24] The metaphor may have been suggested to Pindar by *κρηπίς*.

[25] D. L. Page, *Alcman. The Partheneion* (Oxford 1951), 34 f.; H. Fränkel (as n. 11), 1st edn. (Munich 1951), 223 n. 1 = 2nd edn., 183 n. 10. The interpretation was not new: it was known to Höfer (Roscher, iii. 2776), who ascribes it to Diels, *Hermes* 31 (1896), 345—where, however, it is not to be found.

[26] It must, I think, be qualified by a genitive or equivalent: I can attach no meaning to *ἀπέδιλος ἀλκά* as an independent proposition.

[27] e.g. Medea in Ap. Rhod. 4. 43, Aphrodite in Bion, *Adonis* 21, various distracted females in Nonnus; the sensual touch appealed to late poets.

[28] Hes. *Op.* 344 f. *εἰ γάρ τοι καὶ χρῆμ' ἐγχώριον ἄλλο γένηται, | γείτονες ἄζωστοι ἔκιον, ζώσαντο δὲ πηοί*; Pind. fr. 169a. 36 *ποι*]*κίλων*[*ν ἐ*]*κ λεχέω*[*ν ἀπέ*]*διλ*[*ος*; [Aesch.] *PV* loc. cit.; Theoc. 24. 36. In the *PV* passage *πτερωτῶι* emphasizes the miraculous swiftness of the Oceanids' cars rather than the altitude they attain.

person was instant and consequently effective. This was apparently a general proposition, since it comes in the middle of a moralizing section. The person whose assistance is instant is therefore presumably a god, or the gods.

The myth of the Hippocoontids which precedes is the story of a group of violent valiants—*τὸν βιατάν, τὸν κορυστάν*, and so on. Alcman points out that they are dead, and declares that he does not care about them: *οὐκ ἐγὼν Λύκαιθον ἐν καμοῦσιν ἀλέγω*, and perhaps again in 12 *]παρήσομες*. We are reminded of the stern bronze generation in the *Works and Days* (143–55), who were very strong and devoted to the works of Ares and Hybris, who slew each other and perished without renown, and black death overtook them, formidable as they were. *Vis consili expers mole ruit sua.* Strength without wisdom, *ἄπορος, ἐξαίσιος*, fails; its failure is the triumph of *Πόρος* and *Αἶσα*.[29]

Conversely, strength which is *ἐναίσιμος* is aided by the gods and succeeds. *Vim temperatam di quoque prouehunt in maius.* It was Heracles who killed the l[9] Hippocoontids, and in Alcman Polydeuces seems also to have been involved, heroes whose prowess finally won them immortality. They conquered their foes; but not without the help of Zeus. With this in mind it is possible to understand why the myth of the Hippocoontids should be followed first by the statement that Aisa and Poros are the most senior and honoured among the gods, and then by the statement that the help that comes from a god or gods is immediate and effective.[30]

The moralizing continues, *μή τις ἀνθ]ρώπων ἐς ὠρανὸν ποτήσθω*, etc. Alcman warns men against trying to marry goddesses. This arises naturally out of the preceding reflections

[29] Poros accordingly represents something a little different here from what he represented in the cosmogony. We should not expect him necessarily to mean the same; after all, Aisa has no place in the cosmogony, so we are not going to be able to reconcile the two passages. On the scholium about Poros cf. above, p. 42.

[30] Actually to supplement lines 13–15 is difficult. In 15 *Διὸς δ'* or *θιῶν δ' ἀπ]έδιλος* might do (for a statement about *Διὸς ἀλκή* cf. *Il.* 15. 490 *ῥεῖα δ' ἀρίγνωτος Διὸς ἀνδράσι γίνεται ἀλκή*); *Πόρω δ'* is less attractive, and it would involve giving Aisa another male companion to account for *γεραιτάτοι*. It looks as if *καὶ Πόρος* must go in 14 (Blass). 'Of the gods' is then needed with *παντῶν ... γεραιτάτοι*, but cannot be restored in 13, so far as I see, without some unlikely combination of particles such as *τε γάρ* (Denniston 536) or *μὲν ἄρ'*. Possibly it was understood from the preceding sentence. [For *τε γάρ* cf. *Il.* 23. 277, Alcm. 1. 92; it is frequent in Pindar.]

and need have no particular reference to the Hippocoontid legend. Lines 20–1,

– ⏑⏑ – *Χά]ριτες δὲ Διὸς δ[ό]μον*
– ⏑⏑ – *]σιν ἐρογλεφάροι,*

might be the same point again, 'don't try to marry the Charites, they belong in heaven'; but more probably Fränkel is right in taking the Charites, as goddesses of music and festivity, to stand in antithesis to the hybris and violence that have been condemned.[31] It is through the Charites that men find their way to the throne of Zeus: the lyre is mightier than the sword.[32] This leads to what appears to be another myth, plausibly identified by Diels[33] as an account of the overthrow of the Giants. Then further moralizing: *ἄλαστα δὲ Γέργα πάθον κακὰ μησαμένοι. ἔστι τις θιῶν τίσις*, etc.

In the ode from which I have already had occasion to quote two lines (3. 4) Horace speaks of a victorious hero favoured of the gods, a hero assured of immortality. He is directly compared, in a companion poem very probably composed in the same year, to two Greek heroes: none other than Heracles and Polydeuces.

3. 3. 9
hac arte Pollux et uagus Hercules
enisus arces attigit igneas,
quos inter Augustus recumbens
purpureo bibet ore nectar.

With this man who is privileged to enter heaven, the Muses associate.

3. 4. 37
uos Caesarem altum, militia simul
fessas cohortis abdidit oppidis,
finire quaerentem labores
Pierio recreatis antro.

Their association with him ensures that he does not transgress against *Αἶσα*, or want for *πόρος*.

41
uos lene consilium et datis et dato
gaudetis almae.

]10 The lesson is driven home with a myth: the overthrow of the Giants.

[31] As n. 11, 184. He quotes among other relevant passages *PMGF* 45 *Γάδοι Διὸς δόμοι χορὸς ἁμὸς καὶ τοὶ Γάναξ.*

[32] *PMGF* 41 *ἔρπει γὰρ ἄντα τῶι σιδάρωι τὸ καλῶς κιθαρίσδην.*

[33] *Hermes* 31 (1896), 347.

42 scimus ut impios
Titanas immanemque turbam
fulmine sustulerit caduco
qui terram inertem, qui mare temperat, etc.[34]

One is killed by Pallas' spear, another by Vulcan, another by Apollo's arrows. Then come the morals:

65 uis consili expers mole ruit sua:
uim temperatam di quoque prouehunt
in maius; idem odere uiris
omne nefas animo mouentis.

We have had the story of those who tried to climb to heaven; now we are reminded of those who tried to marry goddesses.

69 testis mearum centimanus Gygas
sententiarum, notus et integrae
temptator Orion Dianae
uirginea domitus sagitta.

. . . . . .

77 incontinentis nec Tityi iecur
reliquit ales nequitiae additus
custos; amatorem trecentae
Pirithoum cohibent catenae.

In this ode scholars have found connections with Pindar, and especially with the First Pythian.[35] I do not know whether to claim that Horace also had Alcman's Partheneion in mind; similar sentiments, similarly associated, must have been expressed in other lyric poems. But the correspondences are striking enough at least to confirm the outlines of the reconstruction of *PMGF* 1. 1–35.

The reflections in 36–9 serve in their turn as a hinge or pivot on which Alcman swings round into a new section: *ἐγὼν δ' ἀείδω Ἀγιδῶς τὸ φῶς*. The connection is not, as is often thought, that Agido is an example of a person who actually is enjoying a life free from suffering. That would be a dangerously presumptuous thing

[34] Like other post-Hellenistic authors, Horace does not distinguish between Titans, Giants, Aloadae, Typhoeus, and Hundred-Handers, and he mentions them all in the passage that follows. But it is fair to sum them up as the Giants, since he is not thinking of a war of Olympians against older gods but of an assault upon Olympus from below (51–2); and they are repulsed by Pallas, Vulcan, Juno, and Apollo, three of whom were unborn at the time of Hesiod's Titanomachy.

[35] See Eduard Fraenkel, *Horace* (Oxford 1957), 273–85.

to say; Agido would tremble to hear it. The link consists simply in the continuation of the daylight metaphor. Happy is the wise man who weaves his daylight to the end without suffering. I sing the light of Agido—one whose 'weaving' is now in progress. It is the need for a connection between two essentially unrelated sections that has led Alcman to coin the unusual expression 'the light of Agido'. Now that he has coined it, it suggests to him the equally unusual idea that Agido is herself luminous: *ὁρῶ 'Ϝ' ὥτ' ἄλιον . . . φαίνῃ*. 'The light of Agido' has two alternative meanings, according to [11] whether it is taken with what precedes or with what follows: a typical archaic Greek inconsequence.

IV

The rest of the poem I have interpreted elsewhere;[36] but one passage near the end needs further clarification.

96 *ἁ δὲ τᾶν Σηρην[ί]δων*
ἀοιδοτέρα μ[ὲν αὐδά·]
θιαὶ γάρ, ἀντ[ὶ δ' ἕνδεκα]
παιδῶν δεκ[ὰς ἅδ' ἀείδ]ει.

I adopted P. Von der Mühll's supplement in 97 without discussion. He did not put up a good case for it himself,[37] so it is perhaps time its merits were explained. *τᾶν Σηρηνίδων* has traditionally been taken as a genitive of comparison, which involves supplying a negative in 97, *ἀοιδοτέρα μὲν οὐχί* or *οὐδέν*.[38] But this leaves us in a hopeless plight with *ἁ δέ*. It could only refer to Hagesichora, and Page has shown that that is impossible. 100 *φθέγγεται* would then have to refer to Hagesichora as well, and then who is *ἁ δέ* in 101? Besides, it makes no sense to say, 'Hagesichora is not more songful than the Sirens, for they are goddesses, and we are only ten instead of eleven.' Suppose we were eleven: how would that make Hagesichora more songful than she is?

[36] *CQ* 15 (1965), 194–202. [Cf. also *CQ* 20 (1970), 205; *Indo-European Poetry and Myth* (Oxford 2007), 226.]

[37] *Mus. Helv.* 15 (1958), 83.

[38] Alcman cannot be saying that anyone concerned in this song is *more* tuneful than the Sirens, especially as he goes on to say 'for they are goddesses'.

Page accordingly takes ἁ δέ in 96 to refer to the choir. The noun he understands is apparently παιδῶν δεκάς from 99. But that is in the next sentence. Alcman could not possibly say ἁ δὲ τᾶν Σιρηνίδων ἀοιδοτέρα μὲν οὐδέν, and expect anyone to understand him to be talking of the choir. The assumption that τᾶν Σιρηνίδων is a genitive of comparison thus leads to insoluble difficulties, and must be abandoned. The alternative is, 'the . . . of the Sirens is indeed more songful (than ours)': αὐδά (or less likely ὀμφά, or even ὅσσα) is scarcely to be avoided.

I assumed further that ἕνδεκα in 98 (restored with certainty from the scholium) was the number of the Sirens, this being the sense that to my reading the text demands; I was not able to suggest why the Sirens should be eleven in number. It is as far as I know a unique number for a group of deities; but then it would be a unique number for a choir, and it is very uncommon for any other kind of assembly.[39] I can now, however, supply an explanation.

In the myth in Plato's *Republic* the cosmos is revealed as a sort of merry-go-round consisting of a set of eight whorls fitting one inside another and revolving about the spindle of Ananke. On the edge of each revolving whorl a Siren sits: each of the eight Sirens sings a different note, and the eight notes make up [12] a complete scale (616b–17c). This complex system may be resolved into the following logically independent components.

1. The planets are attached to solid invisible structures which completely surround the earth, and their revolutions are controlled by Ananke.
2. There are eight basic musical notes.[40]
3. The source of each real musical note is a Siren.

[39] I can only think of the Elevens at Athens and Delos. The scholiast is evidently guessing: ενδ . . ιτα . . | . . . .]δ° εἴρηκε | ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ τὸν | χορὸν ὁτὲ μὲν ἐξ ἁ παρθένων ὁτὲ δὲ ἐκ τ· φη(σὶν) οὖν | τὴν χορηγὸν . . γγ . . . ἀντὶ ἁ ἄιδειν τ· ἐξὴν γὰρ α | ἀριθμὸν εἰπεῖν . . . . . εἴπερ οὐκ ἐβούλετο τὸν ἀριθ[μ(όν) τ(ῶν)] | παρθένων —. This perhaps means: 'Eleven: he does not mean the Sirens (?ἕνδ(εκα) οὐ | τὰς Σ[ειρῆν]α· εἴρηκε), it is because the choir (consists) part of the time of eleven girls, part of the time of ten: he is (subtracting) the choir-leader and saying that ten are singing instead of eleven. For he could have said . . . without a number' (ἀνάριθμον, with false syllabic division due to misreading as ἄν ἀριθμόν? So Reinhold Merkelbach in a seminar), 'if he did not want (to state) the number of the girls.'

[40] Plato is no doubt thinking of a diatonic scale, as in the *Timaeus*. Cf. M. I. Henderson, *CQ* 36 (1942), 95.

The connection between (1) and (2) is based on the coincidence that the octave contains eight notes, and that heaven appears to have eight moving parts (sun, moon, five planets, and the firmament of fixed stars): it is the kind of combination beloved of Pythagoreans who had discovered that music has a mathematical basis and were anxious to interpret the whole world on the same terms.[41] It is only because of this combination that there is any relationship between (1) and (3): the Sirens appear as part of the astronomical scheme only because the musical scale has been enshrined in the heavens. We may bring it down to earth, forget about the planets, and still have the Sirens as the source of the different notes that we recognize as the basis of our music. There is evidence that this idea was indeed current in earlier Pythagoreanism. Among the σύμβολα preserved by Iamblichus, which constitute our oldest evidence for Pythagorean teaching, is the question τί ἐστι τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς μαντεῖον; with the answer τετρακτύς· ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἡ ἁρμονία, ἐν ἧι αἱ Σειρῆνες.[42] The tetraktys, 1+2+3+4, is ἁρμονία, because it combines the basic musical intervals as expressed mathematically: octave (1:2), fifth (2:3), and fourth (3:4). The Sirens are in it; that means that the music of these intervals, which is audibly more perfect than that of other intervals, comes directly from a divine source, the Sirens. It is their voice that is released when the fundamental notes are sounded, whether by the revolution of the heavenly spheres or by the plucking of a lyre-string.[43]

We are here in a world of animistic speculation which, however aesthetically appealing, is essentially primitive. According to another Pythagorean σύμβολον the sound made by a gong is the voice of a δαίμων inside it.[44] Since bronze comes out of the earth, its voice is necessarily that of a chthonic spirit:[45] as we know, gongs were sounded when chthonic deities were invoked,[46] and while the avowed purpose of this was to avert evil, the apotropaic power of the operation must originally have lain in the fact that it raised a servant chthonic spirit capable of overcoming enemy forces. The idea

[41] The idea of the music of the spheres is certainly older than Plato in some form or other; see Guthrie (as n. 20), 295–301; Burkert (as n. 20), 350–7.

[42] Iambl. *VP* 82. On the antiquity of the σύμβολα see Burkert (as n. 20), 166 ff., 188; on this one, ibid. 400.

[43] Other notes would presumably be thought of as perversions of the divine ones.

[44] Arist. fr. 196 (*ap.* Porph. *VP* 41), al.

[45] Eur. *Hel.* 1346 χαλκοῦ αὐδὰν χθονίαν.

[46] Apollod. 244 F 110; Theoc. 2. 36 with Gow's note.

that other kinds of musical sound are also voices must be equally ancient.[47] It is all the more natural if we reflect what musical instruments were often made of: hollowed-out bone; stretched hides; tortoises.[48] The mysterious sonorities that these dead things produce seem to l[13] come direct from the other world. We cannot be surprised if they are attributed to the Sirens, whose association with the other world is well known.[49]

It is clear that these conceptions which we find nurtured by the western Greeks in the fifth century are in substance immeasurably older. That they were not foreign to Sparta may perhaps be inferred from the custom of clashing a λέβης when a king died.[50] Whether this is relevant or not, there can at any rate be no historical implausibility in an interpretation of Alcman's Sirens that makes them the source of the musical sounds he exploited. His own words tell us that they are goddesses, intimately connected with his own music-making.[51] In one poem, after invoking the Muse, he received

[47] It is perhaps reflected in poetic metaphors like *Od.* 21. 410 f. δεξιτερῇ δ' ἄρα χειρὶ λαβὼν πειρήσατο νευρῆς· l ἣ δ' ὑπὸ καλὸν ἄεισε χελιδόνι εἰκέλη αὐδήν; Thgn. 532 αὐλῶν φθεγγομένων ἱμερόεσσαν ὄπα; Pind. *N.* 5. 24 φόρμιγγα ἑπτάγλωσσον; fr. 70 τὸν ἀοιδότατον . . . κάλαμον; [Eur.] *Rh.* 989 σάλπιγγος αὐδήν, etc.

[48] Note *Hymn. Herm.* 38 (Hermes to the tortoise) ἦν δὲ θάνῃς, τότε κεν μάλα καλὸν ἀείδοις, 443 νεήφατον ὅσσαν 'voice of one newly slain', 478 λιγύφωμον ἑταίρην; Thgn. 1229 f. ἤδη γάρ με κέκληκε θαλάσσιος οἴκαδε νεκρός, l τεθνηκὼς ζωῶι φθεγγόμενος στόματι; Soph. *Ichn.* 299 f. καὶ πῶς πίθωμαι τοῦ θανόντος φθέγγμα τοιοῦτον βρέμειν; l —πιθοῦ· θανὼν γὰρ ἔσχε φωνήν, ζῶν δ' ἄναυδος ἦν ὁ θήρ, etc.

[49] J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, 3rd edn. (Cambridge 1922), 197 ff.; Ernst Buschor, *Die Musen des Jenseits* (Munich 1944). Hades, like the Sirens, came to be transferred to heaven.—Primitive peoples often regard musical instruments as having something supernatural about them. They use them for summoning spirits, which perhaps implies that the musical sounds are what the spirits recognize as speech. In Polynesia the god Tane is hailed by means of the drum, and at the same time the sound of the drum is the voice of Tane. Among the bushmen of Surinam the drum is so far regarded as animate that it is offered occasional drinks; but it has connections with the world of the dead, and is thought to conduct men there. (I take this information from J. A. MacCulloch in Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (Edinburgh, 1908–26), ix. 6; cf. also E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley–Los Angeles 1951), 175 n. 119.) In the Old Testament we find references to musical instruments used as instruments of prophecy: 1 Sam. 10: 5, 1 Chron. 25: 1–3, 2 Kgs 3: 15.

[50] Hdt. 6. 58, etc. The Spartan kings were heroized at death (Xen. *Resp. Lac.* 15. 9), so the sounding of bronze may have been connected with the preservation of their souls from the clutches of Hades.

[51] Cf. *CQ* 15 (1965), 200.

some sign that she was responding and present, and cried out (*PMGF* 30)

ἆ Μῶσα κέκλαγ', ἆ λίγηα Σηρήν.

His skill induces the Siren, here apparently identified with the Muse, to give voice.[52]

If in another poem he says there are eleven Sirens, he will mean that there are basically eleven different musical sonorities. And in fact the number eleven, which has no other known mythological, magical, or practical significance, is significant precisely in Greek music.[53] Greek music, both in theory and in practice, was based on tetrachords, in which the top and bottom notes were separated by the fixed interval of a fourth, while the position of the two inner notes varied. The total range exploited by a musician depended on the number of tetrachords he took in. If he used two, they might be either conjunct (i.e. the top note of one would be the bottom of the other) or disjunct (the top of one a whole tone below the bottom of the other), employing seven or eight l[14] notes respectively;[54] he might rationally speak of seven or eight Sirens.[55] If he used three tetrachords, which would still cover a comfortable vocal range, he would naturally make two of them conjunct and one disjunct: the great advantage of this is that it gives him the notes an octave below his top note and an octave above his lowest note, irrespective of whether it is the top or bottom tetrachord that is disjunct. Such an arrangement of three tetrachords yields eleven notes: for example, if the lowest note is D, and the variable notes within the tetrachords are represented by x x, it will give, from bottom to top, D x x G A x x D x x G, or D x x G x x C D x x G.

[52] Cf. 2 Chron. 5: 12–13, 'and all the Levitical singers, Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun, their sons and kinsmen, arrayed in white linen, with cymbals, harps, and lyres, stood east of the altar with a hundred and twenty priests who were trumpeters; and it was the duty of the trumpeters and singers to make themselves heard in unison in praise and thanksgiving to the Lord; and when the song was raised, with trumpets and cymbals and other musical instruments, in praise to the Lord, "For he is good, for his steadfast love endures for ever", the house, the house of the Lord, was filled with a cloud.'

[53] In what follows I am greatly indebted to the late Mrs M. I. Henderson for helping me to understand a little of a complicated and difficult subject.

[54] Hence seven- and eight-stringed lyres, both represented on Attic Black-figure, though vases are unreliable evidence for numbers of strings.

[55] Eight Sirens: Plato. Eight Muses: Crates *ap.* Arnob. 3. 37; Serv. *Aen.* 1. 8; Auson. *Opusc.* p. 247. 64 Peiper. Seven Muses: Epich. Fr. 39 K.–A.; Myrsilus 477 F 7. Three named Νήτη Μέση Ὑπάτη: Plut. *Qu. conv.* 744d.

There were eleven-stringed lyres by the time of Ion of Chios (fr. eleg. 32; see below, Chapter 14). But it is not necessary to attribute such an instrument to Alcman.[56] It is thought (not unanimously) that early citharists made use of stopping to produce more notes than the number of their strings. But we must also remember that Alcman's lyre only provided the accompaniment; the more important element in his music was the singing of the choir. According to Aristides it was the voice of the choir that Alcman greeted with a *ἁ Μῶσα κέκλαγε*.[57] It is the choir that represents itself in our Partheneion as singing not quite as well as the Sirens. They strive after the eleven divine tones,[58] but they are only children, and there are not even as many of them as there are Sirens.

V

Whether Alcman had spoken of eleven Sirens in another place, or the basic idea was familiar enough for his words to be understood as they were, or they were not understood at all, may be left open. Whichever was the case, it is clear that he anticipated the Pythagoreans in two respects: he thought about music in a theoretical way, finding in it a number that was not merely conventional but represented an underlying reality; and he had the idea (no matter how seriously he believed it) that the perfect music at which he aimed sounded perfect because it released the voices of the Sirens, one of whom was responsible for each separate note. Add to these the correspondence that we found earlier between Alcman's cosmogony and that of the Pythagoreans, and it becomes obvious that we have something to explain.

The first possibility is that the Pythagoreans' interest in music might have led them to a close study of Alcman, so that he exercised a direct influence on them. Without ruling this out, I would think it

[56] One would like to know how many strings he had on his *μάγαδις* (*PMGF* 101). [Perhaps not an instrument, see *AGM* 72 f.]

[57] 28. 51, ii. 158 Keil *αὐτῆς τῆς Μούσης δεηθεὶς κατ' ἀρχὰς ὁ ποιητής, ἵν' ἐνεργὸς ὑπ' αὐτῆς γένοιτο, εἶτα ὥσπερ ἐξεστηκώς φησιν ὅτι τοῦτο ἐκεῖνο, <ὁ> χορὸς αὐτὸς ἀντὶ τῆς Μούσης γεγένηται.*

[58] [New note] Cf. Pind. fr. 94b. 13–16 (Partheneion) *σειρῆνα δὲ κόμπον αὐλίσκων ὕπο λωτίνων μιμήσομ' ἀοιδαῖς κεῖνον, ὃς Ζεφύρου τε σιγάζει πνοάς κτλ.*

more likely that he and they alike drew on ideas that enjoyed a more general currency in certain parts of the Greek world. Alcman provides evidence that they were current in Sparta at the end of the seventh century. There is hardly a trace of them in Ionian thought in the sixth century. Was it in Samos that Pythagoras contracted them, or only in Magna Graecia? The idea of an original *ἄπειρον*, and the recognition of certain numerical formulae in the structure of the world, are both Anaximandrean (the latter also Heraclitean), and might have begun to ferment in I[15] his mind before he left for the west. But he left no Pythagorean school in Samos, nor do we hear that a flock of disciples emigrated with him. It was only in Magna Graecia that Pythagoreanism flourished, and perhaps only there that he encountered the ideas that enabled him to develop it. Some 25 miles from Metapontum, where he finally settled, was the Spartan colony of Tarentum, which had maintained a lively contact with its mother city throughout the sixth century.

If some Pythagorean ideas can be traced to Sparta, others can be traced to Babylon.[59] Those too might have gone through Sparta. We found connections between Alcman's cosmogony and *Enūma eliš*, and mentioned the archaeological evidence for eastern contacts in the century before Alcman. We may further recall the relationship apparent between the theomachy of *Enūma eliš*, the theomachy of Pherecydes of Syros, and the ritual battle of the epheboi at Sparta.[60] Pherecydes is associated with Sparta by what appears to be an early legend;[61] he is also said to have been the teacher of Pythagoras, and he certainly shows features in common with early Pythagoreanism. He regarded bloodshed as sinful;[62] he very probably had a theory of metempsychosis;[63] and I may add that Pythagorean *σύμβολα* such as 'the sea is the tear of Kronos', 'the poles are the hands of Rhea', 'the planets are the hounds of Persephone', 'thunder is meant as a threat to those in Tartaros', remind one of nothing so much as the cosmic mythology of Pherecydes. Since it is unlikely, from what is reported of his life, that Pythagoras really associated with Pherecydes, it seems

[59] See Burkert's index s.vv. 'Babylonian astronomy' and 'Babylonian mathematics'.

[60] *CQ* 13 (1963), 161–3; *EGPO* 40–50, 68–70.

[61] E. N. Tigerstedt, *Eranos* 51 (1953), 8–13.

[62] *CQ* 13 (1963), 169; *EGPO* 25.

[63] *CQ* 13 (1963), 171; *EGPO* 25.

possible that what they have in common may at least in part result from a common connection with Sparta.[61]

Our knowledge of Greek cosmological thought between 700 and 500 relates predominantly to Ionia; and there is a danger of mistaking Ionia for Greece. The evidence I have collected above suggests that Sparta during that period, known to us only through the fragments of Alcman, may have been a boiling-pot for speculations of a very different kind, in which mythical and religious conceptions, partly derived from the Near East, partly no doubt indigenous, played a much larger part than in Ionia. For long enough we have thought of early Greek philosophy as a tennis match between Ionians and Italians, with all the Greeks in the middle gaping dumbly up as the ball flew to and fro above their heads. Now a chance papyrus discovery reveals that the mainland was not so backward as we supposed: there is Alcman, before Thales, before Pythagoras, lightly limning a philosophical cosmogony for girls to sing at a public entertainment, and priding himself not at all as a thinker but as a poet and musician. It ought to teach us a lesson.

[61] According to another Pythagorean *σύμβολον* the Pleiades were 'the lyre of the Muses'. If a Spartan girls' choir called itself the Pleiades (*PMGF* I. 60?), it is conceivable that this was connected with some such fancy.

4

Ab Ovo

Orpheus, Sanchuniathon, and the Origins of the Ionian World Model

It is well known that sometime before 700 BCE the Greeks took over from the Near East a complex theogonic myth about the succession of rulers in heaven, involving the motifs of the castration of Sky and a swallowing and regurgitation by his successor, and that this story forms the framework of Hesiod's *Theogony*. It is less well known that at a later epoch, sometime before the middle of the sixth century BCE, a quite different and no less striking oriental myth about the beginning of things was introduced to Greece: the myth of the god Unaging Time, who created the materials for the world from his own seed, and of the cosmic egg out of which the heaven and the earth were formed. I have discussed this myth and its variants elsewhere.[1] My purpose in re-examining it here is firstly to clarify various details of the Phoenician versions of the cosmogony as reported in Greek sources, secondly to obtain a sharper picture of its original form, and thirdly to argue that the world model of the early Ionian philosophers, which to some extent set the pattern for subsequent Greek cosmology, owed more to the myth than has generally been appreciated.

I will begin by briefly enumerating its manifestations in Greek mythical and poetic cosmogony. It makes a partial appearance in Pherecydes of Syros, who has Chronos as one of his three pre-existing deities, and moreover a Chronos who creates cosmic

CQ 44 (1994), 289–307.

[1] *EGPO* 28–36; *The Orphic Poems* [hereafter *OP*] (Oxford 1983), 103–5, 198–201.

elements out of his seed.[2] But its classic statement was in the earliest of the theogonies attributed to Orpheus, composed in the late sixth or early fifth century.[3] According to this account the world began with a sort of watery abyss, possibly represented by the names Oceanus and Tethys, and with a coupling of Unaging Time (*Χρόνος ἀγήραος*) and Ananke, represented as winged, half-serpent figures. Chronos generated Aither and a huge, bottomless Chasm (Chaos), overlaid with gloomy darkness and Night (Orph. fr. 111 Bernabé):

> *Λἰθέρα μὲν Χρόνος οὗτος (αὐτὸς?) ἀγήραος ἀφθιτόμητις*
> *γείνατο καὶ μέγα Χάσμα πελώριον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα . . .*
> *οὐδέ τι πεῖραρ ὑπῆν, οὐ πυθμήν, οὐδέ τις ἕδρα.*

He also fashioned a shining egg, the progeny of Aither and Chaos (fr. 114):

> *ἔπειτα δ' ἔτευξε μέγας Χρόνος Λἰθέρι δίωι*
> *ὠεον ἀργύφεον.*

In it, enclosed in a bright cloak (of cloud?), the radiant hermaphrodite Phanes, *alias* Protogonos and Eros, developed. The serpent Time squeezed the egg I[290] until it broke. Thereupon the Aither and the misty Chasm were split, and the world was filled with Phanes' brilliance (fr. 122):

> *Χάσμα δ' ὑπηέριον καὶ νήνεμος ἐρράγη Λἰθήρ*
> *ὀρνυμένοιο Φάνητος.*

Phanes copulated with himself and gave birth to various gods.

Echoes of this 'Orphic' cosmogony are to be found in the theogony ascribed to Epimenides, in which two 'Titans' (i.e. half-serpent figures?) produced an egg, and more gods came from it,[4] and especially in the parodic cosmogony of Aristophanes' *Birds* (693–702).[5] But it was never taken up in general poetic tradition. In Hellenistic times and later it remains confined to the Orphic and Mithraic spheres.[6]

This Time–Egg cosmogony appears suddenly in sixth-century Greece and connects with nothing that has gone before. Its foreign provenance is proved conclusively by the parallel Phoenician,

[2] DK 7 A 8, B 1; *EGPO* 11–13; H. S. Schibli, *Pherekydes of Syros* (Oxford 1990), 27–38.

[3] For the contents and dating of this poem, and details of the evidence on which the above summary is based, see *OP*, chapter 3 and pp. 182–226.

[4] DK 3 B 5; *OP* 47 f., 112, 201 f. [5] Cf. *OP* 111 f. [6] See *OP* 252–5.

Iranian, and Indian myths, all of which seem to have gone into circulation at roughly the same period, around the middle of the first millennium BCE. It developed in the first place from Egyptian antecedents, perhaps on Phoenician soil. At any rate Phoenicia is likely to be closest to the source from which the story came to Greece, and it is on the Phoenician versions that I shall now focus.

EUDEMUS' 'SIDONIAN' VERSION

The first of them we owe to the Peripatetic Eudemus of Rhodes, who included it in a survey of the theogonic doctrines of earlier thinkers, both Greek and barbarian. Eudemus' discussion is paraphrased, and amplified with Neoplatonic interpretations of the theogonies, by Damascius.[7] Shorn of the interpretations, which are of no use to us, the paraphrase runs:

> *Σιδώνιοι δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν συγγραφέα* (*sc.* Eudemus) *πρὸ πάντων Χρόνον ὑποτίθενται καὶ Πόθον καὶ Ὁμίχλην· Πόθου δὲ καὶ Ὁμίχλης μιγέντων . . . Ἀέρα γενέσθαι καὶ Αὔραν . . . πάλιν δὲ ἐκ τούτων ἀμφοῖν ὠιὸν γεννηθῆναι.*
>
> The Sidonians, according to the same writer (*sc.* Eudemus), posit Time as existing before everything else, and Desire, and Nebula. And from the union of Desire and Nebula . . . came Aer and Aura . . . and again from these two an egg was produced.

This is obviously very much abbreviated, but so far as it goes it is clear. In the initial state of the world there exist three entities: Time, Desire, and Nebula. From the interaction of the two latter, expressed apparently in terms of sexual union, come Aer and Aura. These two in turn produce an egg.[8] This cannot have been the end of the story; from the egg, we may assume, other cosmic entities came, or it developed into our heaven and earth.

[7] Eudemus fr. 150 Wehrli; Damascius, *Περὶ τῶν πρώτων ἀρχῶν* iii. 162 ff. W.–C. (L. G. Westerink and J. Combès, *Damascius. Traité des premiers principes*, Paris 1986–91).

[8] *ὠιόν* is Gruppe's certain correction of the *vox nihili ὦτον*. For a full justification of the emendation see the note of Westerink–Combès, op. cit. 238.

The thought behind this cosmogonic myth is that the world begins from a material principle of murky and indistinct nature (Nebula), which is acted upon by a dynamic principle identified as Desire or Longing. The presence of Time is also important. No particular action is attributed to him, at any rate in the summary account, but the idea I[291] must be that the developments described took place in the course of time, over a long period. As a result of the activity of Desire, Nebula gives way to Aer and Aura, which we may perhaps understand as Still Air and Wind—again a passive or negative and an active or positive principle. Here it is the feminine noun that corresponds to the dynamic element; but this was not necessarily the case in the Phoenician original. The interaction of Air and Wind leads—again in the course of time—to the formation of the cosmic egg.

From what sort of source did Eudemus receive this cosmogony? There is no reason to think that any Greek before him had recorded it, or that he himself could read Phoenician. Most likely he had it from an oral source. In Rhodes he may have had many opportunities to speak with Phoenicians from passing ships. He attributed the cosmogony to 'Sidonians'. This may indicate a specifically Sidonian source; but in Hebrew 'Sidonian' is the ordinary term for 'Phoenician', and we should perhaps allow for the possibility that a similar usage was current among some east Mediterranean Greeks.

And what was Eudemus' informant's source? Surely not his own fancy, but some current doctrine, perhaps enshrined in a literary work, whether in prose or verse. In the case of the Babylonian theogony which Damascius reports two paragraphs earlier, likewise from Eudemus, we can identify the underlying source as a version of the classic poem *Enūma eliš*. We shall see that Eudemus' Phoenician cosmogony, while not identical with the others that are attested, shares significant features with them. They will help us to get a clearer idea of the Phoenician original from which he indirectly drew.

MOCH'S VERSION

Damascius knows of another Phoenician cosmogony, and he appends it to that recorded by Eudemus:

ὡς δὲ ἔξωθεν Εὐδήμου τὴν Φοινίκων εὑρίσκομεν κατὰ Μωχον μυθολογίαν, Λίθὴρ ἦν τὸ πρῶτον καὶ Λήρ, αἱ δύο αὗται ἀρχαί, ἐξ ὧν γεννᾶται Οὐλωμος . . . ἐξ οὗ ἑαυτῶι συνελθόντος γεννηθῆναί φασιν Χουσωρον ἀνοιγέα πρῶτον, εἶτα ὠιόν . . . λέγεται γὰρ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ῥαγέντος εἰς δύο γενέσθαι οὐρανὸς καὶ γῆ τῶν διχοτομημάτων ἑκάτερον.

But as we find outside Eudemus in the Phoenician mythology according to Mochos, there was Aither first of all and Aer, these two first principles, from whom Oulomos was generated . . . From him, after he had intercourse with himself, they say Chousoros the Opener was generated first, then an egg . . . For it is said that when it broke in two, heaven and earth appeared from the halves.

But in assigning to each of these entities its metaphysical status, Damascius expresses hesitation. Perhaps, he says, the functions he has assigned to Oulomos and Chousoros, namely *τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ νοητοῦ* and *ἡ νοητὴ δύναμις*, should be assigned to certain winds:

εἰ μὴ ἄρα μετὰ τὰς δύο ἀρχὰς τὸ μὲν ἄκρον ἐστὶν Ἄνεμος ὁ εἷς, τὸ δὲ μέσον οἱ δύο ἄνεμοι Λίψ τε καὶ Νότος· ποιοῦσι γάρ πως καὶ τούτους πρὸ τοῦ Οὐλωμου.

Unless it is that after the two first principles the *akron* is Wind as a single entity and the *meson* consists of the two winds Lips and Notos; for they seem to put these too before Oulomos.

The Phoenician writer Moch(os) of Sidon is mentioned by several other Greek authors.[9] According to their own preoccupations, they categorize him variously as an I[292] antiquarian historian (Josephus, F 3), a philosopher (Diogenes Laertius, F 2), or a 'physicist prophet' (*φυσιολόγος προφήτης*, Iamblichus, F 5). He was reputed to have lived before the Trojan War (Strabo, F 6, from Posidonius). Iamblichus (loc. cit.) has Pythagoras sailing to Sidon and there meeting Mochos' descendants 'and the other Phoenician hierophants'. Tatian (T 1) names Theodotus, Hypsicrates, and Mochos as three Phoenician writers whose works were translated into Greek by 'Laitos, the man who made a detailed study of the lives of the philosophers' (*Λαῖτος ὁ καὶ τοὺς βίους τῶν φιλοσόφων ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς πραγματευσάμενος*). Of Laitos too there are other mentions. Plutarch attests his interest in physics (784 F 7–8). But he

[9] The testimonia are collected by Jacoby as *FGrHist* 784.

also wrote *Φοινικικά* (F 1b), a romantic history in which Menelaus' visit to Phoenicia was bound up with Solomon's wedding to the daughter of Hiram, king of Tyre. Laitos may have been of Phoenician stock himself. It has been assumed too readily that his name is the Roman Laetus.[10] It just might be a Greek name, *Λάϊτος*, corresponding to Homer's Boeotian hero *Λήϊτος*, but no historical bearer of this name seems to be attested. I suspect that it represents Aramaic **lā'iṭ* = Balbus, *Ψελλός*, 'stammerer'. As for Mochos' name, it is presumably Phoenician, though its meaning is not clear.[11]

The cosmogony reported from Moch contains two genuine Phoenician names that Laitos left untranslated and the copyist of the primary manuscript of Damascius left unaccented: *Οὐλωμος* and *Χουσωρος*. *Οὐλωμος* is **'ūlōm*, the expected Phoenician form corresponding to Hebrew *'ōlām* 'remote time'. Here again is a personified Time; this must be the name that Eudemus' informant rendered as *Χρόνος*. As for *Χουσωρος*, he also appears in Sanchuniathon–Philo, in the form *Χουσωρ*, and there he is identified with Hephaestus (*FGrHist* 790 F 2, p. 808. 22). He is in fact the old god Kōṯaru, who appears in the Ugaritic epics as the divine craftsman *kṯr wḫss* 'Kothar-and-Hasis'; proto-Semitic and Ugaritic *ṯ* became *ś* in Phoenician, and the vowels suffered the same shift as in *'ōlām* > *'ūlōm*. Semitic *k* and *ś* normally appear as *χ* and *σ* in Greek transcriptions. Chousoros' title *ἀνοιγεύς* does not mean merely that he is to open the egg: it must represent Phoenician *pṭḥ*, and signifies an equation with the Egyptian Ptah.[12] The form *ἀνοιγεύς* (for *ἀνοίκτης*) is not found elsewhere, and seems designed for the function of a divine title. It might be better written with a capital, *Ἀνοιγέα*.

[10] Westerink–Combes 238, 'un certain *Λαῖτος* (Laetus), donc de l'époque romain'. But we know he was earlier than Posidonius. [Plutarch's Laitos appears to have been a different man: G. W. Bowersock, *GRBS* 23 (1982), 275–9.]

[11] According to W. Gesenius, *Scripturae Linguaeque Phoeniciae Monumenta quotquot supersunt* (Lipsiae 1837), 431, it is a form of *malk* 'king' resulting from a sound-change */al/* > */öl/*. More recent scholars, however, seem to limit this change to late Punic; see S. Segert, *A Grammar of Phoenician and Punic* (Munich 1976), 67 f. W. F. Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan* (London 1968), 194 n. 39, relates the name to that of Māki of Gad (Num. 13: 15) and the name Mky on a Punic inscription.

[12] W. F. Albright (as n. 11), 193–6; J. Ebach, *Weltentstehung und Kulturentwicklung bei Philo von Byblos* (Beitr. z. Wissenschaft vom Alten and Neuen Testament, 6. Folge, Heft 8, Stuttgart 1979), 66, 434 n. 9; cf. S. Morenz in S. Morenz (ed.), *Aus Antike und Orient. Festschrift Wilhelm Schubart zum 75. Geburtstag* (Leipzig 1950), 81 f. Ptah appears in connection with a cosmic egg in an inscription from the temple of Chon at Thebes of Graeco-Roman date (Morenz, loc. cit.) and in an Egyptian cosmogony related by Porphyry (*De cultu simulacrorum* fr. 10 Bidez) *ap.* Eus. *PE* 3. 11. 46: *τὸν δὲ θεὸν τοῦτον (Κνήφ) ἐκ τοῦ στόματος προέσθαι ὠόν φασιν, ἐξ οὗ γεννᾶσθαι θεὸν ὃν αὐτοὶ προσαγορεύουσι Φθᾶ, οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες Ἥφαιστον ἑρμηνεύειν δὲ τὸ ὠὸν τὸν κόσμον.*

Moch's cosmogony may be interpreted as follows. It begins with two principles that are named even before Time and said to generate Time: Aither and Aer. In choosing these two terms, Laitos probably intended to express a distinction between (active, fiery) upper air and (passive, damp) lower air. I cannot suggest what Semitic words [293] they may represent.[13] We may see an analogy with God's separation of Light (*'ôr*) and Darkness (*ḥōšek*) in Genesis 1: 4, though if Moch had used the corresponding Phoenician words, we should have expected Laitos to render them by *φῶς* and *σκότος*. As in Genesis the separation of Light and Darkness, named by God as Day and Night, initiates the counting of days, so Moch represents Time as being born from Aither and Aer.[14] It is not clear to us (as it was not clear to Damascius) how the winds fit in. They too apparently exist before Time. Perhaps they were responsible for effecting the separation between Aither and Aer.

The following developments have no counterpart in the biblical narrative. Time has intercourse with himself and gives birth to the divine craftsman Khushor-Ptah and the cosmic egg which will be divided to form heaven and earth. The motif of the self-fructifying Time is paralleled in Pherecydes, the Orphic theogony, and the *Atharvaveda*; the detail of how it was done (*ἑαυτῶι συνελθόντος*) corresponds exactly to the Zoroastrian cosmogony as it is described in the Armenian sources.[15]

[13] *ἀήρ* occurs in the Septuagint only in the phrase *ἐν νεφέλαις ἀέρος* or *ἀέρων* at 2 Sam. 22: 12 = Ps. 17(18): 12, where it renders Hebrew *śᶜḥaqim*, a word normally translated by *νέφη*, *νεφέλαι*, or *οὐρανός*. *αἰθήρ* is not found in the Septuagint at all, though Symmachus often uses it to translate *šaḥaq*. Nor does the concept of 'air' seem to be found in the Hebrew Bible. What is translated in English versions as 'birds of the air' is actually 'birds of heaven', and similarly with 'the way of an eagle in the air' at Prov. 30: 19 ('in heaven'). At Job 41: 16, 'One is so near to another that no air can come between them', the Hebrew actually has 'wind' (*rûᶜḥ*, LXX *πνεῦμα*). Pausanias 7. 23. 7 f. records an encounter with a philosophic Sidonian who identified Asclepius (Eshmun) with *ἀήρ*.

[14] Cf. Democritus DK 68 A 72/Epicur. fr. 294 Us. *χρόνος ἐστὶν ἡμεροειδὲς καὶ νυκτοειδὲς φάντασμα.*

[15] See *EGPO* 30. We do not know whether the Orphic theogony was so explicit about Chronos, but it did describe Phanes as copulating with himself.

Khushor-Ptah doubtless has a demiurgic function. As 'Opener' he will open the egg and fashion its two halves into heaven and earth. That will not have been the end of his labours. Once again we think of Genesis.

THOTH'S VERSION

The third Phoenician cosmogony is the one recorded in Greek by Philo of Byblos (*FGrHist* 790). Philo's *Phoenician History*, a work in eight or nine books, was translated, or rather adapted, from a native work by one Sanchuniathon of Beirut. It was claimed that Sanchuniathon lived before the Trojan War, and that he gathered his information from various sources, 'studiously collecting and writing up all the ancient tradition from the histories current in the various cities and from the temple inscriptions' (*φιλαληθῶς πᾶσαν τὴν παλαιὰν ἱστορίαν ἐκ τῶν κατὰ πόλιν ὑπομνημάτων καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἀναγραφῶν συναγαγὼν καὶ συγγράψας*).[16] There is a reference to his finding in temples books written in a difficult script:

ὃ δὲ συμβαλὼν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀδύτων εὑρεθεῖσιν ἀποκρύφοις, Ἀμμουνέων γράμμασι συγκειμένοις, ἃ δὴ οὐκ ἦν πᾶσι γνώριμα, τὴν μάθησιν ἀπάντων αὐτὸς ἤσκησε.

And lighting upon the out-of-the-way works found in the adyta, written in Ammounean characters, which were not familiar to everyone, he worked everything out for himself.[17]

Being curious to discover how the world began, he sought out the works of Taautos, whom the Egyptians call Thouth (*Θωύθ*), the Alexandrians Thoth (*Θώθ*), and the [291] Greeks Hermes, because he knew that Taautos, as the first on earth who devised the art of writing, was the best authority on the earliest events.[18]

These statements come from Philo's preface, in which he strove to impress his Greek readers with the exceptional value and interest of Sanchuniathon's work, the high antiquity of the author, and the rare quality of his sources. References to ancient records discovered in temples and the like are a commonplace of impostors' literature.[19] One can see why some older scholars entertained the deepest suspicions of Philo's good faith and took his Sanchuniathon for a fiction. It is now generally accepted that there was a genuine Phoenician work behind Philo's, though a much less ancient one than he claimed.[20] His statements about Sanchuniathon's sources are likely to be based on statements in the original. But in the original they may not have had the same air of 'hype' as they have in Philo's preface. For a Phoenician antiquary of the Hellenistic period—a plausible setting for Sanchuniathon—it would have been natural to seek information from town records and from temple libraries. There is nothing extravagant about the claim that he did this.

What about the exotic *Ἀμμουνέων γράμματα*? Scholars have come to no definite conclusion on the meaning of *Ἀμμουνέων*,[21] but the most natural supposition is surely that it is the genitive of a masculine plural ethnic *Ἀμμουνεῖς*, and that these are the Ammonites, Hebrew *'ammōnîm*, with the regular Phoenician change of /ō/ to /ū/ that we have seen before.[22] If so, Sanchuniathon was not claiming to have deciphered some thrillingly esoteric script such as Egyptian hieroglyphs, only an archaic or regional form of Canaanite alphabet, such as he might well have encountered in the course of his researches and, with a little application, successfully read. It is not said that no one could read the script, only that not everyone could.

[16] Porphyry *ap.* Eus. *PE* 1. 9. 21 (*FGrHist* 790 F 1 p. 804. 7), presumably paraphrasing Philo.

[17] Philo F 1 p. 805. 8 ff.

[18] Philo F 1 p. 804. 22 ff. Philo's *Τααυτος* probably represents Phoenician *Ṯḥwt* or *Ṯḥwt*, corresponding to the Egyptian *Ḏḥwtj*.

[19] See W. Speyer, *Bücherfunde in der Glaubenswerbung der Antike* (Hypomnemata 24, Göttingen 1970); id., *Die literarische Fälschung im heidnischen und christlichen Altertum* (Munich 1971), 67–71.

[20] See, for example, J. Barr, *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 57 (1974), 17–68; L. Troiani, *L'opera storiografica di Filone da Byblos* (Pisa 1974); J. Ebach (as in n. 12); A. I. Baumgarten, *The* Phoenician History *of Philo of Byblos. A Commentary* (Leiden 1981), 1–6. Sanchuniathon is a genuine Phoenician name (*Šakkūnyāṯōn*, 'Shakkun has given'), but of a type not likely to be earlier than 700 BCE; cf. P. Nautin, *Revue biblique* 56 (1949), 272; Barr 36; Baumgarten 42–3. The Greek form *Σαγχουνιάθων* shows in the first syllable a sub-phonemic nasalization, for which cf. Z. S. Harris, *A Grammar of the Phoenician Language* (New Haven 1936), 30.

[21] Opinions are reviewed by Nautin (as in n. 20), 262–5. He himself emends to *Ἀμμωνείων* and transposes the word to join *ἀδύτων*: 'les sanctuaires d'Ammon'. He is followed by Baumgarten (as in n. 20), 79.

[22] There is no reason why we should expect Philo to have known or adopted the Septuagint form, *Ἀμμανῖται*.

The Ammonite script was a variety of Aramaic, and so closely related to the Phoenician.[23]

What about the cosmogony of Thoth? Obviously this was a pseudepigraphon. But there is no reason to accuse Sanchuniathon of charlatanry. Like the fifth-century redactors of the Hebrew historico-legal cycle (Genesis to Kings), he wished to start his history from the beginning of the world, and he turned to an existing cosmogonic narrative, perhaps a poem. It happened to bear the authoritative name of Thoth, much as some Greek poems on the subject bore the name of Orpheus or Musaeus. The attribution of mystic writings to Thoth began in Egypt—not demonstrably before the Ptolemaic period—and from the second or first century BCE it began to l[295] take hold among Greeks, with Hermes representing the Egyptian god.[24] It is not surprising if the same fashion had spread to Phoenicia, where Egyptian influence was always strong. However, we should observe that so far as our evidence goes, an author who cites a work ascribed to Thoth is unlikely to be pre-Hellenistic.[25]

For our knowledge of the cosmogony, as for most of our knowledge of Sanchuniathon, we depend on Eusebius, who quotes lengthy extracts from Philo's work. The relevant passage is *Praep. Evang.* 1. 10. 1–5 (*FGrHist* 790 F 2, pp. 806. 15–807. 9). We need to keep in mind the multi-layered nature of the transmission. The text before us is Eusebius. He is quoting from Philo of Byblos. Philo was adapting Sanchuniathon. Sanchuniathon was adapting a cosmogony ascribed to Thoth. It is possible that we have to reckon with even another link in the chain, namely Porphyry, who had made reference to Sanchuniathon in several places and whom Eusebius has constantly in view as his adversary. It may well have been Porphyry's citations that drew Eusebius' attention to Sanchuniathon in the first place. It is not credible that Eusebius should have got all his quotations of Philo from Porphyry; he clearly consulted Philo directly. But Porphyry may perhaps have quoted parts of the same passages from Philo as Eusebius does, and if so, Eusebius may in those places have had one eye on Philo and one eye on Porphyry's quotation of Philo. This hypothesis will perhaps seem at first sight a gratuitous complication, but it may help to solve a problem.

[23] See for an up-to-date account of it J. Naveh, *Early History of the Alphabet*, 2nd edn. (Jerusalem 1987), 105–11 and 218.

[24] See G. Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes* (Cambridge 1986), esp. 1–11 and 57–68.

[25] Cf. Baumgarten (as in n. 20), 74.

After quoting selected passages from Philo's preface, Eusebius introduces his version of Sanchuniathon's cosmogony thus:

ἐξῆς ἀπάρχεται τῆς τοῦ Σαγχουνιάθωνος ἑρμηνείας, ὧδέ πως τὴν Φοινικικὴν ἐκτιθέμενος θεολογίαν·

τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἀρχὴν ὑποτίθεται ἀέρα ζοφώδη καὶ πνευματώδη, ἢ πνοὴν ἀέρος ζοφώδους, καὶ χάος θολερὸν ἐρεβῶδες· ταῦτα δὲ εἶναι ἄπειρα, καὶ διὰ πολὺν αἰῶνα μὴ ἔχειν πέρας. ὅτε δέ, φησίν, ἠράσθη τὸ πνεῦμα τῶν ἰδίων ἀρχῶν, καὶ ἐγένετο σύγκρασις, ἡ πλοκὴ ἐκείνη ἐκλήθη Πόθος. αὕτη δὲ ἀρχὴ κτίσεως ἁπάντων, αὐτὸ δὲ οὐκ ἐγίνωσκε τὴν αὐτοῦ κτίσιν, καὶ ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ συμπλοκῆς τοῦ πνεύματος ἐγένετο Μώτ. τοῦτό τινές φασιν ἰλύν, οἳ δὲ ὑδατώδους μίξεως σῆψιν. καὶ ἐκ ταύτης ἐγένετο πᾶσα σπορὰ κτίσεως καὶ γένεσις τῶν ὅλων.

ἦν δέ τινα ζῶια οὐκ ἔχοντα αἴσθησιν, ἐξ ὧν ἐγένετο ζῶια νοερά· καὶ ἐκλήθη Ζωφὴ σαμίν, τοῦτ' ἔστιν οὐρανοῦ κατόπται.

καὶ ἀνεπλάσθη ὁμοίως (ὁ Μὼτ Hölscher) *ὠιοῦ σχήματι· καὶ ἐξέλαμψε <τοῦ> Μὼτ ἥλιός τε καὶ σελήνη, ἀστέρες τε καὶ ἄστρα μεγάλα.*

[Eusebius] *τοιαύτη μὲν αὐτῶν ἡ κοσμογονία, ἄντικρυς ἀθεότητα εἰσάγουσα· ἴδωμεν δὲ ἐξῆς ὡς καὶ τὴν ζωιογονίαν ὑποστῆναι λέγει. φησὶν οὖν·*

[Philo] *καὶ τοῦ ἀέρος διαυγάσαντος διὰ πύρωσιν καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τῆς γῆς, ἐγένετο πνεύματα καὶ νέφη καὶ οὐρανίων ὑδάτων μέγισται καταφοραὶ καὶ χύσεις. καὶ ἐπειδὴ διεκρίθη καὶ τοῦ ἰδίου τόπου διεχωρίσθη διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἡλίου πύρωσιν, καὶ πάλιν συνήντησε πάντα ἐν ἀκαρεῖ* (v.l. *ἀέρι*) *τάδε τοῖσδε καὶ συνέρραξαν, βρονταί τε ἀπετελέσθησαν καὶ ἀστραπαί. καὶ πρὸς τὸν πάταγον τῶν βροντῶν τὰ προγεγραμμένα νοερὰ ζῶια ἐγρηγόρησεν, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἦχον ἐπτύρη, καὶ ἐκινήθη ἔν τε γῆι καὶ θαλάσσηι ἄρρεν καὶ θῆλυ.*

[Eusebius] *τοιαύτη αὐτοῖς καὶ ἡ ζωιογονία. τούτοις ἑξῆς ὁ αὐτὸς συγγραφεὺς ἐπιφέρει λέγων·*

[Philo] *ταῦθ' εὑρέθη ἐν τῆι κοσμογονίαι γεγραμμένα Τααύτου καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνου ὑπομνήμασιν ἔκ τε στοχασμῶν καὶ τεκμηρίων ὧν ἑώρακεν αὐτοῦ ἡ διάνοια καὶ ηὗρε καὶ ἡμῖν ἐφώτισεν.*

Next he begins on his exposition of Sanchuniathon, setting out the Phoenician theology more or less like this:

As the beginning of all things he posits dark, windy air, or a wind of dark air, and turbid, gloomy *chaos*; these were unbounded, and for long ages found no terminus. But when (he says) the wind fell in love with its own beginnings and a blending took place, that entanglement was l[296] called Desire. This was the beginning of the foundation of everything, yet it did not recognize its own foundation. And from its self-entanglement—the

wind's—came Mot. Some say this was mud, some say the ooze from a watery mixture. And from this came the whole seed of creation and the genesis of all things.

And there were certain living things that were without perception, from which came others with perception, and they were called *Zophe shamin*, that is, Watchers of the Sky.

And it was formed like the shape of an egg. And there shone out <from> Mot sun and moon, stars and 'great stars'.

[Eusebius] Such is their cosmogony, which is a plain resort to atheism. Next let us see what he tells us of the basis of their zoogony. This is what he says:

[Philo] And when the air became distinct as a result of heating, and the sea and the earth, there arose winds and cloud and huge precipitations of the celestial waters. And when it divided out and became separated from its own location through being heated by the sun, and then everything met and collided together again in an instant [v.l. in the air], thunder and lightning were produced. And at the claps of thunder the aforementioned percipient creatures woke up, and they trembled at the noise, and male and female were stirred on land and sea.

[Eusebius] Such is their zoogony. Following that the same writer adds:

[Philo] This account was found written in the cosmogony of Thoth and in his *hypomnemata*, based on conjectures and indications which his intellect saw and found out and made clear to us.

Eusebius distinguishes the cosmogony from the zoogony, but they are clearly integral parts of a single account, and I shall use 'the cosmogony' to cover the two together. Philo's statement that Sanchuniathon had got this from a different source from the rest of his work seems to be confirmed by a stylistic feature noted by E. Renan:[26] the constant use of *καί* to introduce sentences in these fragments and not in the rest. Others have suggested that the underlying text, the cosmogony of 'Thoth', was a poem, arguing from apparent cases of *parallelismus membrorum*, the characteristic feature of Semitic poetry.[27] This may well be right. However, not all the repetitions in Eusebius' text are to be explained in this way.

[26] *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 23(2) (1868), 255.

[27] C. Clemen, *Die phönikische Religion nach Philon von Byblos* (*Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft* 42, 3, 1939), 39; U. Hölscher, *Hermes* 81 (1953), 394 f. = H.-G. Gadamer (ed.), *Um die Begriffswelt der Vorsokratiker* (Wege der Forschung, 9, Darmstadt 1968), 139 f. (with a tentative layout of the text to reflect the original verses); Baumgarten (as in n. 20), 98–100.

Right at the beginning we have the doublet *ἀέρα ζοφώδη καὶ πνευματώδη ἢ πνοὴν ἀέρος ζοφώδους*, 'dark windy air, or a wind of dark air'. What is the origin of these alternative phrasings? As the lexical elements are the same in both, they can hardly reflect poetic parallelism in 'Thoth'. They cannot be merely scribal variants, one of which has been incorporated from the margin. Nor is it plausible to account for them (as I once thought) as Philo's conscientious efforts to render the nuance of Sanchuniathon's original. No ancient translator recorded in this way his hesitations between alternative phrasings, and in any case, in view of the fixed order of construct noun and genitive in the Semitic languages, there can have been no ambiguity as to whether 'wind' qualified 'dark air' or *vice versa*. Philo, then, can only have written one phrase where we read two. The duplication must be due to Eusebius, and the reason for it will be that he had two versions of Philo's text in front of him. In the light of what has been said above, we can reasonably conjecture that these were an actual copy of Philo's *Phoinikika* and a quotation from Philo in Porphyry. If it is asked why he did not simply dismiss Porphyry's variant version as inaccurate, the answer might be that he thought that Porphyry's version, being taken from an older copy of Philo, might be more correct than his own copy. In fact its divergent phrasing I[28] was probably due to Porphyry's habit of introducing minor verbal alterations into his quotations.[28]

Apart from the doublet phrase, is the sentence Philo verbatim, or Eusebius' paraphrase, becoming a verbatim quotation only at *ὅτε δέ (φησίν) ἠράσθη*? Is the subject of *ὑποτίθεται* and *φησίν* Philo or Sanchuniathon? I think it is Philo verbatim from the start. Philo has just come to the end of his preface, and he now begins his presentation of the contents of Sanchuniathon's work, paraphrasing in the first sentence and then modulating to direct quotation. This is strongly indicated by the fact that the opening sentence, much more than what follows, is full of the language of Greek (Stoic) cosmology: *τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἀρχήν, ἀέρα ζοφώδη, χάος θολερόν, ἄπειρα/μὴ ἔχειν πέρας*.[29] It is evidently a

[28] Cf. H.-R. Schwyzer, *Chairemon* (Leipzig 1932), 100–6; W. Pötscher, *Theophrastos Περὶ Εὐσεβείας* (Leiden 1964), 5–13.

[29] Cf. Ebach (as in n. 12), 78. The first phrase is commonplace in the doxographers. The second reflects Chrysippus' teaching that the air is intrinsically dark but lit up by the sun: Plut. *De Sto. repugn.* 1053f *τὸν ἀέρα φύσει ζοφερὸν εἶναι λέγει*; Io. Diac. in Hes. *Th.* 123 (p. 306 Flach) *ἐκ Χάους δὲ τὸ Ἔρεβος καὶ ἡ Νύξ*

philosophical interpretation of Sanchuniathon's description of the initial state of the world, not a literal translation, and as such it must be put to Philo's account; Eusebius would not have undertaken such an operation.

Sanchuniathon may have begun like Genesis: 'In the beginning . . .'; that would invite the Greek paraphrase *τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἀρχὴν ὑποτίθεται* . . .. The Genesis account also suggests other equivalences. The 'windy dark air' or 'wind of dark air' may plausibly be resolved into the darkness and wind of Genesis 1: 2 (*ḥōšek, rūʾḥ*), especially as the wind appears on its own in the next sentence (*τὸ πνεῦμα*).[30] What about the *χάος θολερὸν ἐρεβῶδες*? We should understand *χάος* in the sense in which the Stoics interpreted this Hesiodic term: as the primeval water.[31] *θολερός* is an adjective applicable above all to water. *Ἔρεβος*, according to the same Stoic school of interpretation, was the dark air that arose from the primeval water.[32] What Philo was seeking to express in his Stoicizing phraseology, then, was the idea of a dark, turbid watery mass. This corresponds exactly to the *tʿhôm* ('the deep') of Genesis, upon which the darkness lay. What Sanchuniathon wrote at the start of his cosmogony, therefore, was something like 'In the beginning (there was no earth and no heaven, but) darkness and wind enveloped the deep'.

These entities, says Philo, were *ἄπειρα* and for long ages they found no terminus. A plausible Hebrew equivalent of *διὰ πολὺν αἰῶνα* would be *mēʿōlām*, and it is tempting to speculate that in the Phoenician text the word *ʿūlōm* played a role, perhaps as an abstract entity as in the two other Phoenician cosmogonies that we have considered.

γεννᾶται, δηλαδὴ ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς διακοσμήσεως ὑγροῦ ζοφώδης καὶ σκοτεινὸς ἀήρ; Anon. Exeg. in Hes. *Th.* 116 (p. 376 Fl.) *ὁ ἀὴρ φύσει ὢν ζοφερὸς ὑπὸ ἡλίου φωτίζεται. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ μὲν κατὰ μέσον οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς ἀὴρ κᾶν ζοφώδης ἐστίν κτλ.*

[30] What appears in the Authorized Version as 'the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters' would be more accurately rendered 'the wind of God flapped against the waters'. God will have been absent from Sanchuniathon's account.

[31] Cf. *SVF* i. 29. 8–23, ii. 143. 44, sch. Hes. *Th.* 115, 116c, 117a, 123, Ach. Tat. *Isag. in Arat.* p. 31. 28 Maass, etc.; F. Wehrli, *Zur Geschichte der allegorischen Deutung Homers im Altertum* (Diss. Basel 1928), 25.

[32] Sch. Hes. *Th.* 123 (p. 27. 14 ff. Di Gregorio); cf. Jo. Diac. quoted above (n. 29).

Philo now applies himself to a closer rendering of Sanchuniathon's original (though we should not expect to find from now on a literal translation free from paraphrastic [2]98 expansion). *ἠράσθη τὸ πνεῦμα τῶν ἰδίων ἀρχῶν*: this at once looks un-Greek. The wind conceived a yearning for its own starting-point; as we might say, it began to chase its own tail. In other words it developed into a whirlwind.[33] This *πλοκή* or *συμπλοκή* of the wind resulted in a *σύγκρασις*, which was the beginning of all creation.

The wind's self-embrace was called Pothos, Desire: we have already encountered this power in Eudemus' Phoenician cosmogony, and it suits what we have just been told about the cause of the whirlwind. Then we read that from the wind's *συμπλοκή* came *Μώτ*. The mysterious name is followed by the sentence *τοῦτό τινες φασιν ἰλύν, οἳ δὲ ὑδατώδους μίξεως σῆψιν*, 'some say this is mud, some say the ooze from a watery mixture'. Some explanation of 'Mot' is certainly in place, but this sentence, I submit, is not. It makes no sense that the circling wind should turn into mud or slime; nor is the following narrative intelligible after such a transformation; nor does the word yield such a meaning in terms of any plausible Semitic etymology. And since Philo is the first and only Greek translator of Sanchuniathon, how can he refer to competing interpretations of the Phoenician word? The sentence seems to refer to a subsequent stage of the cosmogony, when the primal waters have started to solidify.[34] It probably does not belong in Philo's text at all; Eusebius perhaps imported it from Porphyry. At any rate it is out of place where it stands now, and should be removed. We shall see presently how its intrusion can be accounted for.

Its presence has obscured the fact that in the sentences about Pothos and Mot another doublet is to be recognized.

[33] F. Lokkegaard, *Studia Theologica* 8 (1954), 55, 'The wind fell in love with its own beginning, that is, made a tornado'. For a circle as a return to an *ἀρχή* cf. Heraclitus 22 B 103 *ξυνὸν ἀρχὴ καὶ πέρας ἐπὶ κύκλου περιφερείας*. Alcmeon of Croton said that men perish *ὅτι οὐ δύνανται τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν τέλει προσάψαι*, that is, achieve perpetual cyclical motion like the heavenly bodies (24 B 2, cf. A 12). Sanchuniathon may have used the word *rāʾš* or *reʾšīt*.

[34] Cf. above, n. 29; sch. Ap. Rhod. 1. 496–8b *καὶ Ζήνων δὲ* (*SVF* i. 29. 17) *τὸ παρ' Ἡσιόδῳ Χάος ὕδωρ εἶναί φησιν, οὗ συνιζάνοντος ἰλὺν γενέσθαι*; Diod. 1. 7. 1 (separation of elements from the original mixture) *τὸ δὲ ἰλυώδες καὶ θολερὸν μετὰ τῆς τῶν ὑγρῶν συγκρίσεως ἐπὶ ταὐτὸ καταστῆναι διὰ τὸ βάρος*; *OP* 183.

ὅτε δὲ ἠράσθη τὸ πνεῦμα τῶν ἰδίων ἀρχῶν, καὶ ἐγένετο σύγκρασις, ἡ πλοκὴ ἐκείνη ἐκλήθη Πόθος.	καὶ ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ συμπλοκῆς καὶ πνεύματος ἐγένετο Μώτ. {τοῦτό τινές φασιν ἰλύν, οἳ δὲ ὑδατώδους μίξεως σῆψιν.}
αὕτη δὲ ἀρχὴ κτίσεως ἁπάντων, αὐτὸ δὲ οὐκ ἐγίνωσκε τὴν αὑτοῦ κτίσιν.	καὶ ἐκ ταύτης ἐγένετο πᾶσα σπορὰ κτίσεως καὶ γένεσις τῶν ὅλων.

Just as αὕτη in the left-hand column refers back to ἡ πλοκή, so ἐκ ταύτης in the right-hand column refers back to τῆς συμπλοκῆς: this makes it still clearer that the sentence τοῦτο–σῆψιν is intrusive.

Now, what is the relation between the parallel phrases ἐκλήθη Πόθος and ἐγένετο Μώτ? One might expect ἐκλήθη to be combined with the foreign word, and this then to be interpreted, as below we find καὶ ἐκλήθη Ζωφὴ σαμίν, τοῦτ' ἔστιν οὐρανοῦ κατόπται, and after the cosmogony at p. 807. 24 Βεελσαμην καλοῦντες, ὅ ἐστι παρὰ Φοίνιξι κύριος οὐρανοῦ. If the left-hand column represents Eusebius' transcription of Philo, and the right-hand column Porphyry's paraphrase which Eusebius has conflated with it, Philo's original may have been ἐκλήθη Μώτ, τοῦτ' ἔστι Πόθος.

In fact it is very plausible that Μώτ should have been the Phoenician word corresponding to Πόθος. Scholars have tended to accept Otto Eissfeldt's suggestion [299] that Πόθος represents the Phoenician counterpart of the Hebrew *rûʾaḥ*, which from its basic meaning of 'wind, breath' came to be used also of 'spirit, disposition, inner impulse, seat of emotion', etc.[35] But we have already assumed this word to lie behind the πνοή or πνεῦμα above. And it is impossible to believe that *rûḥ* (or whatever the Phoenician form of the word was) would have been translated into Greek—both by Eudemus' informant and by Philo—as 'Desire' and not as 'Wind'. What was the Phoenician for 'desire'? We do not know; but a guess based on Hebrew, which had a very similar vocabulary, will be the best guess we can make. The standard Hebrew verb for 'desire' is *ʾāwāh*. Deverbative abstracts are often formed with the prefixes *m-* or *t-*. The usual noun in Hebrew is *taʾăwāh*; the feminine ending

[35] *Forschungen and Fortschritte* 16 (1940), 1 f. = *Kl. Schr.* ii. 259. I acquiesced in *EGPO* 29. Ebach (as in n. 12), 39, objects on the first of the grounds given above.

-āh represents older *-at*, which was preserved in Phoenician. A parallel formation with the *m-* prefix would have been equally correct, and it is possible that in Phoenician such a form prevailed: **maʾw(a)t*.[36] Aleph was weak in Phoenician and tended to disappear in pronunciation—**mawt*—and *aw* contracted into *ō*: *Mōt*. The only slight difficulty in so accounting for Philo's Μώτ is that Semitic tau (*t*) is normally represented by θ in Greek, as for example later in Philo's narrative where a different *Mōt*, the god of death, appears as Μούθ. But there are exceptions to the general rule: p. 809. 23 Βαίτυλον, 810. 24 *et al.* Ἀστάρτη, 812. 12 Βααλτίδι, 13 *et al.* Βηρυτόν (*contra* 809. 15 Βηρούθ), 814. 13 Ἀνωβρέτ, and perhaps Τάαυτος.[37]

We now have a whirlwind named Desire moulding the boundless deep, but we have as yet no heaven or earth. It is disconcerting, therefore, suddenly to be told that 'there were certain living things devoid of perception, from which came others with perception, named Watchers of the Sky'. This sentence seems to be another that is out of place. Eusebius' transition shortly afterwards, 'Such then is their cosmogony . . . next let us see how he (Philo) describes their zoogony', makes it as clear as we could wish that he has *not* just told us about the generation of living things. And once the sentence is removed, the following one immediately makes much better sense. It was not the living creatures that were moulded in the form of an egg, but the whirling wind-driven cosmos that contained in it the seeds of all creation. Uvo Hölscher's emendation of ὁμοίως to ὁ Μὼτ would make this explicit, though the transmitted word is defensible.[38] Mot appears again in the next sentence, anarthrous in the manuscripts, but that could only yield the (non)sense 'And Mot shone out, the sun and moon, the stars and "great stars" '. The meaning required is surely that the heavenly lights shone out *from* Mot, and for this we need ἐξέλαμψεν <ἐκ τοῦ> Μώτ[39] or simply ἐξέλαμψεν <τοῦ> Μώτ.

[36] An *m*-form actually occurs in Hebrew, with a different suffix, in the *maʾăwayyê rāšāʿ* of Ps. 140: 9 (poetic *hapax*).

[37] Cf. n. 18; Barr (as in n. 20), 47 n. 2.

[38] Hölscher as cited in n. 27, arguing 'Ὁμοίως ὡιοῦ σχήματι halte ich für falsch, σχήματι braucht kein "gleichwie".' But the dative would look bare without a preposition such as ἐν; and a search of the TLG disc (version 'D') produced two parallels for ὁμοίως: schol. Dion. Per. 158 καὶ περιφερεῖ τόξου σχήματι ὅμοιον ἂν ἴδοις τὸν Πόντον, and Justin Martyr, *Dial. cum Tryphone* 40 τὸ γὰρ ὀπτώμενον πρόβατον σχηματιζόμενον ὁμοίως τῶι σχήματι τοῦ σταυροῦ ὀπτᾶται.

[39] H. Ewald, *Göttinger Abhandlungen* 5 (1851), 37. Barr's suggestion (as in n. 20, 23 n. 2) that Μώτ here is a corruption of something corresponding to the Hebrew *mʿʾôrôt* 'heavenly lights' is ingenious but unnecessarily far-fetched.

In passing from cosmogony to zoogony, Eusebius evidently omits some details of the world's evolution, though the development of living creatures is so bound up with cosmogonic processes that he has to continue with some further account of the latter. The cosmic scrambled egg, after bursting out in lights, had separated into air, sea, and I[300] earth. But the sun's heat caused evaporation and dislocations of the air, which resulted in a lot of wild weather. Once more we seem to be faced with a doublet in Eusebius' account:

καὶ τοῦ ἀέρος διαυγάσαντος διὰ πύρωσιν καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τῆς γῆς, ἐγένετο πνεύματα καὶ νέφη καὶ οὐρανίων ὑδάτων μέγισται καταφοραὶ καὶ χύσεις.

καὶ ἐπειδὴ διεκρίθη καὶ τοῦ ἰδίου τόπου διεχωρίσθη διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἡλίου πύρωσιν, καὶ πάλιν συνήντησε πάντα ἐν ἀκαρεῖ τάδε τοῖσδε καὶ συνέρραξαν, βρονταί τε ἀπετελέσθησαν καὶ ἀστραπαί.

καὶ πρὸς τὸν πάταγον τῶν βροντῶν τὰ προγεγραμμένα νοερὰ ζῶια ἐγρηγόρησεν, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἦχον ἐπτύρη, καὶ ἐκινήθη ἔν τε γῆι καὶ θαλάσσηι ἄρρεν καὶ θῆλυ.

The thunder and lightning jolted the living things into a higher state of consciousness: they 'woke up', and were terrified, and 'male and female were stirred in land and sea'. It is not altogether clear whether this signifies the differentiation of the sexes (as in Genesis 1: 27, 'male and female created he them') or—what *ἐκινήθη* more naturally suggests—their arousal to coitus. Perhaps it was both at once. Whatever exactly it means, we gather that terrestrial and marine fauna now exist, sexually differentiated, fully sentient, and ready to reproduce themselves by the sexual method from now on. Although Eusebius (Philo) says that it was 'the aforesaid percipient creatures' that 'woke up' at the stimulus of the thunder and lightning, it seems reasonable to suppose that their 'waking up' was in fact synonymous with their transition from non-percipient to percipient beings. The first mention of their becoming sentient was an anticipation of the thunderstorm narrative, and Philo failed to understand this.

It still remains to be clarified how the insensate creatures came into being in the first place, and where the sentence that introduces them belongs. As to the latter question, the answer must be that it belongs somewhere after the appearance of the lights of heaven and before the interaction of elements that produced storms: in other words, somewhere in the passage of Philo that Eusebius omitted in passing from cosmogony to zoogony. When he reached the awakening of the insensate creatures, he realized that he had passed over the prior mention of them, and that he needed to restore it. He wrote it in his margin, probably meaning it to go before *καὶ τοῦ ἀέρος διαυγάσαντος*, and it was then inserted in the wrong place.

We are now in a position to account for the other intrusive sentence a couple of lines earlier: *τοῦτό τινές φασιν ἰλύν, οἳ δὲ ὑδατώδους μίξεως σῆψιν*. This belonged together with the first appearance of the living things and was part of the same marginal insertion by Eusebius. The passage that he had passed over must have described the transformation of the original turbid waters, or a part of them, into mud or slime. It was in this slime that the primitive life-forms appeared by spontaneous generation, as was believed to happen visibly in the mud left by the inundations of the Nile.[40] We find a very similar account in the cosmogony presented by Diodorus (1. 7. 1–6).[41] According to this, the world was originally a single mixture. When its constituent parts separated themselves out, the fiery elements rose high, with the result that the sun and the other luminaries became caught up in the circular I[301] current, while the muddy and turbid elements, with the moisture contained in them, settled down under their own weight into one mass (*τὸ δὲ ἰλυῶδες καὶ θολερὸν μετὰ τῆς τῶν ὑγρῶν συγκρίσεως ἐπὶ ταὐτὸ καταστῆναι διὰ τὸ βάρος*). The force of rotation separated this liquid mass further into sea and a soft, muddy earth, which, warmed by the sun, produced bubbles such as we see even now in marshy areas; from these emerged living creatures of all kinds, birds, animals, and fishes. But in time the earth dried out so much that it could no longer generate fauna in this way, and since then life has been perpetuated by sexual reproduction.

[40] Diod. 1. 10. 1–3; cf. Troiani (as in n. 20), 84 f.; Ebach (as in n. 12), 43 f., 74, 76.

[41] Compared by O. Eissfeldt in *Éléments orientaux dans la religion grecque ancienne* (Colloque de Strasbourg, 22–24 mai 1958) (Paris 1960), 3, 7 ff., who followed the now discredited theory that Diodorus' cosmogony was taken from Democritus. It is now regarded as Hellenistic-eclectic; see W. Spoerri, *Späthellenistische Berichte über Welt, Kultur und Götter* (Basel 1959), 1–38, 114–17, 126–9, *et al.* Cf. Baumgarten (as in n. 20), 107. It does, however, contain some traditional motifs that go back to Anaximander and Anaxagoras, both of whom held that life first developed in the moist element as it was dried out by the sun; see below, p. 87.

The name that Sanchuniathon gave to the creatures is transmitted as *ζωφασημων* (cod. A, the oldest and best manuscript of Eusebius) or *ζοφασημίν*. We should undoubtedly accept Gesenius' correction to *Ζωφησαμίν*,[42] or rather *Ζωφὴ σαμίν divisim*, since Philo knew that these were two Semitic words, *ṣōpê šamīn*, meaning, as he says, 'Watchers of the Sky'. The form in which he gives them is Aramaic rather than Phoenician; the Phoenician would have been **ṣūpê šamēm*, **Ζουφὴ σαμήμ*. Together with p. 807. 24 *Βεελσαμην* (instead of **Βα(α)λσαμήμ*) and one or two other forms, this has prompted the theory that the original translated by Philo was actually in Aramaic.[43] But he gives other names in genuinely Phoenician forms, for example (p. 808. 8) *Σαμημρουμος* with the right form for 'heaven'. We should bear in mind that Philo himself will have been an Aramaic-speaker (Phoenician being by his time more or less dead except for the Punic of the West), and that in reading the text of Sanchuniathon, which lacked vowel signs, he might well have read it in places as if it was Aramaic. On coming upon *b'l šmm*, for instance, he would have recognized it immediately as the title familiar to him as *be'el šamīn*, and it was natural enough that he should transliterate it as *Βεελσαμίν* or *-μήν*.

One further feature of Sanchuniathon's narrative deserves attention. We read that the involution of the primal wind 'was called' Pothos, or rather Mot, and again that the living creatures, whether before or after their electrification, 'were called' Watchers of the Sky. By whom were these names bestowed, and what is the significance of the naming event? Has Philo eliminated some divine creator figure parallel to the God of Genesis, who 'called the light Day, and the darkness he called Night', and 'called the firmament Heaven'?

We need not suppose so. We probably have before us an example of the Semitic concept that naming something is equivalent to bringing it into being. There need be no reference to a specific namer. The idea is expressed in the Akkadian verb *nabû* 'name', hence 'appoint, set up'. 'All creatures that have names' means 'all that exist'. The Creation Epic *Enūma eliš* begins

[42] Gesenius (as in n. 11), 390.

[43] Grimme, *RE* iA. 2243, whom I followed in *Hesiod. Theogony* (Oxford 1966), 26. Barr (as in n. 20), 44 n. 1, reproves us.

When above the heavens had not been named,
and below, the earth was not called by its name

—that is, before they existed.[44]

To recapitulate the results of the preceding discussion, here is a 'purified' version of Philo's account of Sanchuniathon's cosmogony, with Eusebian doublets eliminated and the displaced sentences returned to their proper position. Beside it I give an I[302] English paraphrase in which the Greek philosophical colouring attributable to Philo is toned down to give a more authentic idea of the possible idiom and poetic form of the Phoenician original.

τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἀρχὴν ὑποτίθεται ἀέρα ζοφώδη καὶ πνευματώδη καὶ χάος θολερὸν ἐρεβῶδες· ταῦτα δὲ εἶναι ἄπειρα, καὶ διὰ πολὺν αἰῶνα μὴ ἔχειν πέρας. ὅτε δέ, φησίν, ἠράσθη τὸ πνεῦμα τῶν ἰδίων ἀρχῶν, καὶ ἐγένετο σύγκρασις, ἡ πλοκὴ ἐκείνη ἐκλήθη Μώτ, τοῦτ' ἔστι Πόθος.	In the beginning there was no earth and no heaven, but darkness and wind enveloped the deep: they extended every way without end, from remotest time (*min 'ūlōm*). But when the wind conceived love of its own 'head', those things began to be mixed together; and the name of that involvement was Desire.
αὕτη δὲ ἀρχὴ κτίσεως ἁπάντων, αὐτὸ δὲ οὐκ ἐγίνωσκε τὴν αὑτοῦ κτίσιν· καὶ ἀνεπλάσθη ὁμοίως ᾠοῦ σχήματι. *καὶ ἐξέλαμψε <τοῦ> Μὼτ ἥλιός τε καὶ σελήνη, ἀστέρες τε καὶ ἄστρα μεγάλα.*	This was the source of creation for all things, but its own creation it knew not; and it was formed like the shape of an egg. And out of that Desire the sun and moon shone forth, the stars and the 'great stars'.
. . . . .	
{τοῦτό τινές φασιν ἰλύν, οἳ δὲ ὑδατώδους μίξεως σῆψιν.} . . . ἦν δέ τινα ζῶια οὐκ ἔχοντα αἴσθησιν, ἐξ ὧν ἐγένετο ζῶια νοερά· καὶ ἐκλήθη Ζωφὴ σαμίν, τοῦτ' ἔστιν οὐρανοῦ κατόπται.	(Separation of heaven and earth.) (Creatures born from the mud.) And they were blind creatures and without sense; but from them were born creatures with eyes to see and ears that they might hear. And their name was called Watchers of the Sky.
. . . . .	. . . . .

[44] We see something similar in Greek in the Derveni papyrus: xvii. 4 *γενέσθαι δὲ ἀνομίσθη ἐπεί<τ'> ἀνομάσθη Ζεύς, ὥσπερεὶ πρότερον μὴ ἐών*, xviii. 9 *πρὶν μέν γὰρ κληθῆναι Ζῆνα, ἦμ Μοῖρα φρόνησις τοῦ θεοῦ ἀεί τε καὶ [δ]μὰ παντός· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκλήθη Ζεύς, γενέσθαι αὐτὸν ἐ[νομ]ί[σθ]η*, and xix. 1–3, xxi. 10 ff., with the impersonal passives *ἐκλήθη* and *ἀνομάσθη* throughout.

καὶ τοῦ ἀέρος διαυγάσαντος διὰ πύρωσιν καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τῆς γῆς, ἐγένετο πνεύματα καὶ νέφη καὶ οὐρανίων ὑδάτων μέγισται καταφοραὶ καὶ χύσεις. καὶ πάλιν συνήντησε πάντα ἐν ἀκαρεῖ τάδε τοῖσδε καὶ συνέρραξαν, βρονταί τε ἀπετελέσθησαν καὶ ἀστραπαί· καὶ πρὸς τὸν πάταγον τῶν βροντῶν τὰ προγεγραμμένα νοερὰ ζῶια ἐγρηγόρησεν, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἦχον ἐπτύρη, καὶ ἐκινήθη ἔν τε γῆι καὶ θαλάσσηι ἄρρεν καὶ θῆλυ.

And after the air became clear, the sun heated the sea and the earth, so that winds and stormclouds arose, and the waters of heaven were poured forth: the clouds dashed together, one with another, and thunders and lightnings broke forth from their chambers.
And at the crashing of the thunders the Watchers of the Sky were awakened, and they trembled mightily at the noise of them; and they were stirred in their loins on the land and in the sea, both male and female.

COMPARISON OF THE THREE PHOENICIAN ACCOUNTS

The differences between the three Phoenician accounts are considerable. We cannot treat them simply as variants of a single account. On the other hand, they have some features in common, such that we can speak of a Phoenician tradition from which each of them springs. They all begin with an initial state of the universe characterized by formlessness; they all refer at an early stage to time, either as a divine entity in its own right or as a dimension of the initial state; they all posit wind at or near the beginning of things; and they all introduce an egg (or egg-shaped formation) as the intermediate stage between the initial state and the present structure of earth and heaven. There are obvious differences in the way in which the initial state is conceived, and in the order in which things appear, though it is possible that some of the differences are more apparent than real, and due to the inconsistency of the Greek translators and excerptors. Here is a synoptic comparison:

	Eudemus	Moch	Sanchuniathon
First stage	*Χρόνος, Πόθος, Ὁμίχλη*	*Αἰθήρ, Ἀήρ*. Winds	Windy dark, turbid waters (for aeons)
Next	*Ἀήρ, Αὔρα*	*Οὐλωμος* (= *Χρόνος*)	*Πόθος*
Next	Egg	*Χουσωρος* + Egg	Egg-shaped form
Next	(Heaven, earth)	Heaven, earth	(Heaven, earth)

[303] We have considered the likely or possible Phoenician equivalents for some of the Greek terms (*Χρόνος, Πόθος; ἄνεμοι, πνεῦμα; ἀὴρ ζοφώδης καὶ πνευματώδης; χάος θολερὸν ἐρεβῶδες*); we have noted that for others (*Αἰθήρ, Ἀήρ*) equivalents are hard to divine. The two that we have not yet looked at from this point of view are Eudemus' *Ὁμίχλη* and *Αὔρα*.

Αὔρα is obviously some sort of wind, and there is no reason why she should not correspond to the same word as Sanchuniathon's *πνεῦμα*, that is, most likely, *rûḥ*.[45] Eudemus' informant no doubt chose a feminine word, rather than *ἄνεμοι* or *πνεῦμα*, because he needed a male and female pair to produce the egg.[46]

Ὁμίχλη, which I rendered above as 'Nebula', is more difficult. In the Septuagint it is used in a rather inconsistent way, translating several different Hebrew words which in other passages are rendered by other Greek words, namely:

ḥōšek (Isa. 29: 18) 'darkness', elsewhere *σκότος*.
ʿêpāh (Amos 4: 13) 'darkness', elsewhere *σκότος*.
ʿărāpel (Joel 2: 2, Zeph. 1: 15, Job 38: 9) 'heavy cloud, murk, foggy dew', elsewhere *γνόφος* (once *σκότος*).
kᵉpôr (Job 38: 29, Ps. 147: 16) 'hoar-frost', elsewhere *πάγος*.

The third of these seems the most suitable. In Ezekiel 34: 12 'the day of *ʿānān* (cloud) and *ʿărāpel*' is one when the sheep become scattered and the shepherd has to search for them. If there existed a similar word in Phoenician, that was perhaps the one that Eudemus' informant rendered as *Ὁμίχλη*.

A further respect in which the three cosmogonies differ is in the balance between mythical and philosophical language. Moch appears the most mythical: here the Time-god was described in fully personalized terms, as a bisexual figure who had intercourse with himself, and the cosmic egg had the divine craftsman Khushor-Ptah standing by to bisect it. In Eudemus there is still a genealogical framework, with Pothos and Omichle, and again Aer and Aura, coupling as if sexually; but the story is somewhat demythologized. Chronos seems a mere abstraction. There is an egg, but no mention of a god to open it. We may say that Eudemus would naturally have

[45] In the Septuagint *αὔρα* occurs in three places (1 Kgs 19: 12, Job 4: 16, Ps. 106(107): 29), always translating Hebrew *dᵉmāmāh* 'whisper'.
[46] In Hebrew *rûᵃḥ* is usually feminine (and so in Gen. 1: 2).

tended to suppress the more mythical elements. But he did not do so in the case of the Babylonian cosmogony that he reported in the same context. As for Sanchuniathon, his account is more philosophical still, even allowing for Philo's tendency to accommodate it to Stoic theory. Time's role as a divine agent is obscured. The autoeroticism motif is transferred to the wind, and comes across as little more than a metaphor. Its rotatory frenzy produces not 'an egg' but a formation 'resembling the shape of an egg'. The attempt is made to explain everything in mechanistic terms.

Of the three Phoenician accounts, then, whatever their relative chronology, it is Moch who seems best to reflect the traditional prototype that underlies them all.

GREEK AND PHOENICIAN COSMOGONIES COMPARED

This traditional prototype must go back at least to the sixth century BCE in view of the Greek evidence, which we must finally bring back into focus. Comparison of the Greek with the Phoenician versions should enable us to identify features that go back to the common original. At the same time we must keep an eye on the Iranian and [304] Indian forms of the myth: any motifs that they share with the Greek, even if not attested in the Phoenician, must presumably be attributed to the Near Eastern archetype

The following motifs are shared by Greek and Phoenician versions, though they do not always appear in the same sequence or combination.

1. A primeval watery abyss (Orpheus, Sanchuniathon).
2. Primeval darkness (Orpheus, Epimenides, Aristophanes, Sanchuniathon). The Orphic account used the phrase *κατὰ σκοτόεσσαν ὁμιχλην* (fr. 106, cf. 78), which recalls the *Ὁμίχλη* of Eudemus' Phoenicians.
3. The role played by wind (Eudemus, Moch, Sanchuniathon) is hinted at in Aristophanes (*Av.* 695 *ὑπηνέμιον ὠιόν*; 696 *ἀνεμώκεσι δίναις* actually suggests the whirlwind, cf. below).
4. Absence of *πέρας* or *πεῖραρ* (Orph. fr. 111. 3, Aristophanes (*Ἐρέβους δ' ἐν ἀπείροσι κόλποις*), Sanchuniathon).

5. The presence of the personified Time (Pherecydes, Orpheus, Eudemus, Moch). In Orpheus he has the epithet 'unaging' (*ἀγήραος*), which is paralleled in the Iranian and Indian versions.
6. Procreation by Time (Pherecydes, Orpheus, Moch; also Iranian and Indian).
7. Appearance of the bright Aither (Orpheus; already before Time in Moch).
8. The production of an egg (Orpheus, Epimenides, Aristophanes, Eudemus, Moch; in Sanchuniathon an egg-shaped formation).
9. The personified Desire of the Phoenician accounts (Eudemus, Sanchuniathon), while not paralleled in Greek under the name *Πόθος*, can hardly be dissociated entirely from the *Ἔρως* (=Phanes) who appears out of the egg in Orpheus and Aristophanes and plays a demiurgic role. Eros had, of course, appeared at a very early stage in theogonies since Hesiod, but with no such explicit function. In Orpheus he is bisexual and copulates with himself; this is what the Time-god does in Moch and the Iranian myth, and the motif has evidently been transferred to Phanes-Eros from Chronos. In Pherecydes, we hear, the pre-existent deity Zas, *μέλλων δημιουργεῖν*, transformed himself into Eros. Aristophanes' Eros recalls Sanchuniathon's Pothos in two ways, apart from the fact that he is actually called *Ἔρως ὁ ποθεινός*: he is *εἰκὼς ἀνεμώκεσι δίναις*, like a swiftly circling wind, and he *ξυνέμειξεν ἅπαντα*, which resulted in the separation of heaven, earth, and Ocean, just as, when Sanchuniathon's wind became a whirlwind and the name Desire was bestowed, *ἐγένετο σύγκρασις*, and this led to the separation of earth, sea, and air.
10. In his role as demiurge, Phanes-Eros has a counterpart in Moch's Khushor-Ptah, who presumably not only opens the egg but fashions its two halves into heaven and earth, and perhaps performs other creative acts. But a closer parallel is the Indian *Prajāpati*, the firstborn son of Time, the creator of heaven and earth, who has the same radiant quality as Phanes and who, in some accounts, is born from an egg. This must be the primary version, whereas the Phoenician version in which

the demiurge works on the egg from outside, like the Iranian version in which Ohrmazd fashions the celestial egg out of light, represents an accommodation to older, simpler native mythology where a capable god (Khushor, Ohrmazd) made heaven and earth and that was all there was to it.[47]

If we try to construct an archetypal account that will explain the occurrence of these features in the Greek and Phoenician sources, we can get quite a long way by I[305] simply adding them together in sequence; but certain points remain ambiguous. The basic story will look like this:

In the beginning there was no heaven and no earth,[48] but a limitless watery abyss, cloaked in murky darkness. This existed for long aeons. Eventually Unaging Time, who was both male and female, made love to himself and generated an egg. Out of the egg came a radiant creator god, who made heaven and earth from it.

The principal ambiguous points concern the role of wind, the status of Desire, and the place of Aither. Was wind present from the beginning, as in Sanchuniathon and Genesis? What is the relationship between the wind's act of self-love in Sanchuniathon and Time's in Pherecydes, Moch, etc.? Is it by setting up a whirlwind that Time engenders the egg? This would help to harmonize Sanchuniathon's egg-shaped Desire-whirlwind with the Orphic–Aristophanic whirlwind-like Eros who appears from the egg and 'mixes everything together'. At what point does Aither (which we may understand as the Bright Sky, or Daylight) come into being? For Moch it is one of the two pre-existent entities; in the Orphic theogony it is engendered, together with the bottomless blackness of Chaos, by Chronos, who uses it in forming the egg. The latter seems to be paralleled in one version of the Zoroastrian cosmogony, if it is rightly understood to say that Time brought forth Light and Darkness.[49]

[47] Cf. *OP* 104 f.

[48] Ar. *Av.* 694; cf. *Enūma eliš* 1. 1–2 and other Oriental accounts; Hölscher (as in n. 27), 401 = 150.

[49] Damasc. (as in n. 9) iii. 165. 17 W.–C. *Μάγοι δὲ καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἥριον γένος, ὡς καὶ τοῦτο γράφει ὁ Εὔδημος, οἳ μὲν Τόπον, οἳ δὲ Χρόνον καλοῦσι τὸ νοητὸν ἅπαν καὶ τὸ ἡνωμένον, ἐξ οὗ διακριθῆναι ἥ θεὸν ἀγαθὸν καὶ δαίμονα κακόν, ἢ φῶς καὶ σκότος πρὸ τούτων, ὡς ἐνίους λέγειν.* Cf. Aristoxenus fr. 13 Wehrli; *EGPO* 30–2.

MYTH INTO PHILOSOPHY

This highly individual cosmogony, which, as we have seen, was reflected in a number of Greek mythical narratives from Pherecydes and the first Orphic theogony on, also exercised a powerful influence on the philosophical tradition that began with the Milesians.

We know very little of Thales' system, and as he left no book, the ancients themselves knew only as much as was mentioned by some early, informed source, possibly Anaximenes.[50] The main datum is that he held all things to have come from water. Commentators have often related this to a background of Near Eastern mythical cosmogony. But there is something else that points to a more specific link with the Phoenician cosmogony that we have been considering. In the fullest statement of Thales' doctrines, derived from Theophrastus, there is reference to water causing earthquakes, circling winds (*πνευμάτων στροφάς* or *συστροφάς*), and movements of airs or of celestial bodies (*ἀέρων* or *ἄστρων κινήσεις*).[51] Thales had to account for the rotatory movement that is a feature of the visible cosmos. Apparently he postulated a cosmic whirlwind that arose from the primeval waters and that carried the heavenly bodies round the sky. Both water and wind participated in the circular flow—the *δίνη* that was to be the dominant model for Thales' successors.[52] Now, we have inferred from Aristophanes that the whirlwind motif had a place in the common source of the Greek and Phoenician traditions, in other words in a sixth-century (if not seventh-century) Phoenician cosmogony. Thales may have made the rotation start in the water, the water then driving the wind, whereas Sanchuniathon's Thoth I[306] makes it start in the wind. But there is similarity enough to suggest that Thales borrowed the idea from the Phoenician cosmogony. It may as well be recalled that according to Herodotus and others, Thales was himself of Phoenician descent.[53]

[50] Cf. *EGPO* 212.

[51] Hipp. *Ref.* 1. 1. 1–3 (Diels, *Doxographi* 555); *EGPO* 209–13.

[52] *EGPO* 211. I had already observed in 1963 (*CQ* 57, 172–6) that the *δίνη* model should have originated in Thales' water cosmology.

[53] Hdt. 1. 170 *Θαλέω, ἀνδρὸς Μιλησίου ... τὸ ἀνέκαθεν γένος ἐόντος Φοίνικος.* Cf. Diog. Laert. 1. 22, who cites Herodotus, Duris (= *FGrHist* 76 F 74), and Democritus (= DK 68 B 115a).

When we come to Anaximander, the points of contact are clearer and more numerous.[54] Firstly, his initial state is 'the Boundless', or at any rate 'boundless', ἄπειρον. It is eternal, and in constant movement. This was the ἀρχή of all things.[55] Anaximander evidently avoided specific terms such as wind, darkness, Chaos, but there remains a formal similarity to the initial state in Sanchuniathon, where these things were ἄπειρα and for long ages had no πέρας.

Secondly, Anaximander spoke of Time as a divine agent; he laid it down that cosmic imbalances are eventually self-correcting, since all things return to what they came from, 'paying the penalty to each other for their expropriations (τῆς ἀδικίας) in accordance with Time's tariff', κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Χρόνου τάξιν.[56] The Time-god, as we have seen, was a distinctive element in the Phoenician myth.

Thirdly, Anaximander described the genesis of our world as starting with an event which Theophrastus paraphrased as the separation from the Eternal (τὸ ἀίδιον) of something generative of heat and cold, τι γόνιμον θερμοῦ τε καὶ ψυχροῦ. From this entity, whatever it was, grew a sphere of flame that enclosed the space round the earth, corresponding to our firmament. Pieces of fire split off from it and became the sun, moon, and stars.[57] This reads like a translation into scientific language of a myth that ran: 'Eternal Time ejaculated semen, which developed into an egg, with the hot and light parts gathered on the outside and the cool, heavier parts towards the middle. From the hot parts on the outside the sun, moon, and stars were made.' This is unmistakably a form of the Phoenician myth. Its demythologization was already largely accomplished in Anaximander, and completed by Theophrastus in rendering account of Anaximander's theory.

Fourthly, Anaximander held that the earth was at first entirely covered by water; it has gradually been evaporating, and the sea that we know is what is left of it at present.[58] Thus he preserved the

[54] Cf. Hölscher (as in n. 27), 416 f. = 173 f.; Eissfeldt (as in n. 41), 9 ff.

[55] DK 12 A 1, 9–17; more conveniently laid out in C. H. Kahn, *Anaximander and the Origins of Greek Cosmology* (New York–London 1960), 29 + 32 + 39.

[56] A 9, Kahn 35; cf. *EGPO* 81–3.

[57] A 10, Kahn 57: φησὶ δέ τι ἐκ τοῦ ἀιδίου γόνιμον θερμοῦ τε καὶ ψυχροῦ κατὰ τὴν γένεσιν τοῦδε τοῦ κόσμου ἀποκριθῆναι, καί τινα ἐκ τούτου φλογὸς σφαῖραν περιφυῆναι τῶι περὶ τὴν γῆν ἀέρι, ὡς τῶι δένδρωι φλοιόν· ἥστινος ἀπορραγείσης καὶ εἴς τινας ἀποκλεισθείσης κύκλους ὑποστῆναι τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας. Cf. *EGPO* 83–5, 95.

[58] A 27, Kahn 65 f.

Semitic myth of the primeval Deep, except that he removed it from the initial state of the universe and made it instead the initial state of our local cosmos.

Fifthly, he held that the action of the sun's heat on the moisture below was responsible for winds, clouds, and rain.[59] This agrees with Sanchuniathon's account. There the meteorology appears as an integral part of the process that leads to the awakening of animal life by thunder and lightning. Anaximander's explanation of thunder and lightning as being caused by wind bursting out of clouds is a little different from Sanchuniathon's (clouds crashing together), and he did not, so far as we know, associate them with the origins of life.

He did, however, exert himself to account for the evolution of living things. He said that they first developed in the water, somehow as a result of its warming and drying I[307] out by the sun, and that they were enclosed in prickly shells; at a later stage they—and we—came out onto the land and shed their (our) integuments.[60] This account has in common with Sanchuniathon's at least the assumption that the origin of life is something to be treated in a cosmogonic context, and the concept of its development by stages from a lower to a higher form; probably also the idea of its genesis from the action of heat on moisture. In reports of Anaxagoras' biology, which evidently stood in the Anaximandrian tradition, it is stated explicitly that sexual reproduction was a secondary development.[61]

There are many things in Anaximander's system that cannot be derived from the Phoenician Time–Egg cosmogony. His model of the present cosmos seems to show several Babylonian or Iranian features.[62] As he certainly heard and debated with Thales, who apparently knew the Phoenician complex, it is a reasonable guess that it was from Thales that he took that over, while the Babylonian–Iranian elements represent a new ingredient coming from a subsequent source. A welcome consequence of this hypothesis will be that we can substantially fill out our picture of Thales' cosmology by retrojecting into it all those features of Anaximander's system which derive from the Phoenician cosmogony: the boundlessness of the initial state (water for Thales), the divine agent Time, his production

[59] A 11. 7, 24, Kahn 63.

[60] A 10, 11. 6, 30, Kahn 68–70.

[61] DK 59 A 1. 9 (= A 42. 12) ζῶια γίνεσθαι ἐξ ὑγροῦ καὶ θερμοῦ καὶ γεώδους, ὕστερον δὲ ἐξ ἀλλήλων. Cf. Diodorus cited above, p. 77.

[62] W. Burkert, *Rh. Mus.* 106 (1963), 97–134 = *Kl. Schr.* ii. 192–222; *EGPO* 87–93.

of a seed that grew into an oval or spherical cosmos, the conversion of sea into land under the influence of heat, the meteorological and biological theories. The fact that none of this is associated with Thales in the tradition is no obstacle. He left no book in which it could be read; the only parts of his teaching that were remembered as his were those cited at an early date by someone who did write.[63] Much more may have been preserved indirectly through Anaximander.

Much of Anaximander's system, in turn, was carried forward into later ones. Anaximenes, Anaxagoras, Leucippus and his atomist followers, Diogenes of Apollonia, all preserve the basic concept of the cosmos as a globule created and maintained in the infinite surrounding continuum by vortical forces. The more mythical elements of the original story, such as the autoeroticism of Time, disappear; yet *σπέρμα* remains as a cosmological metaphor (Anaxagoras, atomists), and in a curious report about Epicurus' cosmology we still read how the world began in the likeness of an egg, girded by a circling wind, as by a serpent, which in time divided it into the celestial and terrestrial hemispheres, and which even now drives the revolution of the sky and the stars.[64]

Once again we see the truth of Anaxagoras' dictum: *οὐ κεχώρισται ἀλλήλων τὰ ἐν τῶι ἑνὶ κόσμωι, οὐδὲ ἀποκέκοπται πελέκει.*

[63] Cf. above, n. 50.

[64] Epiphanius, *Adv. haer.* I. 8 (Diels, *Doxographi* 589. 11–21). There are connections here with the Orphic theogony; see *OP* 202.

5

The Date of Zoroaster

It may be asked what place a discussion of the date of Zoroaster has in a volume of *Hellenica*. Certainly the Iranian prophet lived and died far beyond the ken of any Greek. But Zoroastrian theology began to exercise occasional influence on the work of Greek thinkers from the second half of the sixth century on, and from the late fifth some Greeks became acquainted with Zoroaster's name. Before long he was the subject of historical romances and philosophical constructions, and in the Hellenistic and Roman periods many pseudepigraphic works in Greek were current under his name or those of other fabled Magi such as Ostanes and Astrampsychus.[1] Classical writers held some very divergent opinions about his antiquity, some making him contemporary with Pythagoras, others putting him nearly six thousand years earlier. It is not irrelevant to a Hellenist's concerns to try to get a bearing on the historical Zoroaster who lies behind all this.

The question has been endlessly debated by students of Zoroastrianism, with no consensus in sight.[2] While none of them takes seriously the idea of Zoroaster's having lived in the seventh millennium BCE, their datings still cover a huge range, from around 1500 to 550 BCE. Nor is it just a matter of opposing parties obstinately sticking to their opinions. Several scholars have swung from one view to another, raising or lowering their datings by several centuries at a stroke. One shivers with compassion to see a neighbour discipline

Original paper.

[1] I have provided a survey chapter on 'Zoroastrianism in the Classical World' for the Blackwell *Companion to the Study of Zoroastrianism*, edited by Michael Stausberg and Yuhan S.-D. Vevaina (in preparation).

[2] For a detailed survey of the controversy see Gherardo Gnoli, *Zoroaster in History* (New York 2000).

riven from top to bottom by perplexity on this scale over such a core issue. I cannot aspire to put an end to it. What I can do is lay out the essential arguments in a manner suited to a classicist readership and offer my own assessment of them, perhaps bringing greater clarity at some points. I gave a brief account of the matter in the introduction to my recent translation of Zoroaster's poems and the other Old Avestan texts.[3] I now take the opportunity for a fuller exposition. At the end I shall bring the subject closer to home with an appendix on possible reflexes in the Presocratics of the Zoroastrian cosmic chronology.

ZOROASTRIANISM AND THE ACHAEMENIDS

We may start from the certainty that Zoroaster lived not later than the sixth century BCE. His religion, defined by the worship of Ahura Mazdā instead of the traditional Indo-Iranian deities, is the religion upheld by Darius I and his successors, who name Auramazdā in their inscriptions as the greatest god.

Some have held that it was the religion of the whole dynasty from the time of Cyrus,[4] but this is by no means clear. The references to Auramazdā in the later Achaemenid inscriptions (in Akkadian and Elamite as well as Old Persian versions) are conspicuously lacking in Cyrus' cylinder from Babylon, in which he claims the favour of Marduk and other Babylonian gods and says he worships them.[5] The existence of 'fire altars' (fireplaces raised on plinths) at his capital Pasargadae is no proof of Zoroastrianism, for fire had a traditional place in Indo-Iranian cult. Fire altars of similar design had been used by the Medes since at least the mid eighth century.[6]

[3] *The Hymns of Zoroaster* (London 2010).

[4] So most explicitly Mary Boyce, *A History of Zoroastrianism*, ii (Leiden–Cologne 1982), 41, 49–69, and in *Achaemenid History*, iii (Proceedings of the London Achaemenid History Workshop, Leiden 1988), 26–31.

[5] Text and translation in P.-R. Berger, *ZA* 64 (1975), 194–203; English version in J. B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts* (3rd edn., Princeton 1969), 315 f., where the reader may see how strikingly its theology contrasts with that of the Xerxes document that is the following item.

[6] See M. Roaf and D. Stronach, *Iran* 11 (1973), 133–8, on the temple site at Tepe Nūsh-i Jān. They judge that the altars there, being too shallow to hold much fuel, were for use on ceremonial occasions, not for a permanent fire (p. 137).

But if it was not the religion of the dynasty from the beginning, it may have been the religion of Darius' family. The inscriptions from Hamadan (Ecbatana) which purport to be the words of his grandfather Aršāma and great-grandfather Ariyārāmna, and which praise Auramazdā in the same terms as Darius himself does,[7] are doubtful evidence, as they are widely held to be forgeries created by Darius. They do at least indicate that he either believed his forefathers to have been Mazda-worshippers or thought it a plausible postulate.

It is a more substantial point that his father Vištāspa (in Greek Hystaspes) had the same name as Zoroaster's patron, the man who was instrumental in establishing the religion in the land. It has occasionally even been supposed that the two were the same.[8] This cannot be right, as the later Avesta tells of the victories won over the infidel by Zoroaster's Vištāspa[9] but knows nothing of his son's having become master of the Persian empire. On the other hand it can hardly be a mere coincidence that the father of a Zoroastrian king has the same name as Zoroaster's most important and famous convert. It is a name found otherwise only among Darius' descendants, including one of his sons. Was Zoroaster's Vištāspa perhaps a member of the same family in an earlier generation? But in that case we might have expected Darius to include him in the line of his ancestors in the Bisitun inscription. The likeliest solution would seem to be that his grandfather Aršāma was a Zoroastrian and named his son after the prophet's famous patron.[10]

That would imply that the religion was established not later than the first quarter of the sixth century. Its currency during the reign of Cyrus—even if not professed by Cyrus himself—is further suggested by certain passages in the prophecy of Deutero-Isaiah that appear to

[7] Inscriptions AmH and AsH in R. G. Kent, *Old Persian* (New Haven 1953), 116.

[8] Amm. Marc. 23. 6. 32 *cuius scientiae* (that of the Magi) *saeculis priscis multa ex Chaldaeorum arcanis Bactrianus addidit Zoroastres, deinde Hystaspes, rex prudentissimus, Darii pater*, and a few modern writers. Agathias, *Hist.* 2. 24, considered the question unclear. It is of no relevance that in the *Gāthās* the name is scanned as four syllables, Vištaaspa.

[9] *Yašt* 5. 108–10, 116–18, 9. 29–32, 19. 87; Pahlavi texts cited in A. V. Williams Jackson, *Zoroaster: The Prophet of Ancient Iran* (New York 1899), 104 n. 2.

[10] A similar argument has been used on behalf of Cyrus, on the assumption that the daughter of his whom the Greeks knew as Atossa (Hdt. 3. 88. 2) was actually called Hutaosā ('Good Thighs', according to Bartholomae): this is the name of a sister and wife of Vištāspa mentioned in the Younger Avesta (though not, as Vištāspa is, in the *Gāthās*).

echo one of Zoroaster's most striking and beautiful poems.[11] If the Hebrew prophet had indeed been exposed to Zoroastrian influence, it was surely not in Iran but in Babylon. The inference would be that by 550 Zoroastrianism was up and running in at least parts of Iran and was a presence in Babylonia too.

THE LINGUISTIC ARGUMENT

If Aršāma gives us a *terminus ante quem* for Zoroaster, how much earlier is he to be placed? There are two approaches to the question. One is to sift the statements and opinions to be found in ancient sources, both native and non-native, and see whether they seem to contain useful evidence. The other is to ignore these, or relegate them to marginal status, and to seek an answer on the basis of linguistic and historical considerations.

The second approach has been followed by those scholars, beginning I think with F. Windischmann, who have wanted to put Zoroaster back to 1000 BCE or earlier. They are moved by two considerations: first, that the language of his poems (the *Gāthās*) and of a few other 'Old Avestan' texts is approximately as archaic as the related Indian dialect in which the hymns of the *Rigveda* are composed, these being conventionally assigned to the period 1500–1000; second, that it is markedly more archaic than the languages of most of the rest of the Avesta (the so-called Younger Avesta) and of the Old Persian inscriptions, implying a time gap of a few centuries.

One weakness of the argument is that the dating of the *comparanda* is itself uncertain. Indologists distinguish earlier and later strata in the Vedic hymns, and their composition must have extended over several generations, but hardly over half a millennium; two centuries were perhaps enough. The dating to 'before 1000' is arrived at by estimating durations for a sequence of post-Vedic literary forms, for which, however, there is no fixed point before the fifth century BCE. Even if we admit the legitimacy of the method, there is no real reason why the later Vedic hymns should not date from around 900. Some of the phraseological parallels between the *Gāthās*

[11] Isa. 40: 12–14, 26; 44: 24; 45: 7–8; *Yasna* 44; Morton Smith, *JAOS* 83 (1963), 415–21; M. Boyce, *A History of Zoroastrianism*, ii. 43–7.

and the *Rigveda* are in fact with these late hymns. As for the Younger Avesta, here again we have no fixed dates. Most of it was probably composed in the Achaemenid period; the major hymns (*Yašts*) tend to be put in the fifth century. But how much older must the *Gāthās* be?

Here there is a problem of principle that has often been raised, notably by Antoine Meillet.[12] The language of the *Gāthās* is not simply the language of the Younger Avesta at an earlier stage of development. It is a different dialect, and its more archaic features are not necessarily an index of time difference: they may just be features of that dialect. By the same token it is a different language from Vedic Sanskrit, and it cannot be assumed that the two evolved in step with one another. An archaic form of speech, such as Zoroaster's may have been, may maintain itself for centuries in an isolated region. If the only records of Icelandic were a collection of poems composed in the nineteenth century, and one had no means of dating them except the language, one might well conclude from comparison with medieval Norwegian or Swedish that they must be six hundred or eight hundred years old. One cannot take a body of undated texts in an otherwise undocumented language and attempt to date them by comparisons with other languages.

In the case of the *Gāthās* we must also bear in mind that they are verse texts and that their many phraseological parallels with the *Rigveda* indicate that they stand in a conservative poetic tradition of great antiquity. So their language (like that of the Homeric poems) may be more archaic in many respects than their author's vernacular. The other main document of Old Avestan, the *Liturgy in Seven Chapters*, is prose, but a highly stylized, hieratic prose.

There is a further point that has not previously been noted in the discussion. While the morphology of these texts looks very old, their syntax and sentence structures are highly developed and sophisticated.[13] Zoroaster makes abundant use of abstract nouns, with varying degrees of personification, and does not hesitate to make them the subject of a sentence. With a statement such as 'then

[12] *Journal asiatique* 10 (1917), 183–214; *Trois conférences sur les Gâthâ de l'Avesta* (Paris 1925), 27–32. Cf. W. B. Henning, *Zoroaster: Politician or Witch-doctor?* (Oxford 1951), 36; I. Gershevitch, *Iran* 33 (1995), 2 f.; Gnoli (as n. 2), 24–7.

[13] See my *Old Avestan Syntax and Stylistics* (*Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, n. F. 13, Berlin–Boston 2011), 2–3, 126–9, 136–7.

vitality informs the body, piety the soul' (*Yasna* 30. 7), or with sentences that extend over several strophes, swollen with subordinate clauses and parentheses, we are far removed from the relative simplicity of structure and expression that we might expect to have been characteristic of Indo-Iranian hymns of the earlier second millennium.

On general grounds it seems unlikely that Zoroaster should be separated from the rest of Iranian history by such a wide time-gap as his dating to the second millennium would imply. Native sources, as we shall see, do not claim any such high antiquity for him.

DATINGS IN CLASSICAL SOURCES

The Avesta itself gives no chronological indications or historical anchorage. The Achaemenid inscriptions make no mention of the prophet or of the origins of Mazda-worship.

The earliest attested opinion on Zoroaster's date is that of certain Greek authors of the fifth, fourth, and third centuries BCE who had the idea that he had lived some six thousand years before. The first is Xanthus of Sardis, cited by Diogenes Laertius 1. 2:

ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Μάγων, ὧν ἄρξαι Ζωροάστρην τὸν Ἥραν, Ἑρμόδωρος μὲν ὁ Πλατωνικὸς ἐν τῶι Περὶ μαθημάτων φησὶν εἰς τὴν Τροίας ἅλωσιν ἔτη γεγονέναι πεντακισχίλια· Ξάνθος δὲ ὁ Λυδὸς εἰς τὴν Ξέρξου διάβασιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ζωροάστρου ἑξακόσιά (v.l. *ἑξακισχίλιά*) *φησι.*

From the Magoi, the first of whom was the Persian Zoroaster, Hermodorus the Platonist in his *Peri Mathēmatōn* says that it was 5,000 years down to the capture of Troy, while Xanthus the Lydian (*FGrHist* 765 F 32) says it was 6,000 from Zoroaster to Xerxes' crossing (of the Hellespont).

The main tradition here gives *ἑξακόσια*; the variant *ἑξακισχίλια* is found only in a fifteenth-century manuscript (R) and a fifteenth-century correction of P.[14] It is strongly recommended, however, by the similar dating that Diogenes attributes to Hermodorus and by those attributed to other authorities by Pliny, *HN* 30. 3–4:

[14] T. Dorandi, *Rh. Mus.* 153 (2010), 409–12. There is a similar fluctuation with the dating to 5,000 years before the fall of Troy: in *Suda* ζ 159 it becomes '500 years before the Trojan War', which is clearly not the correct variant. Cf. Gnoli (as n. 2), 52.

Eudoxus . . . Zoroastren hunc sex milibus annorum ante Platonis mortem fuisse prodidit; sic et Aristoteles. Hermippus . . . quinque milibus annorum ante Troianum bellum fuisse.

Eudoxus (fr. 342 Lasserre) stated that this Zoroaster lived 6,000 years before the death of Plato; so too Aristotle (fr. 34 Rose). Hermippus (fr. 2 Wehrli) put him 5,000 years before the Trojan War.[15]

These are all variants of a single calculation. Xanthus presumably got his opinion from Magoi that he encountered in Lydia.[16] Eudoxus took over Xanthus' dating, '6,000 years before . . .', but replaced Xerxes' crossing with Plato's death as the epochal event. Hermodorus reformulated it as '5,000 years before the Trojan War'.[17]

A dating of Zoroaster to the seventh millennium BCE is of course quite impossible, and no Western scholar has entertained it for a moment, but it has long been seen how it must have originated. There was a Zoroastrian mythical chronology according to which historical time had a finite duration of 12,000 years, divided into twelve millennia, four trimillennia.[18] It is set out in detail in the *Bundahišn* and other Middle Persian sources, but that it existed much earlier is proved by a report cited from Theopompus (*FGrHist* 115 F 65) by Plut. *Is. et Os.* 370bc:

Θεόπομπος δέ φησι κατὰ τοὺς μάγους ἀνὰ μέρος τρισχίλια ἔτη τὸν μὲν κρατεῖν τὸν δὲ κρατεῖσθαι τῶν θεῶν, ἄλλα δὲ τρισχίλια μάχεσθαι καὶ πολεμεῖν καὶ ἀναλύειν τὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου τὸν ἕτερον, τέλος δὲ ἀπολείπεσθαι τὸν Ἅιδην· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀνθρώπους εὐδαίμονας ἔσεσθαι, μήτε τροφῆς δεομένους μήτε σκιὰν ποιοῦντας, τὸν δὲ ταῦτα μηχανησάμενον θεὸν ἡρεμεῖν καὶ ἀναπαύεσθαι.

Theopompus says that according to the Magoi the two gods (*sc.* Oromazes and Areimanios) prevail and are prevailed over in turn for periods of three thousand years. For a further three thousand they fight and make war and undo each other's works. In the end Hades (=Areimanios) passes away,

[15] Cf. also Plut. *Is. et Os.* 369d; sch. Pl. *Alcib. I* 122a; Jackson (as n. 9), 152–4.

[16] He discussed the customs of the Magoi in a book that Clement cites under the title *Μαγικά* (*FGrHist* 765 F 31). There are several stories of Magoi such as Ostanes who came to Greece with Xerxes (Pliny, *HN* 30. 8; Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* 1. 10; Diog. Laert. 9. 34). Xanthus probably knew men who remembered that time, and this may go some way towards explaining why he took Xerxes' crossing of the Hellespont as an epoch.

[17] On these Greek datings cf. the very full discussion of Gnoli (as n. 2), 43–94.

[18] Cf. R. C. Zaehner, *Zurvan: A Zoroastrian Dilemma* (Oxford 1955), 96–8; Gnoli (as n. 2), 67–9.

and then mankind will be in a state of blessedness, needing no food and casting no shadows, while the god who has contrived this rests in peace.

In this system the material world and all people's *fravašis* or external souls (including Zoroaster's) were created after 3,000 years; Zoroaster's good religion triumphed after 9,000. There was thus a span of 6,000 years between the creation of Zoroaster's *fravaši* and his appearance on earth. The Greek notion that he lived '6,000 years ago' evidently rests on a misunderstanding of this doctrine. Xanthus must have heard an account which laid some emphasis on the creation of Zoroaster's *fravaši*. The 12,000-year system, consequently, must been fully developed by his time, so not later than the mid fifth century.[19] It may in fact go back to the sixth century in view of apparent reflections of it in Anaximander, Heraclitus, and especially Empedocles.[20]

Can we make any inference as to how far in the past the creator of the 12,000-year chronology imagined Zoroaster to have lived? He certainly considered that he himself and his contemporaries were living in the tenth millennium, the one inaugurated by the advent of the Good Religion, and not more than halfway through it. This is the picture still reflected in 4 Ezra 14: 10–12, a passage thought to date from the late first century CE:

> For the world has lost its youth, the times begin to wax old. For the world-age is divided into twelve parts; nine (parts) of it are passed already, and the half of the tenth part; and there remain of it two (parts), besides the half of the tenth part.

When the Sasanian dynasty established itself in 226 CE, the year was 538 according to the Seleucid Era widely used in the East.[21] By an extraordinary manoeuvre to calibrate historical with mythical chronology this current dating was equated with year 538 of the Zoroastrian era. The idea that the present time was located somewhere in the middle of the tenth millennium had apparently persisted for centuries without much adjustment for the lapse of years. As for the inventor of the twelve-millennium system, who probably lived sometime in the sixth century BCE, he must have

[19] A. V. W. Jackson, *JAOS* 17 (1896), 3; cf. Gnoli (as n. 2), 67–77.

[20] See the Appendix to this chapter.

[21] For the Seleucid Era, which began in autumn 312 BCE, cf. J. W. Kubitschek, *RE* i. 632–4; E. J. Bickerman, *Chronology of the Ancient World* (London 1968), 71 f.

thought of the prophet as having lived, not thousands of years before, not even one thousand, but a few hundred at most, perhaps less than a hundred. Presently we shall find further evidence of this as a Zoroastrian viewpoint.

So far as it goes, it is in accord with notions implied in some classical references. Aristoxenus represented Pythagoras as going to Babylon and receiving instruction there from 'Zaratas the Chaldaean', and the idea of his association with Zoroaster is echoed in a number of later authors.[22] This would bring Zoroaster well down into the sixth century. It is of course an invention by someone—perhaps Heraclides Ponticus—who was not bound by any great historical scruples. We cannot assume that he had any real reason to believe that Zoroaster's lifetime overlapped with Pythagoras', we can only infer that he conceived of Zoroaster as a figure from the time of the Median empire, not from before the Trojan War.

Others were prepared to place him somewhat earlier, in the time of the legendary Assyrian king Ninos and queen Semiramis, who flourished (in so far as it is meaningful to assign a date to them) around 800. Here Zoroaster appears as a king of Bactria who fails to withstand an invasion by Ninos or Semiramis. The tale of this invasion goes back to Ctesias, though in his account the Bactrian king was not Zoroaster but Oxyartes or Exaortes; Zoroaster takes his place in a series of sources from the Roman period, presumably an innovation by some Hellenistic romancer.[23] This is novelistic history from which little of use can be extracted. There are points of interest: the location of Zoroaster in Bactria is not altogether out of keeping with the modern consensus that the home of the Avesta is to be sought in eastern Iran, and it is noteworthy that Zoroaster is treated as living before those regions fell under the sway of the Medes or Persians (though well after the Trojan War). But the invasion of Bactria by Assyria is unhistorical, Zoroaster was certainly not a king, and he is not even an original player in the story.

[22] Aristox. fr. 13 W.; other sources in Jackson (as n. 9), 169. Cf. Gnoli (as n. 2), 102–11. The idea may derive from Heraclides Ponticus' dialogue *Zoroastres*, cf. J. D. P. Bolton, *Aristeas of Proconnesus* (Oxford 1962), 159, 203; *contra*, H. B. Gottschalk, *Heraclides of Pontus* (Oxford 1980), 111–15. 'Zaratas' appears to be a later Persian form of the name.

[23] Ctesias, *FGrHist* 688 F 1 (Diod. 2. 6); Pompeius Trogus *ap.* Just. *Epit.* 1. 1; Cephalion *FGrHist* 93 F 1; Theon, *Progymn.* 9; others in Jackson (as n. 9), 156 f. Cf. Gnoli (as n. 2), 43 f.

According to Pliny, *HN* 30. 3 and 8, there had been two Zoroasters: the first was the one who lived thousands of years before, while the second lived shortly before the Magos Ostanes, who accompanied Xerxes on his invasion of Greece. The association with Xerxes' invasion recalls Xanthus' use of this event as a reference-point for dating. Pliny calls this latter-day Zoroaster a Proconnesian, which points to an assimilation of Zoroaster to Aristeas.[24]

DATINGS IN ZOROASTRIAN SOURCES

Much of the debate has focused on what looks like a very precise dating provided by Pahlavi and Arabic sources of the ninth and tenth centuries.[25] They reckon the coming of the religion to be marked by the conversion by Zoroaster (aged 42) of Vištāspa (aged 30). They list the rulers from Vištāspa to Darius (Darius III, that is) and Alexander and give the lengths of their reigns. Added up, these yield the total of 258 years from Vištāspa's conversion to the conquest by Alexander. If we take 330 BCE as the date of the conquest, that would give us 588 as the supposed date of Vištāspa's conversion and 630 as that of Zoroaster's birth.

W. B. Henning showed that the 258-year interval was an integral component of the chronology worked out at the beginning of the Sasanian period, which I mentioned above.[26] The Zoroastrian era was now supposed to have begun 538 years before 226 CE. These 538 years were made up of the 258 years to Alexander's conquest + 14 years assigned to his rule + 266 years assigned to the Arsacid dynasty (which had in fact, with the Seleucids, occupied the entire 538 years). In terms of true historical chronology—of which the author of the scheme had no conception—this meant that Zoroaster was dated to the late fourth century BCE and Alexander from 54 to 40 BCE. The drastic compression of the Arsacid period, Henning

[24] Cf. Bolton (as n. 22), 159 f. A few late sources make Zoroaster contemporary with Cambyses and Smerdis: Jackson (as n. 9), 167 f.

[25] Set out by Jackson (as n. 9), 157–65. Cf. E. W. West in *Sacred Books of the East* xlvii (Oxford 1880), Introduction, §§53 f.; Helmut Humbach, *The Gāthās of Zarathushtra* (Heidelberg 1991), i. 27–30; Gnoli (as n. 2), 134–83.

[26] Henning (as n. 12), 37–42, followed by Ilya Gershevitch, *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra* (Cambridge 1959), 9; id., *Iran* 33 (1995), 6–9.

argued, presupposes the '258 years before Alexander' as a given quantity: the early Zoroastrians, he supposed, must have kept the tally of the years from the moment when their religion became established.

This is untenable, as H. S. Nyberg made clear.[27] Firstly the idea that the original Zoroastrian community resolved to number the years from a particular stage in the advance of their faith, and that this year-count was maintained uninterrupted until 330 BCE, is historically implausible. The only form of dating current in the Middle East before Alexander was by the names of rulers. The Achaemenid kings, the principal supports of the Mazdaic religion from the sixth century on, are not recorded as having made any use of a system of dating from Zoroaster. In the sources that refer to the 258-year period the list of kings and reigns bears little relation to history: Vištāspa continues to rule for 90 years after his conversion, he is succeeded by an unidentifiable Vohūman Spanddād who rules for 112 years and a queen Humāy who rules for 30; then come two Dariuses, who will correspond to the historical Darius II and III, though these two were actually separated by an interval of 68 years and three other reigns. Darius I, Xerxes, and the various Artaxerxes are nowhere in the scheme. Alexander, who actually died seven years after conquering Iran, is made to rule over it for fourteen years. And then comes the Arsacid dynasty, reduced to half of its actual duration. There is no warrant for supposing that in this wholly unhistorical mish-mash one is entitled to fasten on the figure of 258 years as a reliable datum.

Peter Kingsley has tried to account for the figure as derived from a construction by Hellenistic Greek chronographers reflecting the belief that Zoroaster had taught Pythagoras.[28] He claims that '258 years before Alexander' or 'before the Era of Alexander' meant 'as a matter of convention' before the first year of the Seleucid Era, that is, before 312 BCE. The date for Zoroaster then becomes 570, and this is just forty years before the *floruit* assigned by Apollodorus to Pythagoras; forty years is the typical interval that Apollodorus

[27] In the *Begleitwort* to the reprinting of his *Die Religionen des alten Iran* (Osnabrück 1966), = B. Schlerath (ed.), *Zarathustra* (Wege der Forschung, 169, Darmstadt 1970), 166 f.

[28] P. Kingsley, 'The Greek Origin of the Sixth-century Dating of Zoroaster', *BSOAS* 53 (1990), 245–65.

assumed between teacher and pupil when he had no more precise information. As Pythagoras' relationship with Zoroaster has no historical basis, Kingsley rejects as worthless the chronological scheme that he claims is derived from it.

The argument is beguiling, but unsound. It depends on the assertion that when the Persian and Arabic writers said 'before Alexander' they meant before the Seleucid Era, which began eleven years after Alexander's death. It is true that al-Bīrūnī says 'till the beginning of the Era of Alexander', and that the Arabs used this expression to refer to the Seleucid Era. But it is clear from the texts that the 258 years were meant to go up to Alexander's conquest of Iran, with fourteen years of rule by Alexander still to come after that point. Bīrūnī afterwards realized that he had confused the two epochs, and he corrected his reckoning by adding 18 years to the 258 so as to make it 276 years up to the 'Era of Alexander'.[28] The starting year for the count thus remains at 588 BCE.

In any case Kingsley's construction suffers from other weaknesses. There is no evidence that Apollodorus or any other Greek chronographer ever offered a date for Zoroaster, who as a barbarian Magos lay outside their purview. It is equally implausible that the Sasanian pseudo-historians who constructed the 538-year chronology had made any study of Greek historians and chronographers: otherwise they could hardly have fallen into such gross errors. They knew the conventional year-count of the Seleucid Era, but evidently had no notion of its historical origin and its relation to the career of Alexander.

Marijan Molé had already found a more convincing way of accounting for the 258 years.[29] Zoroaster is supposed to have been 42 at the time of Vištāspa's conversion, and 42 added to 258 comes to exactly 300. This is the significant figure: just 300 years from the Zoroaster's appearance on earth to the collapse of the Persian empire. The figure of 258 is derived from it to represent the period during which Zoroastrianism had been the official religion.

The 300-year period before Alexander is mentioned explicitly in the Pahlavi works *Ardā Vīrāz Nāmag* (1. 1–5) and *Selections of*

[28] H. S. Taqizadeh, *BSOAS* 10 (1940/2), 129 f.; Humbach (as n. 25), i. 28.

[29] M. Molé, *Culte, mythe et cosmologie dans l'Iran ancien* (Paris 1967), 531; cf. G. Gnoli, *Zoroaster's Time and Homeland* (Naples 1980), 167–70; Humbach (as n. 25), i. 28–30.

Zādspram (25. 12). In these, however, its starting-point is not Zoroaster's birth but the establishment of his religion, which corresponds to his enlightenment at the age of 30. Here are the two passages:

> Thus it is said that once the righteous Zoroaster had spread in the world the religion he (had) received. Until the completion of three hundred years the religion was in purity and men were free from doubts. Then the accursed Evil Spirit, the sinful, in order to make men doubtful of this religion, misled the accursed Alexander the Roman, resident of Egypt, and sent him to the land of Iran with great brutality and violence and fear(?). He killed the Iranian ruler and destroyed and ruined the court and the sovereignty.[31]

> Dans la trois-centième année, il fera nuit pendant le jour, puis la religion sera troublée et la royauté ébranlée.[32]

The crucial testimony, however, is that of the Arabic writer al-Mas'ūdī, who died in 956. He records that the 300 years were specified in a prophecy by Zoroaster himself that was to be found in the Avesta:

> Zéradoucht (Zoroastre) fils de Bourchasb fils d'Esbiman a dit dans l'Avesta, c'est-à-dire dans le livre qui lui a été révélé, selon eux, que l'empire des Perses serait ébranlé au bout de trois cents ans et que leur religion subsisterait; mais que, à l'expiration de la millième année, leur empire et leur religion seraient ruinés ensemble. Or il s'écoula entre Zoroastre et Alexandre environ trois cents ans.[33]

The significance of this passage has not been properly appreciated. It means that the reckoning which put Zoroaster's birth not 300 but 330 years before Alexander was founded on authority more than a thousand years older than the extant sources: a lost book of the Avesta itself (probably the *Spend Nask*). The prophecy that stood there must have been composed soon after Alexander's conquest. It was designed to account for the fall of the empire, while defiantly proclaiming that the religion would last for a thousand years, which

[31] Trans. F. Vahman, *Ardā Wirāz Nāmag: The Iranian 'Divina Commedia'* (Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies Monograph Series, 53, London–Malmö 1986). This prefatory chapter is thought to date from the ninth or tenth century.

[32] Trans. P. Gignoux and A. Tafazzoli, *Anthologie de Zādspram* (Paris 1993). In this passage events up to Zoroaster's death in the 47th year (at the age of 77) are listed in the past tense, those after it in the future.

[33] *Ketāb al-tanbih wa'l-eśrāf* 97–8, trans. B. Carra de Vaux, *Maçoudi, Le livre de l'avertissement et de la revision* (Paris 1896), 140.

at the time was a period stretching into a distant future. It knows nothing of the revival of empire under the Sasanians.

The incompetent chronographer who devised the Sasanian system in or shortly after 226 CE took over the datum of 300 years from Zoroaster to Alexander but wrongly assumed that they were counted from the prophet's birth. It followed, if Zoroaster was 42 at the time when he converted Vištāspa, that 258 years remained from then to Alexander's conquest. But Zoroaster could not have made the prophecy before he received the religion at the age of 30, and that was in all probability the time at which he was supposed to have uttered it. On this premise he would have been born in 660.

Support for this reckoning may be found in a relatively early Syriac source, a fragment of Mani's *Book of Giants*, in which, according to a plausible supplement of a missing digit, the 'beginning of King Vištāsp' was dated 3,288 years after Enoch. On certain assumptions about the chronological system used, this works out as 618 BCE.[34] If it refers to Vištāspa's conversion, then his birth would fall in 648 and Zoroaster's in 660.

There were, then, current in Zoroastrian lands in the third century CE, two alternative calculations, setting Vištāspa's conversion either 258 or 288 years before Alexander. They both derive from the 300-year prophecy, depending on whether the 300 years were taken to be counted from Zoroaster's birth or his enlightenment. The latter alternative, the one presupposed by Mani, is the only one that makes sense, given that the prophecy was supposed to have been made by Zoroaster himself.

The upshot of the analysis is that a Zoroastrian priest of the time of Alexander, a contributor to the Avesta, thought of the prophet as having lived about three centuries previously. We may perhaps credit him with a sufficient grasp of Iranian history to know that this corresponded to a dating some three generations before Cyrus, around the time of the end of the Assyrian empire and the rise of the Median.

[34] W. B. Henning, *BSOAS* 11 (1943), 73 n. 3. It is the last digit of '3288' that needed supplementing. The fragment is actually in Parthian, but it goes back to a Syriac original.

A JEWISH GAMBIT

Clement of Alexandria mentions in passing, but dismisses as erroneous, an opinion that Zoroaster was none other than Ezekiel. *Strom.* 1. 70. 1:

Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐν τῷ Περὶ Πυθαγορικῶν συμβόλων καὶ Ζαράτου τὸν Ἀσσύριόν μαθητεῦσαι ἱστορεῖ τὸν Πυθαγόραν (Ἰεζεκιὴλ τοῦτον ἡγοῦνταί τινες· οὐκ ἔστι δέ, ὡς ἔπειτα δηλωθήσεται)· ἀκηκοέναι τε πρὸς τούτοις Γαλατῶν καὶ Βραχμάνων τὸν Πυθαγόραν βούλεται.

Alexander [Polyhistor] in his work *On the Pythagorean Symbola* [*FGrHist* 273 F 94] records that Pythagoras also studied under Zaratos the Assyrian (some consider this man to be Ezekiel, but he is not, as will be shown later); and he will have it that Pythagoras also heard Gauls [*sc.* Druids] and Brahmans.

It is not clear whether the reference to Ezekiel came from Alexander Polyhistor or was inserted by Clement from elsewhere, but in any case we can be sure that it derives from a Hellenistic Jewish source, probably of the second century BCE; it is in line with the well-known tendency of writers such as pseudo-Eupolemus, Aristobulus, and Artapanus to validate and glorify the Jewish heritage in Greek eyes by means of spurious literary-historical claims, for example by identifying the legendary Musaeus with Moses, and by forging a poem in which Orpheus instructed him in the true theology. As Zoroaster had acquired a high reputation among Greeks as an inspired sage and prophet, these Jews saw fit to appropriate him too. It was no doubt because of his association with Babylon that they picked on Ezekiel as his Jewish *alter ego*, for it was in Babylon that Ezekiel had had his visions.

He had them in the first decades of the sixth century. We cannot go so far as to say that the man who identified him with Zoroaster started from a belief that the latter was active in those decades; the synchronism was a consequence rather than a premise of the identification. What we can fairly say is that he thought of Zoroaster as belonging to the age of the Prophets and not to that of Moses.

This is of much greater significance than the wild medley of identifications of Zoroaster that appear in later Jewish and Christian

sources: with Ham, Mesraim, Nimrod, Baruch, Balaam, or Baal.[35] These require no discussion.

CONCLUSION

If we disregard the dating to the seventh millennium BCE, there is no real discord between Greek, Jewish, and Zoroastrian notions of when Zoroaster lived. The oldest recoverable Zoroastrian dating is the one implied by the 300-year oracle, which placed the prophet's activity in the second half of the seventh century. Greek writers (apart from those misled by the millenary theory) put him at earliest in the time of Ninos and Semiramis, at latest shortly before Xerxes. The Jewish writer who identified him with Ezekiel set him squarely within these limits. No one will have had exact knowledge on the question, and this left considerable scope for fictitious constructions. But there was no such wide divergence of views as divides modern Iranianists.

Unfortunately it is not apparent that any of these views were founded on any historical memory or record of Zoroaster. The persons he names in his poems are undatable, and we cannot synchronize him with anyone datable. The most we can conclude from the ancient datings is that the Magoi who introduced his name to the Greeks purveyed no tradition of his having lived in a remote mythical era such as that of Orpheus. The impression was given that he had lived within the last two or three centuries. This does not rule out the possibility of putting him as far back as 1000 BCE. But I have pointed out the weaknesses of the arguments for doing so.

Evidence for the currency of Zoroastrianism reaches back to the early sixth century, at any rate if the argument from the name of Darius' father is accepted. By the time of Cyrus there appears to be a Zoroastrian presence at Babylon, and the twelve-millennium cosmic chronology probably dates from this period (see the Appendix below). We have the impression that the religion is well established at least in some areas, even if perhaps not yet over the whole of Iran. How far back in time must we go from here to find the founder?

[35] See references in Jackson (as n. 9), 125 f., 157, 165 f., 286 f.

A dating sometime in the seventh century would seem to suit all the evidence, so far as it goes. We cannot rule out the eighth. But to restate a point made earlier, the higher we go, the greater will be the discomfort at the width of the time-gap separating Zoroaster from the rest of Iranian history.

APPENDIX: THE ZOROASTRIAN MILLENARY SYSTEM AND THE PRESOCRATICS

I have described above the Zoroastrian cosmic chronology according to which Ohrmazd (Ahura Mazdā) and Ahriman (Angra Manyu) compete against each other over four trimillennia, prevailing in alternation until Ohrmazd finally triumphs. In one version, reported by Armenian writers of the fifth century CE, they are twin brothers born from Time (Zruvān); in the version of the Pahlavi *Bundahišn* they are co-eternal with Time, who acts as a sort of supervisory figure.

The system does not go back to Zoroaster himself. For him Angra Manyu, 'Hostile Will', was the twin not of Ahura Mazdā but of Spənta Manyu, 'Bounteous Will' (*Yasna* 30. 3), while the latter according to another passage (47. 3) was a son of Ahura Mazdā. Zoroaster believed in a perfect initial state of the world and a current conflict between forces of good and evil, but he hoped that the good might triumph and perfection be restored in his lifetime (30. 9), not thousands of years in the future. He uses the expression *vīspāi yauuē*, 'for all time', but he knows no personified god Time. The millenary system reflects a later development that by elevating Angra Manyu to equal status with Ahura Mazdā made the religion truly dualistic, though the evil one's final defeat was preordained. If we are able to establish how early the system was created, it will contribute something to the wider question of the emergence of Zoroastrianism.

We saw that Theopompus in the second half of the fourth century BCE was well informed about the system, and that its existence a century earlier is implied by Xanthus' dating of Zoroaster to 6,000 years before Xerxes. Evidence from the Presocratics may enable us to put it back into the sixth century.

First there is Anaximander, who wrote perhaps in the third quarter of that century[36] and whose cosmology shows at least one distinctively Iranian feature. He held that our universe (which is one of an infinite number) exists in a space hollowed out from the surrounding Boundless (*ἄπειρον*) and that it will last for a fixed period, at the end of which it will dissolve back into the Boundless. The earth hangs in the middle of the space. Between it and the outer boundary there lie concentric rings made of fire, enclosed in misty air that hides the fire from view except where it shines through certain holes, appearing to us as the sun, moon, and stars. The rings are spaced at equal distances, at three different levels from the earth. That of the stars is the nearest to the earth, being nine earth-diameters across; that of the moon is next, measuring eighteen earth-diameters; that of the sun is the highest, at twenty-seven diameters. Presumably the edge of the Boundless is reached at thirty-six diameters. This number 36 assigned to the firmament and the attachment of the heavenly bodies to wheel-shaped structures perhaps derive from Babylonian astronomy.[37] But the sequence earth–stars–moon–sun is purely Iranian: perhaps not originally Zoroastrian, but certainly established doctrine in the Younger Avesta (*Yašt* 12. 25–34, *Vīdēvdāt* 7. 52, 11. 1–2, and other passages), and it remains so in the Pahlavi books. It is not founded on any observational considerations but on a religious concept of gradations of fiery purity. These are the stations of the soul's journey when it leaves the body. It goes first to the nearest earthly fire, and from there to the stars, the moon, the sun, and finally to the 'Beginningless Light' which is the abode of Ohrmazd (*Dāmdāt Nask* in *Šāyest-nē-šāyest* 12. 5). As in Anaximander, the distances between each stage are equal. And there is a striking analogy between Anaximander's Boundless at the furthest limit of the universe and the Beginningless Light that is the Zoroastrian soul's final goal.[38]

What brings the millenary system to mind is the proposition that Simplicius quotes almost verbatim from Anaximander (DK 12 B 1):

[36] Apollodorus stated that he was 64 years old (perhaps the age at which he published his book) in 547/6 BCE. But in default of documentary evidence he will have arrived at that date by rough-and-ready reckoning, and for all we know it could be twenty or thirty years too high.

[37] Cf. *EGPO* 88 f., 92.

[38] W. Burkert, *Rh. Mus.* 106 (1963), 103–20 = *Kl. Schr.* ii (Göttingen 2003), 197–211; *EGPO* 89–91.

ἐξ ὧν δὲ ἡ γένεσίς ἐστι τοῖς οὖσι, καὶ τὴν φθορὰν εἰς ταῦτα γίνεσθαι κατὰ τὸ χρεών· διδόναι γὰρ αὐτὰ δίκην καὶ τίσιν ἀλλήλοις τῆς ἀδικίας κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Χρόνου τάξιν.

Things perish back into what they came from, in accordance with the demands of necessity; for they pay just requital to each other for their trespasses according to Time's ordinance.

This is not the first appearance in Greek of the personified Time; we find him half a century earlier in Solon (fr. 36. 3), in the role of a judge who eventually finds out the truth of everything. Anaximander's Chronos, however, is much more like the Zoroastrian Zruvān, presiding over the universe, ordaining things in advance, prescribing a fixed term during which each constituent of our world may assert itself. Imbalances arise, stigmatized as *ἀδικίαι*, and at the appointed time they are corrected as winner becomes loser and *vice versa*. It is not attested that Anaximander assigned specific durations to these phases or to the life of our universe, but in view of the symmetrical measurements that he gave for its structure, it seems very likely that he did. The expression *κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Χρόνου τάξιν* implies *τακτοὶ χρόνοι*.

Heraclitus, who wrote around 500 BCE, has long been seen as a thinker affected by Persian influence. His concept of a divine Wisdom, unitary, apart from everything else, possessing the insight that steers everything through the world, and to some degree equatable with the Greeks' highest divinity, Zeus (DK 22 B 32, 41, 50, 108), inevitably makes us think of Zoroaster's Lord Mindfulness (Ahura Mazdā), except that Heraclitus made his Wisdom neuter, not masculine, an explicitly impersonal principle. Then there is the cosmological importance that he attached to fire. He held that the world is an ever-living fire, not all parts of which are alight at once; the parts that are not alight exist as other things (B 30, 90), all interconnected by the vital forward flow which we see in fire and which continues invisibly throughout everything. This goes beyond anything in Zoroaster's thinking, but the Pahlavi books, at least, teach that there is fire in whatever exhibits warmth, brightness, and growth: in sky and earth, water and plants, cattle and humankind. It can even be struck out of rock.[39] It did not require a big step for Heraclitus to see all those fires as parts of a single system, especially if

[39] *EGPO* 171 f.

he was aware of the idea of the soul's journey via the earthly fire to the celestial fires and so to the Beginningless Light.

What is more, he believed in a timetable for the world's changes, a *magnus annus* lasting 10,800 years and characterized by alternation between two extremes: a high summer in which souls are drier and wiser and a winter in which they are damper and stupider. There is some reason to suspect that he conceived it as a standing conflict between Zeus and Hades.[40] If so, it looks very much like an adaptation of the Zoroastrian myth, for Zeus and Hades appear elsewhere as the two gods with whom the Greeks equated Ohrmazd and Ahriman. The 10,800-year period was almost certainly a recurring cycle, not a single definitive span like the Zoroastrian 12,000 years. The lengths are not identical, as the one is the product of 12×1,000 (or 4×3,000), the other of 360×30. But they are of a strikingly similar order of magnitude. Perhaps Anaximander had thought in terms of vast periods of many thousands of years, but we do not know of any earlier Greek who did.

A generation or so after Heraclitus, Empedocles represented the universe as alternating perpetually between total separation and total blending of the four elements, earth, water, air, and fire. This happens, he maintained, as the balance of power oscillates between the two opposed deities Love (*Φιλότης*) and Strife (*Νεῖκος*). The alternation is controlled by a treaty that the two have sealed with one another (DK 31 B 30). From a recent discovery we learn that Empedocles assigned a fixed period to each phase of the cycle: 4,000 years each for the states of absolute homogeneity and absolute separation, and 6,000 years for each of the intermediate transitional periods.[41] Empedocles characterizes his Love and Strife as respectively good and bad deities (*B* 17. 19, 35. 13). So we have a dualistic theology, with supremacy alternating between the two rivals over predetermined periods of time, the overall cycle of 20,000 years being divided into four phases. The whole picture strongly recalls the Zoroastrian system, especially accounts in which Ohrmazd and Ahriman make a pact to determine the duration of their conflict.[42]

If Empedocles provides the strongest parallel, Anaximander and Heraclitus seem to have enough in common with the Zoroastrian millenary system to establish a significant link, especially in view of

[40] *EGPO* 154–8, 188–90.
[41] O. Primavesi, *ZPE* 157 (2006), 27–40.
[42] *Greater Bundahišn* 1. 26–7; *Mēnōg i Xrad* 8. 11–12.

the other Iranian elements detectable in their work. If this is accepted, the inference is that the Zoroastrian system, with Angra Manyu promoted to equal status with Ahura Mazdā, with Zruvān presiding over their struggle, and with the fixed timetable for the history of the world, already existed in the mid sixth century.

Its creator built upon an older mythical scheme of a sequence of four world ages. We find this in India, first alluded to in the Upanishads and Purāṇas, and it underlies Hesiod's Myth of Races (with the Heroes inserted in the four-metal series to make a fifth race).[43] The Zoroastrian theologian's twelve millennia might possibly owe something to Babylonian astrology;[44] we have noted some signs of a Zoroastrian presence at Babylon in the time of Cyrus.

This is as far as we can go. It does not help further on the date of Zoroaster. If he lived and worked in the second half of the seventh century and no earlier, that still leaves a sufficient interval on the one hand for his religion to spread abroad and on the other for its theology to undergo revision into a thoroughgoing dualism.

[43] Cf. *The East Face of Helicon* (Oxford 1997), 312–19.
[44] In chapter 36 of the *Greater Bundahišn* the millennia are aligned with the zodiacal signs, but this is very probably a secondary development. The Babylonian zodiac cannot be traced further back than the sixth or fifth century BCE.

6

The Midnight Planet

Choeroboscus preserves the following notice, which came down to him from Herodian (i. 45. 14, ii. 743. 24 Lentz):

Μεσόνυξ Μεσόνυχος· εἷς τῶν ἑπτὰ πλανήτων παρὰ τοῖς Πυθαγορείοις ὀνομάζεται, μέμνηται Στησίχορος. (*PMGF* 259)

It has been almost entirely overlooked by historians of Greek astronomy. The only published discussion known to me is a short article by P. J. Bicknell in *Apeiron* (Monash University) 2: 2 (1968), 10–12.[1] He observes that it is a notice of considerable significance, and he makes some important inferences from it. The only planet mentioned in Hesiod and Homer, or in early poetry generally, is Venus, under the names *Ἕσπερος* and *Ἑωσφόρος*.[2] Bicknell notes that the name Mesonyx must have been chosen 'on analogy with' those names; I would prefer to say, by antithesis to them. Hesperos was the luminary that only appeared in the evening, Heosphoros always presaged the dawn: Mesonyx was the planet that could be seen in the middle of the night.

[207] There is of course no planet that can *only* be seen in the middle of the night, and no *one* planet with the peculiarity of being visible then. Any of the outer planets, Mars, Jupiter, or Saturn, is equally capable of being visible then. Bicknell infers that only one of these planets had been distinguished at the time when the name Mesonyx was created. But which? He rejects Saturn as being the least brilliant and the slowest-moving of the three. 'It might just be Jupiter which is

JHS 100 (1980), 206–8.

[1] I owe the reference to Dr Malcolm Davies.

[2] Hes. *Th.* 381; *Il.* 22. 318, 23. 226; Sappho frr. 104ab, 117a?; Ibyc. *PMGF* 331, Pind. *Isth.* 4. 24; without name, *Od.* 13. 93 f.

relatively brilliant and striking, but against this identification militates the fact that this planet's west–east motion is also rather slow. Jupiter's revolution takes nearly 12 years. The most likely candidate is Mars which is very brilliant at perihelic opposition and which is observed to circle the zodiac once every 780 days.'

It is true that Mars can occasionally—when it is at its nearest to the sun and to the earth simultaneously—outshine Jupiter, but this only happens every fifteen or seventeen years. Ordinarily Jupiter is the more conspicuous of the two. Further, although Mars does get round the zodiac faster than Jupiter, and so can more quickly be seen to have changed its position relative to the fixed stars, its oppositions—the times when it is in the sky throughout the middle part of the night—are only half as frequent as those of Jupiter. Jupiter's occur at intervals of 399 days, Mars's at intervals of 780 days.[3] This means, roughly speaking, that Jupiter is at opposition every year, and in a different sign of the zodiac each time, Mars only every other year, and then usually less bright than Jupiter. If Mesonyx was one of the two, it is much more likely to have been Jupiter. Some comparative evidence may be noted in passing. It is reported of the Khoi that they know the Morning and Evening Stars to be the same, but that they sometimes confuse Jupiter with Venus and call it 'the Middle Star' when it is seen 'in the middle of the sky'.[4] And in Egypt, from the time of the Nineteenth Dynasty, Jupiter was designated 'the Star of the Southern Sky', Mars and Saturn being given, presumably for schematic reasons, the complementary names 'Eastern Star of Heaven' and 'Western Star of Heaven', or *vice versa*.[5]

The place of Mesonyx in the history of Greek astronomy must now be considered. Obviously it was not, to begin with, *εἷς τῶν ἑπτὰ πλανήτων*, as our source has it: it belongs to a stage before the distinct identification of Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, which together with Mercury, Venus, and the sun and moon make up the classical heptad. These planets were all distinguished by the mid fourth century BCE at the latest (see below). It is satisfactory that Mesonyx is attributed to Stesichorus, who is certainly earlier than that, and to

[3] There is a confusion in Bicknell's account. 780 days is Mars's synodic period, not its sidereal period, which is 687 days.

[4] M. P. Nilsson, *Primitive Time-Reckoning* (Lund 1920), 120, citing L. S. Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari* (Jena 1907), 367 ff.

[5] H. Brugsch, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum*, i (Leipzig 1883), 68 f.; *Aegyptologie* (Leipzig 1889), 336.

'the Pythagoreans', who may be.[6] A simple account of the progress of knowledge about the planets, in the manner of Burnet, but including Mesonyx, might run as follows:

> In the time of Hesiod and Homer only Venus had been recognized, and it was still taken to be two separate bodies, the Morning Star and the Evening Star. In the sixth century the next in brightness, Jupiter, was discovered, and given the complementary title of the Midnight Star. At about the same time, or a little later, it was realized that Hesperos and Heosphoros were identical. Continued observation of the sky over the next three or four generations added Mars, Saturn, and Mercury to the number of the known planets, so that by the time of Eudoxus the solar system as known to antiquity was complete.

Such an account would be in accord with the ancient evidence, but thoroughly implausible. Firstly, there is no proof that the identity of the Morning and Evening Stars was unknown or unsuspected in the time of Hesiod and Homer. We ourselves still use those designations without thinking that they are different planets. Hesiod makes Dawn the mother of Heosphoros and of the stars, making no separate provision for Hesperos.[7] Only when people started setting forth cosmologies in which planets were distinguished as independent bodies was it bound to become clear whether they regarded Venus as one or two, and from the beginning she appeared in them as one: so in Parmenides (Diog. Laert. 8. 14, 9. 23; Aët. 2. 15. 7), and in whatever Pythagorean system is responsible for the attribution of the discovery to Pythagoras (Apollod. *FGrHist* 244 F 91, Plin. *HN* 2. 37, Diog. Laert. locc. citt.). Perhaps it was Italiote interest in such systems that prompted Ibycus to use the names Hesperos and Heosphoros together of the one luminary.[8]

Secondly there is no proof, and it is intrinsically unlikely, that Jupiter was not discovered till the sixth century. It is much brighter

[6] It is difficult to say from what source Herodian would have got information about Pythagoreans. Epicharmus might be a possibility. It is inconceivable that Stesichorus himself referred to Pythagoras or Pythagoreans.

[7] *Th.* 381 f. See further Wilamowitz, *Hermes* 18 (1883), 417–20 = *Kl. Schr.* i. 131–4.

[8] *PMGF* 331 *συνήγαγε* or *εἰς ἓν συνέστειλε τὰς προσηγορίας*. See further W. Burkert, *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism* (Cambridge, Mass. 1972), 307. Burkert wrongly infers from Call. fr. 442 (Diog. Laert. 9. 23) the existence of a Pythagorean poem which included mention of Venus. *Καλλίμαχος δέ φησι μὴ εἶναι αὐτοῦ τὸ ποίημα* is a detached scrap of information concerning Parmenides, unconnected with what precedes. Pfeiffer too misinterpreted the passage.

than the fixed stars which the Greeks used for navigation and for determining the seasons. They simply cannot have failed to see it when it was in the sky, as it was for some months every year, and if they did not attempt to tell the date by it, it was because they knew it to be useless for that purpose, as it did not appear in the same place at a given time as Sirius or Arcturus did. They must sometimes have noticed Mars and Saturn too—even Saturn, at its brightest, is brighter than any fixed star of the northern hemisphere—and known the same about them. What they did not do, it seems, was to keep a systematic watch on any of these objects in such a way as to establish their identities at successive oppositions or determine just how many of them there were. The name Mesonyx, which betrays a considerable vagueness concerning the behaviour of planets, may well have been bestowed haphazardly on different planets on different occasions.

There are many signs of an increased theoretical interest in planets in the second half of the sixth century and the first half of the fifth, connected with the interest in cosmology generally. But they are treated, so far as we can see, as an open class rather than as distinct individuals. Anaximenes, according to an uncertain emendation of an unreliable report, taught that the stars in general were fixed like nails in the firmament, but that there were some floating like leaves—presumably these were the planets.[9] The disciples of Pythagoras told each other, 'the planets [208] are Persephone's dogs'.[10] Alcmeon noted that the planets move eastwards against the stars.[11] This is a valid generalization only about the outer planets, so evidently it was understood by this time that there were more planets than Venus and Mesonyx. Clearly by 500 some systematic observation has been taking place. Parmenides separated Venus from the other planets by placing it alone below the sun.[12] The reason is that it never goes more than a certain distance from the sun. The same is true of Mercury, so it had presumably not yet been identified; it is notoriously difficult to see. Of Empedocles' doctrine on planets we hear only that *Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τοὺς μὲν ἀπλανεῖς ἀστέρας συνδεδέσθαι τῶι κρυστάλλωι, τοὺς δὲ πλάνητας ἀνεῖσθαι.*[13]

[9] Aët. 2. 14. 3. See *EGPO* 102–4.

[10] Porph. *VP* 41 = Arist. fr. 196; *EGPO* 215 f.

[11] Aët. 2. 16. 2–3 = DK 24 A 4.

[12] Aët. 2. 15. 7 = DK 28 A 40a. We do not understand his cosmology well enough to say whether he treated other planets individually.

[13] Aët. 2. 13. 11 = DK 31 A 54.

Some systematic observation, then, but not yet a definitive register of planets, and no evidence that the name Mesonyx, after losing its credit, has been replaced by other individual names. A further element of uncertainty was contributed by the occasional appearance of comets. If they had not been taken into account before 467 BCE, the appearance of a large, fiery comet for seventy-five days in that year[14] certainly brought them into the field of discussion. Anaxagoras explained them as a conjunction of planets.[15] He can hardly have meant, of known planets: it would seem that he conceived there to be an indefinite number of planets in the sky, only a few of which were known. Hippocrates of Chios, his pupil Aeschylus, and certain Pythagoreans held that there was only one comet, and that it was a planet which only appeared at long intervals.[16] Aristotle brings several counter-arguments, among which is that 'often there have been more than one comet at the same time' ('often' must be an exaggeration). The astrological writer Apollonius of Myndos (*ap.* Sen. *QN* 7. 17) argued from differences of size, shape, and colour that it is not the same comet that is seen on different occasions. I mention these arguments because one can imagine similar ones being used in earlier generations to establish that there was more than one 'Mesonyx'.

No further advance is detectable when we come to Democritus, who is said to have written *περὶ τῶν πλανήτων* (Diog. Laert. 9. 46). Like Parmenides, he had only Venus below the sun; and he adopted Anaxagoras' explanation of comets.[17] So he would seem to have recognized one inner planet, Venus, and an indefinite number of outer ones, which were almost certainly still without names. The author of the *Epinomis* knows no names for planets other than Venus, only the *ἐπωνυμίαι* (as he calls them) derived from the

[14] Daimachus (*FGrHist* 65 F 8) *ap.* Plut. *Lys.* 12; cf. Plin. *HN* 2. 149, Sen. *QN* 7. 5. 3. Pliny's date of Ol. 78/2 = 467/6 agrees with *Marm. Par.* 239 A 57 (468/7), and is supported by the Chinese *Shih Chi*, which records the appearance of a comet in 467 (Ho Peng Yoke, *Vistas in Astronomy* 5 (1962), 142 no. 13).

[15] DK 59 A 1 §9 and A 81. Democritus, who repeated this theory, said that some *ἀστέρες* had been seen at the dissolution of comets (Arist. *Meteor.* 343b25): comets do occasionally have a double or multiple nucleus, and if the comet of 467 presented this appearance during part of its period of visibility, Anaxagoras' theory was a natural one.

[16] Arist. *Meteor.* 342b29 ff. = DK 42 A 5; Aët. 3. 2. 1; O. Gilbert, *Die meteorologischen Theorien des griechischen Altertums* (Leipzig 1907), 642 ff.

[17] Aët. 2. 15.3 (*Placita*) = DK 68 A 86; A 92.

Babylonian system, *Ἑρμοῦ ἀστήρ, Ἄρεως ἀστήρ*, etc.[18] These divine cognomina must have come in together with the knowledge (or doctrine) that there were five planets, neither more nor less. They are first attested in Eudoxus and Plato, and it is Eudoxus whom Seneca credits with introducing (from Egypt) knowledge of the motions of the five planets.[19] It is very credible that Eudoxus should have introduced the Babylonian system of names.[20] The only difficulty is that if we accept Aetius' ascription to Philolaus of the 'Pythagorean' cosmology described by Aristotle[21] we accept the existence of a pre-Eudoxan system in which exactly five visible planets are recognized. The ascription is, of course, the subject of a long-standing controversy, into which I do not propose to enter.

Whoever devised the 'Philolaic' system, it seems likely that he had individual names for his five planets—as he did for the central fire, and the invisible Antichthon—and we cannot say what these could have been if not *Διὸς ἀστήρ κτλ.* In any case we may contrast the closed dogmatism of this system, and the Babylonian–Eudoxan system, with the uncertain empiricism of the Ionian tradition. Mesonyx represents the one early Greek attempt to pin down the wandering stars of the night. Once it was established that several of them qualified for the appellation, it became useless. The confidence to identify the various planets and provide new names for them did not return until exact knowledge, founded on centuries of observation, was brought from abroad.

[18] 986e–7c. Cf. Gundel, *RE* xx. 2025, 2029; Burkert (as n. 8), 301 n. 9. The names *Στίλβων, Πυρόεις, Φαέθων, Φαίνων* are Hellenistic, the earliest evidence for them being dated to 265 (Ptolemy, *Almagest* 9. 10 p. 288 Heib.). See F. Cumont, *Ant. Class.* 4 (1935), 19 ff.; Gundel 2030 (where the date is wrongly given as 264).

[19] Eudoxus D 6, F 123–4 Lasserre; Pl. *Tim.* 38d; *Epin.* loc. cit.; Sen. *QN* 7. 3. 2.

[20] Cf. Cumont (as n. 18), 12; Gundel 2031. The Persians too at some date adopted the Babylonian system; see B. L. van der Waerden, *Science Awakening*, ii (Leiden–New York 1974), 86 ff.

[21] *De Caelo* 293a18 ff. and fr. 204, DK 58 B 37; Aët. 2. 7. 7 = DK 44 A 16; and other passages. See Guthrie, *History of Greek Philosophy*, i (Cambridge 1962), 282 ff.; Burkert (as n. 8), 231 ff., 337 ff.

7

Cosmology in the Greek Tragedians

Scholars investigating cosmological ideas in early Greece have, naturally, always concentrated on those thinkers who gave systematic accounts of their beliefs—the so-called 'Presocratic philosophers'. They have paid comparatively little attention to other literary sources. It is true that they often begin their books with some cursory references to the poems of Hesiod and Homer, and they may occasionally take notice of relevant passages in the historian Herodotus or in the early medical writings attributed to Hippocrates. But I think that much could be gained by a detailed study of early Greek non-philosophical literature as a whole, collecting the scattered allusions to cosmological matters, observing the assumptions behind them, and so seeing as much as possible of the general background of thought from which the 'philosophers' emerged, and also the extent to which their doctrines found an echo in other men's writings. I hope in the course of time to be able to complete such a study,[1] and as a first contribution I offer this survey of the evidence to be found in Athenian tragedy of the fifth century BCE.

The nature of the dramatist's art, of course, imposes certain limitations on this evidence. However interested the playwright may be in cosmological questions, he cannot be expected to present a coherent statement of his views on them within the framework of a tragedy. Indeed, we cannot expect that all his allusions to cosmological matters will reflect any single considered and consistent theory. The dramatists inherited from earlier centuries a poetic language and mythology in which certain concepts were

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deeply embedded: for example, that the dead go to a House of Hades below the earth; that the earth is encircled by a great river, Okeanos; that the Sun drives across the sky in a chariot drawn by four horses. The physical philosophers of the fifth century BCE had no place in their systems for any of these concepts, and the ordinary Athenian of the time probably had no serious belief in their reality. Yet they were concepts essential to some of the stories that the tragedians used, such as the Labours of Herakles, Theseus' descent to Hades to liberate Peirithoos, and Phaethon's disastrous drive with the solar chariot. The tragedian who chose to treat these stories could not avoid presenting those concepts as real. Even where they were not essential, they were always admissible; for anything established in the Homeric world-picture remained poetically acceptable throughout antiquity, nothing was discarded as being out of line with contemporary I^2 ideas (except for some kinds of conduct on the part of the gods). So whenever a tragedian speaks of the dead, he may refer to 'the House of Hades' or 'the God Below' or 'the chambers within the earth', and we cannot make any inferences from that about current popular belief.

Conversely, there were certain philosophical theories which it was scarcely possible to mention in a play, even if the playwright was persuaded that they represented the real truth about the world: for instance the theory of the Eleatic philosophers, Parmenides and Zeno, that motion, change, and contrast are illusory, or the Atomist theory that everything is composed of minute indivisible particles. It is difficult to imagine any dramatic context in which reference to these ideas would have been appropriate (since the subjects of plays were always taken from heroic legend, or else from history), and no conclusion can be drawn from the absence of any allusion to them in the surviving remains of the tragedians.

There remain many passages which do reflect particular cosmological conceptions and which do not fall into the category of conventional mythology. Sometimes the language is in itself traditional, but compatible with the general ideas that fifth-century Greeks may be presumed to have had. In other cases we seem to find reflections of more specific doctrines originated by the philosophers. In others again we may be dealing with original poetic fancies—though these are likely to be related to existing concepts or mythical images. It is difficult to draw the line between poetic metaphor and allusion to a cosmological system of the more poetic type. For example, it is

recorded that the early tragedian Choirilos called stones 'bones of Earth', and rivers 'veins of Earth'. Did he have in mind a fully developed theory of parallelism between the earth and a living creature? Such theories occur in various forms in Greek and non-Greek speculation.[1] Or was Choirilos simply coining these expressions on his own initiative? Were they merely ornamental metaphors, or statements of an insight into the actual nature of the world as a working organism?

After these preliminary remarks we may proceed to consider the tragic evidence topic by topic. Let us begin at the beginning of things, with the question of origins. There is one passage, and only one, that speaks of the original state of the universe. According to a fragment quoted from Euripides' *Melanippe the Wise*, heaven and earth were originally united in a single mass; after they were separated, they gave birth to the various forms of life now existing on the earth. It is significant that this is not presented as a fact but as a *mythos*, something that some people say but that cannot be proved. In other plays too Euripides spoke of Earth and Sky as the mother and father of all gods and men.[2] This is not conceived as a matter of a single, once-for-all act of generation in the past but as a continuing process. Sky impregnates Earth by means of rain, satisfying their mutual desire, and this commingling of the two results in the growth of all that supports human life.[3] The marriage of Earth and Sky is a traditional myth which we already find in the *Theogony* of Hesiod, more than two hundred years earlier. But there its cosmological import is only implicit. Hesiod related that the 1st Earth's children were the Titans, and that she could not at first bring them to birth because Sky incessantly insisted on continuing intercourse with her. The Titans castrated him and were then able to be born. This does imply that heaven and earth were originally joined and had to be separated before life could flourish, but it is only an implication. The tragedians' version is an interpretation of the myth which brings out its inherent meaning. Euripides does not say 'Sky clung to Earth in love' but 'Sky and Earth were one form': he uses impersonal, physical language, as if to assimilate their mythical union to the kind of

[1] For a classification of such theories and some bibliography see *CQ* 21 (1971), 385–7 (=below, pp. 178–81). The Choirilos fragments are *TrGF* i. 2 F 2–3.

[2] Eur. frr. 182a, 484, 1004.

[3] Eur. frr. 839, 898. Aeschylus had written in similar terms, fr. 44.

indeterminate, uniform mass which most philosophers postulated as the original state of the world.

The Sun is another who is named as 'father of all the gods'. Sophocles attributes this idea to 'the wise'. Presumably what underlies it is the fact that, like the Sky, the Sun can be regarded as the agent which brings forth and nourishes the things that grow on the earth. In another passage Sophocles refers to 'the all-nurturing flame of the lord Sun'. We cannot identify the particular 'wise ones' whom he associated with this glorification of the Sun; but it is worth noting that Aeschylus in his *Bassarai* had represented the legendary singer Orpheus as a worshipper of the Sun. This may mean that Aeschylus knew of a poem ascribed to Orpheus in which the Sun played an important cosmic role. The practice of composing theological and cosmological poems under Orpheus' name had recently become prevalent. One of these poems, a theogony of which we have learnt something from the Derveni papyrus, gave an important part in the cosmogony to a god called Protogonos (Firstborn), who had distinctly solar attributes and seems in some ways to be modelled on the great Egyptian sun-god Re'.[4]

Turning now to the present constitution of the world, we may start from the earth and proceed upwards. As regards the form of the earth, the tragedians present a rather conventional picture. It is surrounded by the ceaselessly flowing river Okeanos, which is the source of some but not all local springs. Okeanos is capable of being represented as a god with human form, living in a naturally formed rocky cave.[5] The Scythian land in the region of the Maiotis Limne (the Sea of Azov) is considered to be at the end of the earth. At the western limit Atlas stands, supporting 'the pillar of heaven and earth', or according to other passages with the sky resting directly on his shoulders. This is of course a traditional myth; no one believed in Atlas literally. But it was a myth capable of reinterpretation. In the opinion of Herodotus Atlas was a mountain so high that its peak was never seen free of cloud, and 'the pillar of heaven' was its local name. Euripides too is said to have referred to Atlas as a clouded mountain. An alternative way of interpreting the myth was to identify Atlas with the polar axis round which the sky revolved. This is presupposed in

[4] Soph. fr. 752, cf. *OT* 660, 1425 f.; Aesch. in *TrGF* iii. 138. For the Orphic theogony see my *The Orphic Poems* (Oxford 1983), 68–115.

[5] *PV* 138–40, 300 f.; Eur. *Or.* 1377 f., *Hipp.* 121.

an interesting fragment from the *Peirithoos*, a play sometimes ascribed to Euripides but more probably written by Critias, in which the two Bears (the constellations) are said to keep watch on the 'Atlantean' Pole; and in Euripides' *Herakles*, where the hero is described as having come in the course of his Labours to the dwelling-place of Atlas, pushed his hands up under the central resting-[4]point of the sky, and supported the starry city of the gods. This polar Atlas was presumably not imagined to correspond to a mountain or any other actual physical prop projecting from the north of the earth, he was simply a mythical symbol of the invisible axis.[6]

An older feature of the mythical North was the Rhipaean Mountains, first mentioned by the Spartan lyric poet Alcman as 'the breast of dark Night'. Aeschylus and Sophocles refer to them, and their reality was accepted by prose authors of the time. The unknown author of the *Prometheus Lyomenos* attributed to Aeschylus thought that the river Danube flowed down from them. Sophocles calls them 'shrouded in night', because the sun's path does not go anywhere near them.[7]

The earth was divided into the three continents Europe, Asia, and Libya. Aeschylus perhaps considered Libya the largest (this depends on the meaning of a problematic line); if so, he had a different perspective from Herodotus, who argues that Europe is much the largest of the three. The two authors were also at variance on the question of the cause of the annual inundation of the Nile. Aeschylus—and also Sophocles and Euripides—gave the true explanation which Herodotus rejects, namely that it is due to the melting of the Ethiopian snows. This explanation was also given by the philosopher Anaxagoras, and a good case has been made for the hypothesis that Anaxagoras took up residence in Athens shortly before Aeschylus wrote his *Supplices* and that it was from Anaxagoras that Aeschylus acquired this piece of learning, which he airs in that play.[8]

[6] *PV* 1, 349, 418, 429; Eur. *Hipp.* 3, 747, *Ion* 1; Hdt. 4. 184. 3, cf. Eur. fr. 926b; Critias *TrGF* 43 F 3. 5, Eur. *HF* 403.

[7] Alcman *PMGF* 90; Aesch. fr. 197; Soph. *OC* 1248; cf. 'Hippocr.' *Aër.* 19; J. D. P. Bolton, *Aristeas of Procounesus* (Oxford 1962), 39 ff.; *EGPO* 106.

[8] Continents: Aesch. *Supp.* 317, Hdt. 4. 42–5. Nile: Aesch. fr. 300, cf. *Supp.* 559; Soph. fr. 882; Eur. *Hel.* 3, fr. 228; Hdt. 2. 22; Anaxag. DK 59 A 42, 91. On the date of Anaxagoras' arrival in Athens: Wolfgang Rösler, *Reflexe vorsokratischen Denkens bei Aischylos* (Meisenheim 1970), 59–66.

What was below the earth? It is a question which hardly concerns the tragedian except in relation to the conventional Hades. There are plenty of references to 'the darkness below' or to 'the hollows of the earth' which the dead inhabit. The meaning is perhaps no different when Artemis asks Theseus in Euripides' *Hippolytos*, 'Why do you not put yourself away in shame down into the *tartara* of the earth?' But when Oedipus in the same poet's *Phoinissai* expresses the wish that Mount Cithaeron had vanished 'into the bottomless chasms of Tartaros', this is more like the Tartaros which we know from Hesiod and from the sixth-century mythical cosmologist Pherecydes of Syros: not the same as Hades, but a desolate place where cold gusts of wind blow you this way and that as you fall through the void. This is still mythical, not serious cosmology. And when Prometheus cries, 'Let the wind shake the earth from its foundations with its very roots', this again is Hesiodic language; Hesiod locates the 'roots' of earth and sea above the chasm of Tartaros.[9]

We might be tempted to find a hint of a less traditional view when a chorus in Aeschylus sings that under the corpses of Oedipus' sons there is a bottomless store of earth: Xenophanes had taught that the earth extends downward infinitely. But it is doubtful whether Aeschylus' phrase is meant so literally.[10] It is in Euripides that we find a definitely philosophical view on the subject. Several times he refers to the air (*αἰθήρ*) as encircling the earth, holding it in a pliant embrace. This surely means that it is not only above the earth but on all sides of it and below it. In one place he actually wrote

[5] And Mother Earth, whom learned men call Hestia seated in *αἰθήρ*.

A late writer says that Euripides here shows himself the disciple of Anaxagoras. But the identification of Earth with Hestia, the hearth-goddess, suggests a source with more theological leanings. In the cosmology of the contemporary Pythagorean Philolaos the name of Hestia was given to the central fire about which the earth and planets all revolved.[11]

[9] *Hipp.* 1290; *Phoin.* 1604 f.; Hes. *Th.* 728, 742; Pherecydes DK 7 B 5; *PV* 1046.

[10] Aesch. *Sept.* 950; Xenoph. DK 21 B 28.

[11] Eur. *Bacch.* 292, frr. 919, 941, 944; for Hestia cf. Soph. fr. 615; Philolaos DK 44 A 16, 17, B 7.

The word αἰθήρ is very freely used in tragedy. It comprehends the idea of 'sky' in all its functions. People look up to the αἰθήρ, fly up to it. The gods live in it; the sun, moon, and stars move in it; birds fly through it; high crags project into it; smoke rises to it. It appears in antithesis to the sea or to the earth. It carries the light of day round, and is occupied by darkness at night. Euripides often calls it 'bright', and once 'the untrodden light', that is, the realm of light where men cannot go. But it is not used only of the bright upper air, but also of the arena in which thunderstorms, winds, and clouds disport themselves, and for the air that surrounds us, the air that we breathe in and out. Even the foul exhalations of the Cyclops Polyphemos after his dinner of human flesh can be called αἰθήρ. We use it to form the words we speak, and it hears them as they return into it. So the tragedians make no clear division between upper and lower regions of the air. It is evidently thought of as a continuum extending from the earth's surface to the stars or beyond. In one of the passages where Euripides describes it as surrounding the earth he calls it 'unbounded'. Although there are two passages that refer to the space *between* earth and heaven, as if the heaven formed an upper limit to the cosmos, there is no evidence of belief in a firmament of solid material like Homer's 'brazen heaven'.[12]

The other word for 'sky', οὐρανός, is used in similar ways to αἰθήρ. It not only houses the gods and the luminaries, it is the region in which wind, cloud, and lightning belong. High trees or walls may be called οὐράνια. According to a myth used by Euripides in his *Helen* the gods deceived men at the time of the Trojan War by concealing Helen and putting a facsimile in her place. Euripides uses the words αἰθήρ and οὐρανός indifferently for the material out of which the phantom was made, and in other places he refers to it as a 'cloud'. We do not actually find οὐρανός used of the air at ground level. But the temperate climate enjoyed by Athens is expressed by the phrase 'a well blended οὐρανός', meaning that it has the right balance of dryness and moisture, of coolness and heat. The οὐρανός that is thus blended is the material air.[13]

[12] For αἰθήρ as the scene of weather see *PV* 1044, Eur. *Tro.* 79, fr. 330; as the air that surrounds us: Aesch. *Supp.* 608, Soph. *Ant.* 421, Eur. *Med.* 830, *Hel.* 1363, etc.; as the stuff of breath Eur. *Cycl.* 410, 629, fr. 908b; air and words: Eur. fr. 978, *Hec.* 334, *El.* 59, *IT* 43, *IA* 365. The 'infinite' air: Eur. fr. 941. The space between earth and heaven: Eur. *Or.* 982 and fr. 448; in the latter place this space is said to be called Chaos by some people.

[13] Eur. *Hel.* 34, 584, 707, 750, 1219; fr. 981.

There is another word for 'air', ἀήρ, but it is comparatively rare in tragedy. In some passages it is indistinguishable from αἰθήρ, in others it perhaps has the distinctive nuance of air in motion.[14] The relationship between the two words in the usage of the philosophical writers is a large and complex subject, and it is doubtful whether any of them achieved a clear and consistent differentiation between them. Certainly the tragedians do not. All we can say is that they are much more disposed to use αἰθήρ, and this is the only one of the pair that they use in the sense of 'the sky' or 'heaven' as the [6] abode of the gods or in connection with the sun and stars.

The sun is often pictured as a charioteer in the conventional way, but there are many other ways of referring to it. A regular phrase is 'the wheel of the sun' (ἡλίου κύκλος). This is not an expression used in the Homeric poems, but despite its absence from them it may be a traditional image going back to Indo-European poetry, because parallel expressions occur in the Vedas (*sū́ryasya cakráḥ*) and in the old Germanic poetic tradition (Old English *sunnan hweogul*, Old Norse *sunnu hvél*).[52] Other tragic phrases for the sun express the ideas of divinity, light, and fire. Its rays are said to die at sunset. But the tragedians show no inclination to follow the opinion of Xenophanes and Heraclitus that we see a different sun every day, for this is not implied by the idiom 'ten suns' meaning ten days. Sophocles says explicitly that it is the same sun day after day. As to the question how it gets back to the east overnight, we hear nothing except the myth of the golden cup that carries it round on the stream of the river Okeanos. The tragedians do not share the faith of Pindar that the sun shines in the underworld when it is night here.[15]

The sun rises from a source by the 'Ethiopian river' and the people of that region have skins burnt dark by its fiery rays. From there it passes over the whole earth, and therefore sees everything; only a few very out-of-the-way people are never visited by it. It travels through the air, among the stars. In winter it goes further to the south, across Libya.[16]

[14] Aesch. *Supp.* 871; Eur. *Supp.* 1156, *Tro.* 546, *IT* 1134, *Or.* 7 (cf. 982).

[15] For the death of the sun's rays at sunset see Eur. *Ion* 1136, cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 232, 377; but the sun is the same every day, Soph. *Phil.* 1330. The golden cup: Aesch. frr. 69, 74. 4. No sun in the underworld: Aesch. *Sept.* 859, *Eum.* 396, Eur. *Alc.* 393, etc.; contrast Pindar fr. 129.

[16] *PV* 809, 796; Aesch. fr. 170; Eur. *Phaeth.* 171–5, fr. 228. 5; Theodectas *TrGF* 72 F 17; cf. Hdt. 2. 24–6.

What keeps it aloft? A poet need only say that it flies 'with swift wing'. But there is one important passage where the influence of philosophical speculation may be discerned. In Euripides' *Phaethon* the Sun-god warned his son not to drive the solar chariot into the Libyan αἰθήρ, 'because it does not have an admixture of moisture, and it will let your wheel fall downwards through it'. Several Ionian thinkers had assumed a connection between the sun's movements and vapour rising from the earth. In particular, Xenophanes held that the sun is formed from this moist vapour, collected in a fiery form, and that eclipses occur when it passes over a desert region, where the supply of moisture from below fails and it finds itself 'stepping over a hole'. Euripides is borrowing this idea. Elsewhere in the same play he called the sun a 'golden clod'. In antiquity a connection was seen between this and the notorious teaching of Anaxagoras that the sun was made of stone, that is, of earthy material. An even clearer echo of Anaxagoras' doctrine occurred in Critias' *Sisyphos*.[17]

It may have been Anaxagoras who brought to Athens the knowledge that the moon shines by reflected sunlight. Aeschylus and Euripides were rightly understood to allude to this when they called the Moon the Sun's daughter instead of his sister as she had been in Hesiod. Metrodoros of Chios extended the theory to account for starlight too, but this finds no echo in tragedy: for the tragedians the stars are fiery by nature. Euripides speaks of Orion or Sirius 'sending forth from his eyes fiery beams of flame', and of the Dioskouroi inhabiting 'the flamy air among the stars' (where the idea is perhaps that the stars are jets of burning air). Sophocles calls the stars 'fire-breathing'.[17] Aeschylus speaks in a metaphor of finding shade from the Dog Star, implying the old belief that the intensest heat of summer was caused by Sirius being in the sky all day and adding its own heat to that of the sun.[18]

The stars have 'paths' or 'tracks'. A mention of a man who showed that their path was 'contrary' presumably refers to the astronomical fact that the sun and planets show a retrograde movement with respect to the fixed stars.[53] The stars are of course above the clouds

[17] Eur. *Ion* 123; *Phaeth.* 168–70 (accepting Faber's reading διήσει), cf. Xenoph. 21 A 41a, with P. J. Bicknell, *Eranos* 65 (1967), 73–7; *Phaeth.* fr. 5 Diggle = fr. 783 Kannicht; Critias *TrGF* 43 F 19. 35.

[18] Anaxagoras 59 B 18; Aesch. fr. 375a; Eur. *Phoin.* 175; *Hec.* 1104; *El.* 991; Aesch. *Ag.* 967. For the belief about Sirius see my note on Hes. *Op.* 417 (*Hesiod. Works and Days* (Oxford 1978), 262).

and the region in which birds fly, yet not so remote from the earth as to be beyond all imaginable reach. The peaks of Caucasus approach them, and Perseus, riding on the winged horse Pegasus, flew above the Pleiades. What happens to the stars when they set? That they should ever go underneath the earth is regarded as an impossibility—at least by one speaker in a Euripidean satyr-play—unless the universe turns upside down. There is an interesting passage in *Prometheus Desmotes*, where Prometheus defies Zeus to cause such a commotion in the sea that it destroys the 'passages' of the stars: it seems that there are special tunnels through the water by which the stars travel when they are below the horizon, going round the earth, not under it. We are reminded of Homer's 'baths of Okeanos', in which all the constellations except the circumpolar Bear immerse themselves. For the rest, language used of the stars in tragedy expresses poetic fancy rather than any definite cosmological concept. They are seen as embroidered decoration on the robe of Night, or as speckles on her skin. Night nurtures them. Their circular motion is a holy dance—perhaps part of the nocturnal dances for Bacchus.[19]

In one place Aeschylus refers to 'torches on high', which count as fearsome prodigies. He might be thinking of meteors, but I think it is more likely that he has in mind the spectacular comet which had appeared nine years before the date of the play, at the time when a meteorite fell at Aigospotamoi. The meteorite is associated with Anaxagoras, who was supposed (impossibly) to have predicted its fall. He had his own theory of comets, and he was no doubt impressed by the comet that appeared in 467 BCE. But it must have been seen everywhere, and an allusion by Aeschylus need not be another sign of contact with Anaxagoras.[20]

Evidence of the tragedians' ideas about weather phenomena is sparse. The phantom Helen was a cloud, made out of αἰθήρ or οὐρανός, and this implies perhaps that clouds in general are so formed. Obviously they also contain moisture, and it was universally accepted that this moisture was drawn up from the earth. In one passage Aeschylus speaks of watery clouds turning to snow when

[19] Eur. *El.* 727, *Or.* 1006, *Hel.* 342; fr. 397b. Stars above clouds and birds: *Hel.* 1487–90. Caucasus: *PV* 721. Perseus: Eur. fr. 124. Stars never below earth: Eur. fr. 687. Passages in sea: *PV* 1048 ff. Stars' ring-dance: Soph. *Ant.* 1146, Eur. *El.* 467, etc.

[20] Aesch. *Cho.* 589 f., discussed by Rösler (as n. 8), 41–4.

they strike a mountain-top high in the air. This has been connected with a doctrine attested for Anaxagoras (and earlier Anaximenes), that snow is formed in the clouds when the mixture of air and moisture that they contain freezes—as opposed to hail, which is modified by further cooling during its fall from the frozen clouds.[21] More is said about the thunderbolt, because of its significance as Zeus' weapon. Not surprisingly, it is often referred to as of fiery nature. It exhales flame, it is a sooty flame, a double-edged tress of fire, a ray of light, a torch, a sting, the eye of Zeus. Aeschylus strikingly calls it 'the Strife of l[8] Zeus, hurtling to the earth'. This is especially interesting in view of the importance in the cosmic administration that Heraclitus ascribed on the one hand to Strife and on the other to the thunderbolt. He wrote 'All things come about according to Strife and Necessity', and also 'All things are steered by Thunderbolt and Zeus'. By Thunderbolt Heraclitus probably meant the divine purposive thrust in the cosmic fire, and by Strife he meant the differentiation that it causes. It is uncertain whether he himself would have ventured to call the thunderbolt 'the Strife of Zeus', but it may have been his work that inspired Aeschylus to do so.[22]

The influence of Heraclitean thought may also be suspected in a fragment from a play in which Aeschylus called water something like 'fire's corrective justice'. The notion of Justice (*Δίκη*) as the supervisor of the balance of the cosmos is not peculiar to Heraclitus, but we know of no one else who combined it with a theory of elemental fire and water, so related to one another that fire, at the limits of its appointed measure, could actually be turned into water. The other tragedians have little to say on the subject of the physical elements. When Philoctetes in Sophocles says that to make fire he rubbed two stones together and 'made the hidden light visible', the implication is that stone has fire hidden in it. But this is not a reflection of Anaxagoras' doctrine that there is a portion of everything in everything, it is rather a pre-philosophic idea simply based on the fact that sparks can be struck from a stone. The many primitive myths about fire being stored up in trees are of the same character.[23]

[21] Aesch. *Supp.* 793, discussed by Rösler (as n. 8), 67 f.; Anaxagoras 59 A 85.
[22] Aesch. *Sept.* 428 f.; Heraclitus 22 B 64, B 80.
[23] Aesch. fr. 360, cf. *Ag.* 651; Soph. *Phil.* 297. For the myths about the storage of fire see my note on Hes. *Th.* 563 (*Hesiod. Theogony* (Oxford 1966), 323).

When we come to deal with concepts of the soul and the mind it is particularly difficult to distinguish between philosophical speculation and the traditional ideas from which it evolved. The tragedians sometimes refer to impulses of the mind or soul as if to gusts of wind. This presupposes, of course, a mind or soul of airy nature. In the famous song about human achievement in Sophocles' *Antigone* man is said to have taught himself 'speech and wind-like thought'. All the fifth-century philosophers assumed that the soul was closely related to air and breath. On the other hand, the etymological meaning of the Greek word *θυμός* (spirit) is 'vapour' (it corresponds to Latin *fumus* 'smoke'), and that of *ψυχή* (soul) is 'breath, blowing'. The connection of consciousness with breath had always been made, and is not evidence of philosophical influence.[24]

Again, when Menelaos in Euripides' *Andromache* says he has 'spent a large portion of his soul' in fighting at Troy, or when Clytaemestra in Sophocles' *Electra* says that her son was 'born of my soul' and that Electra has been diminishing her life by 'sucking unmixed blood from my soul', these expressions need not reflect any particular intellectual theory of the soul—even though the basic idea of the soul as a reservoir whose stock can be expended, or drawn upon to give life to one's child, can be illustrated most readily from Heraclitus. Earlier popular conceptions which we cannot now document may play a part here.[25]

More definitely modern is the idea, found a number of times in Euripides, that when a man dies his spirit returns to the air from which it came. In what is perhaps the earliest passage, from his *Erechtheus*, this fate is reserved for exceptional mortals. The l[9] heroic daughters of Erechtheus sacrificed themselves for Athens. Athena says of them:

> These women's souls are not to Hades gone,
> for I have lodged their spirits in the air,
> and I will make their name renowned in Greece,
> whom men shall call the Hyacinthid goddesses.

But in the *Supplices*, composed not more than a year or two later,[54] the doctrine is applied to men in general, and Hades is no longer

[24] Aesch. *Ag.* 187, 219, *Cho.* 391; Soph. *Ant.* 353, 929; Eur. *Phoin.* 454. The semantic connection between 'soul' and 'blowing' is also illustrated by the Latin *anima* 'soul', *animus* 'mind', with the cognate Greek *ἄνεμος* 'wind'.
[25] Eur. *Andr.* 541; Soph. *El.* 775, 785 f.; Heraclitus 22 B 20, 45, 85.

contrasted with the air but identified with it; the flames of the funeral pyre take the spirit to it. Later, in the *Helen*, we find the more explicit doctrine that while the mind does not live after the death of the body, it does retain γνώμη (knowledge, awareness) evermore after its entry into the immortal air. This is close to the teaching of Diogenes of Apollonia that the air alone is immortal and divine and intelligent: men's soul and thought are parts of the divine Air, and men die when these portions of air become separated from their bodies. Diogenes' striking conception also found echoes in comedy and in certain of the Hippocratic writings.[26]

Another late Euripidean reference to this idea comes in a fragment from his *Chrysippos*, where Earth and Air are celebrated as the universal parents, and it is said in general terms that whatever comes from each of them returns to it. This leads to a statement of a commonplace of Presocratic philosophy: that nothing ever dies, it merely changes form through separation and recombination. A different point of view is expressed in another quotation: 'Who knows if life is not really death, and death is considered below to be life?' This reminds us once more of Heraclitus—of his sayings that 'immortals are mortal, mortals are immortal, these living the death of those, and passing the life of those in death', and that 'all that we see after waking is death'. Heraclitus and Euripides may not have meant the same thing, but the connection is unmistakable. However, Euripides' thinking about death does not always move on this plane. A character in his *Meleagros* asserted that the dead are nothing but 'earth and shadow'; Makaria in the *Herakleidai* hopes that there is no consciousness below the earth. Obviously the playwright and his contemporaries knew of various ideas about death and what may happen afterwards, ranging from the nihilistic to the most imaginatively poetic, but they had no firm conviction on the subject, except that once a man is dead nothing can bring him back.[27]

For this, says Aeschylus, Zeus created no magic spells; but everything else he changes to and fro effortlessly, 'without panting'. Some have seen here the influence of Xenophanes, whose God accomplishes everything without moving from his place and does not draw breath. It is not clear whether the phrase 'changes to and

[26] Eur. fr. 370. 71 f., 839. 8–11, 971; *Supp.* 531–6, 1139–41; *Hel.* 1014–16; *Or.* 1087; Diog. Apoll. 64 B 5, 8, C 1–4.

[27] Eur. fr. 839; 638, with Heraclitus B 21, 62; 532; *Herakleidai* 591–6.

fro' refers to cyclical alternation, as of night and day, summer and winter. Certainly this plays a part in Sophocles' thought: everything gives way to its opposite when the due time comes. The same idea appears in Euripides. In the tragic contexts it is given a moral application (fortune is variable, etc.), but it is essentially a cosmological principle, and we can observe the natural philosophers' preoccupation with it from Anaximander on. Anaximander wrote that things compensate each other for their excesses, according to the [10] ordinance of Time. Sophocles too makes Time preside over cyclical change:

> Time in measureless length makes all things grow
> that were unseen, and buries them again.

Time is called the father of days and nights. Time as a divine personification first appeared in Greece in the role of a cosmic father, himself unbegotten, who began everything by creating progeny from his own seed (Pherecydes of Syros).[55] Euripides describes Time as 'sprung from no one'. Critias in *Sisyphos* calls him the craftsman who made the beautifully formed starry body of heaven, and in his *Peirithoos*, referring to the axial revolution of the cosmos, he spoke of 'untiring Time with perennial brimming flow', who 'goes on generating himself, while the two Bears on speeding wings keep their watch on the Atlantean Pole'. Another fragment from the play mentions a self-generated god who has woven everything into the heavenly whirl and around whom day and night revolve; this god is perhaps again Time.[28]

The revolution of the sky is an obvious feature of the visible world which any adequate cosmological theory must account for. Some philosophers saw it as a δίνη, a natural rotation of the type that is often seen to develop in water or windy air. Their use of this term is perhaps echoed in two tragic passages, though it is not used in the specific sense which the cosmologists gave it.[29]

Changing ideas about the forces that control the cosmos led to new identities for traditional gods. The philosophers were not

[28] Aesch. *Eum.* 649–51, cf. *Supp.* 99–103; Xenoph. 21 B 25–6, with Diog. Laert. 9. 19; Soph. *Tr.* 126–35, *Aj.* 669–76; Eur. *HF* 101–4, *Phoin.* 541–5, fr. 330. The quotation is from Soph. *Aj.* 646 f.; cf. 714; *OC* 609–18, 1453–5, fr. 918; Eur. *Supp.* 787, fr. 303. 3; Critias *TrGF* 43 F 3, 4, 19. 34. Cf. Jacqueline de Romilly, *Time in Greek Tragedy* (Ithaca, NY 1968), 33–58.

[29] *PV* 1050–2; Eur. *Or.* 982–3 (cf. 5 ff.); cf. *Alc.* 244 f.

disposed to discard the gods, but rather to accommodate them in their revised world picture. We can occasionally see this tendency in tragedy. Apollo is sometimes identified with the sun, his sister Artemis with the moon, and Hestia (as was mentioned earlier) with the earth considered as a body floating in space. Aphrodite can stand for the cosmic power of attraction that causes the sky to fertilize the earth, as in the poet-prophet-philosopher Empedocles she stands for the power that causes the four elements to mingle together.[30]

The god who lent himself most easily to reinterpretation was Zeus, because of his age-old association with the sky, and because in every cosmology there was a place for a supreme power, which could always be called Zeus. Heraclitus was inclined to give the name of Zeus to 'the single Wise'—apparently a kind of world-mind—though he felt it to be an unsuitable name in some ways. As he puts it, 'it does and does not want to be called by the name of Zeus'. In Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* the chorus sings, 'Zeus—whoever he is—if this is what he likes to be called, this I name him'. They are not maintaining any unorthodox view of Zeus here, they are simply expressing hesitation, in acknowledgment of the concurrence of divergent theories. A similar hesitation is expressed in a famous passage of Euripides' *Troades*, but accompanied by fairly definite philosophical ideas: Hecuba prays to Zeus as

> Earth's vehicle, yet settled on the earth,
> whoever thou art, not easily surmised,
> Zeus, whether nature's law or mind of man.

(Menelaos comments that this is a novel kind of prayer.) The first line identifies Zeus l[11] with Air, which, as we saw, Euripides elsewhere holds to be surrounding the earth and supporting it. The following suggestions that Zeus may also be identical with the law (compulsion) of nature or with the human mind are compatible with this in the light of Diogenes of Apollonia's theory, according to which it is the divine Air that controls everything in the universe, and man's intellect is but a part of it. Saying 'Zeus is the human mind' would of

[30] On the philosophers' attitude to the traditional divine names cf. *EGPO* 147. Apollo: Aesch. *Sept.* 859, *Supp.* 214; Eur. *Phaeth.* 225. Artemis: Aesch. fr. 170. Aphrodite: Aesch. fr. 44, Eur. fr. 898; Emped. 31 B 22. 5.

course be going much further than Diogenes, and the suggestion of it is probably intentionally provocative.[31]

A more comprehensive identity for Zeus was proposed in Aeschylus' *Heliades*:

> Zeus is the air, Zeus earth, and Zeus the sky;
> Zeus is the universe and all beyond.

Earlier we suspected a link between Aeschylus and the Orphic Protogonos theogony. In this theogony the coextensiveness of Zeus with the universe was expressed in a curious way. Zeus swallowed Protogonos, and thereupon everything else became part of him, all the gods and goddesses, rivers and springs, and whatever else existed, so that Zeus became the sole being. Later he created the present world out of himself. This is probably to be connected with the Indo-Iranian idea of a god whose various bodily parts correspond to parts of the universe: his hair to the stars, his eyes to the sun and moon, and so on. The Greek thinkers transmuted the concept into more abstract terms. They had no use for anthropomorphic gods. Xenophanes' cosmic god does not see with eyes or hear with ears, he is percipient all over. Empedocles' cosmic god does not have wings and legs and genitals, he is a sphere, within which our universe develops periodically. Aeschylus probably had no such definite theory in mind, but he could hardly have arrived at his pantheistic proposition without the impulse provided by theological cosmology of the kind referred to.[32]

It has not been possible within the limits of this survey to draw attention to all the aspects of fifth-century philosophical thought which have left *no* echo in tragedy. That would require a longer essay, and one I daresay of less interest. To recapitulate what has been established in the present study: the tragedians present an uncoordinated mixture of elements from inherited mythology and poetic language, contemporary popular assumptions, and intellectual speculation, some of which had, no doubt, filtered into and modified the outlook of the ordinary Athenian. Aeschylus and Euripides seem to be more responsive than Sophocles to the stimulus of philosophical theory. Euripides' interest in it finds expression in the following lines:

[31] Heraclitus 22 B 32; Aesch. *Ag.* 160–2; Eur. *Tro.* 884–8, cf. frr. 877, 941. 'Hippocr.' *Flat.* 3 uses the same phrase 'vehicle of earth' for the air (γῆς ὄχημα).

[32] Aesch. fr. 70; Xenoph. 21 B 24; Emped. 31 B 29.

Happy is he who has experience of inquiry,
not turning towards harm for his city or wrongdoing,
but contemplating the unaging array (*κόσμος*) of immortal nature,
how it was formed and from what and by what.
On such men interest in base activities never settles.[33]

As regards the particular philosophers who seem to exert an influence on tragedians, Aeschylus appears to be familiar with teachings of Anaxagoras (at least from 463 onwards) and of Heraclitus, perhaps also of Xenophanes and 'Orpheus'. Euripides too has apparent echoes of Heraclitus, and especially of Diogenes of Apollonia. But the [12] influence of philosophical speculation cannot be limited to these individuals. And the dramatists, remember, were not merely passive recipients. They were creative artists capable of developing new imagery for any topic, not least for a topic that offered such free scope for poetic fantasy as did cosmology. They did not themselves influence the course of cosmological speculation. But they should not be neglected as part of its history.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

On these questions see also:

L. C. Valckenaer, *Diatribe in Euripidis Perditorum Dramatum Reliquias* (Leipzig 1824), 27–61.
B. Gladigow, 'Aischylos und Heraklit', *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* 44 (1962), 225–39.
R. Kannicht, *Euripides. Helena* (Heidelberg 1969), i. 85 f.
J. S. Morrison, *PCPS* 1970, 85 ff.
J. Diggle, *Studies on the Text of Euripides* (Oxford 1981), 94 f.

1. I never did. But scholars' promises, like those of lovers ([Hes.] fr. 124), are subject to no sanction.
2. On the solar wheel see further *Indo-European Poetry and Myth* (Oxford 2007), 201–3.
3. See further C. W. Willink, *Euripides. Orestes* (Oxford 1986), 253 f. on *Or.* 1001–2.

[33] Eur. fr. 910. But another Euripidean chorus (fr. 913) condemned 'the twisted deceits of the *meteorologoi*, whose misguided tongues stab randomly at things beyond ken without any knowledge'.

4. The *Supplices* may in fact date from the year before the *Erechtheus* (423 and 422 respectively).
5. The earliest instance of a personified Time is in fact in Solon, fr. 36. 3, where he appears as a judge in whose court (it is implied) all truth will finally be established.

8

The Eternal Triangle

The Curious Cosmology of Petron of Himera

Crimine quo merui, timidissima Musa dearum,
quoue errore miser (si meus error erat),
unus ut ante omnes iubear componere carmen,
artis quod nostrae conditor ipse legat?
Qui iuuenum quondam conamina fronte seuera
emendabat, ei nunc placuisse datur?
Hoc certe uolumus, ueteri placuisse magistro
discipuli. Salue, care magister, aue!
Tu nobis sentire dabas, doctrina quid esset,
primus; Aristarchus tu, puto, noster eras.
Te metuebamus: genuit metus ille pudorem;
inde fauor, mirus denique creuit amor:
nam durum ac rigidum quem credideramus, ab imis
unguibus humanum nouimus esse uirum.
Iam te rura tenent procul auia; nos tamen omnes
usque tui memores pro pietate sumus.
Viue, diu ualeas, octogenarie doctor
doctorum; sed et haec accipe dona fauens.

[105] Claiming to have solved the riddle of the universe is commonly a symptom of schizophrenia. What far-reaching suspicions must he then court, who bids to solve the riddle of *a hundred and eighty-three universes*! Yet such is the extravagant duty appointed for the inquirer whose ambition of the moment is to make sense of the strange cosmology of Petron of Himera. Shall we venture upon the perilous

Apodosis. Essays presented to Dr. W. W. Cruickshank to mark his eightieth birthday (London: St. Paul's School, 1992), ii (dedicatory verses) and 105–10.

task? Shall we expose to the sniper our reputation, such as it is, for equilibrium? Of course we shall. All must be risked for science.[1]

What is recorded of Petron's doctrines could be inscribed on a quarter of a postcard, certainly by the dedicatee of this volume. Petron held that there are 183 universes, no more and no less, arranged in the form of an equilateral triangle, with sixty along each side and one at each corner. Each one touches its two neighbours, and the whole formation revolves gently as if in an unending dance.

The Greeks' imagination is a great, volatile thing; and Petron's gospel failed to capture it. His name came near to sinking without trace. Our sole source of information about him is a passage in Plutarch's dialogue *De Defectu Oraculorum*. One of the characters in the dialogue, a widely travelled Spartan called Cleombrotus, tells of a charming barbarian holy man whom he tracked down somewhere near the Red Sea, and who expounded the thesis of the 183 universes and the gyrating triangle. In the barbarian's account there are further details, some of them of an obviously Platonizing character. The surface bounded by the triangle of worlds is the 'common hearth of them all', known as the Plain of Reality. There, immune from all change, repose the formulae (*λόγοι*), forms, and exemplars of everything that has been or will be: they exist in eternity (*αἰών*), from which worldly time (*χρόνος*) is drawn off into the *κόσμοι*. Following Cleombrotus' presentation of the barbarian's teaching, Plutarch himself, as a participant in the dialogue, remarks that this pretended barbarian must really have been a Greek, imbued with Greek learning, as the doctrine of 183 worlds, arranged in series and touching one another, is the property of a writer from Himera called Petron. 'I myself have not read his treatise and I do not know that it is still preserved, but Hippys of Rhegium, to whom Phanias of Eresos refers, records this as Petron's view.'[2]

We should probably understand this to mean that Plutarch's source for Petron was the Peripatetic Phanias or Phaenias of Eresos, an author of whom he makes some use elsewhere, especially in his *Life of Themistocles*; and that Phaenias had cited [106] Hippys as his authority. Hippys was known as the author of several works,

[1] I am indebted to Dr Anne Sheppard for reading this paper and giving me the benefit of her shrewd comments.

[2] Plut. *De Def. Orac.* 422b–e; Hippys *FGrHist* 554 F 5; Phaenias fr. 12 Wehrli; Petron DK 16.

including one on Sicilian matters. This is the likeliest place for him to have mentioned Petron, and the likeliest of his writings to have been consulted by Phaenias, who wrote a volume on the tyrants of Sicily.

The *Suda* lexicon places Hippys at the time of the Persian Wars, but modern research has cast grave doubt on this dating. It may be that he wrote not long before Phaenias, who was active in the late fourth century and perhaps the early third.[3] Jacoby thinks that 'Hippys' may have been a forgery and Petron a fiction. But even if such radical scepticism should be justified, we are still faced with the fact that someone before Phaenias devised the 183-world cosmology, and we are still entitled to inquire into the sources of the author's inspiration and the intellectual milieu in which such a system could be conceived, whether seriously or as a hoax.

Modern scholarship has not found much to say on the subject.[4] Its main conclusion is that Petron, with his Sicilian origin and his interest in number and geometrical arrangement, is to be regarded as some sort of Pythagorean. I shall not assail this finding, but corroborate it with a series of observations on particular aspects of Petron's system.

PETRON AND PLUTARCH DISENTANGLED

All that Plutarch explicitly attributes to Petron is a doctrine of 183 worlds arranged in series, each touching the next. It is in the report of the oriental holy man's teaching that we read of the triangular arrangement of the worlds and their leisurely dance, as well as of the Ideal realm located within the triangle. The oriental is presumably Plutarch's invention, and the distinctively Platonist part of his cosmology, the Plain of Reality and its contents, has its source in Plutarch's own Platonism.[5] But the outer framework, on Plutarch's own showing, is borrowed from Petron, whose system had evidently taken his fancy when he found it described in a work by Phaenias.

It is a usual and reasonable assumption that the triangular scheme was an intrinsic part of Petron's theory, for it alone makes the number 183 to some extent intelligible. I think we may credit Petron also with the dance-revolution of the ensemble, and with the notion that what it dances round is a hearth. These two ideas go together, for a ring-dance is typically a dance round something or someone, and a hearth or altar is very suitable. There is a marked clash of imagery between the two identities given for what lies within the triangle, the hearth and the Plain of Reality. The inference is that they come from different sources. The Plain belongs to Plutarch's Platonizing elaboration, so the hearth is no doubt taken over from Petron.

MULTIPLE WORLDS

The word which I have been rendering as 'universe' or 'world', *κόσμος*, denotes (in such a context) a finite physical system enclosed by a heaven and containing an earth, or at any rate the materials from which an earth could be formed or into which an earth has dissolved. Some of the early philosophers assumed that our own set-up of earth and sky, with the various luminaries that go round in the sky, is unique. Others l[107] argued that whatever processes brought our cosmos into being out of the surrounding continuum must be ever producing others elsewhere, beyond our firmament and beyond observation, limitless in number. Or, according to Heraclides Ponticus, who apparently claimed Orphic and Pythagorean authority for his opinion, we do observe them, or some of them, for they are what we see as stars.

Petron is unusual in setting a definite number on the multiplicity of worlds, and in lining them up in a definite formation. Obviously he did not reach his conclusions from any empirical evidence or logical inference, but from abstract notions of geometrical and numerical perfection as a characteristic of the cosmic order. This kind of concern is already manifest in the cosmology of Anaximander, with his drum-shaped earth of a diameter three times its depth, his stellar, lunar, and solar rings placed respectively at 9, 18, and 27 earth-radii away, and his worlds which, though numberless, are

[3] See Jacoby's commentary on *FGrHist* 554 (IIIb p. 482).

[4] Cf. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Hermes* 19 (1884), 444 = *Kl. Schr.* iii. 55; H. Diels, *Elementum* (Leipzig 1899), 62 ff.; R. Eisler, *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* (Munich 1910), 461 n. 6, 618 n. 2, 722, 729; F. M. Cornford, *CQ* 28 (1934), 14, 15 n. l; W. Vollgraff, *Mnem.*[4] 2 (1949), 91 ff.; W. Burkert, *Phil.* 103 (1959), 185 f. = *Kl. Schr.* viii. 98; W. K. C. Guthrie, *History of Greek Philosophy* i (Cambridge 1962), 322 f.

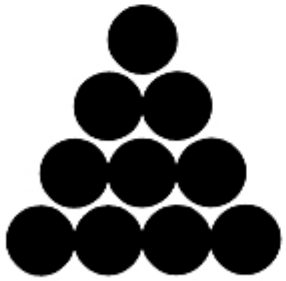
[5] The Plain of Reality (*πεδίον ἀληθείας*) derives from *Phaedrus* 248b, if not from some related source now lost (e.g. Xenocrates).

equidistant. Later it is in the Pythagorean and Platonic tradition that we find this belief in the transcendental status of number and of regular geometric figures incorporating numbers.

THE VIRTUE OF TRIANGLES

It was a commonplace of Platonic mathematics that the triangle occupies the primary position among plane figures, and that the equilateral variety is the perfect type of triangle.[6] Among Pythagoreans, and not only them, such perfection was readily associated with high theological and cosmological constructs. Philolaus connected the angle of the (equilateral) triangle with certain male divinities (Kronos, Hades, Ares, Dionysus) and that of the square with certain female ones (Rhea, Demeter, Hestia); he may have been thinking of triangles and squares inscribed across the zodiacal circle.[7] Xenocrates considered the scalene triangle to be the paradigm of the mortal nature, the isosceles that of the daemonic, and the equilateral that of the divine.[8] Epicurus had no objection to the idea of a triangular cosmos: in his definition of what a κόσμος is he states that its outline may be 'round, triangular, or whatever; for every shape is possible'.[9]

One particular triangular figure was venerated in Pythagorean circles: the diagram representing the 'tetraktys of the decad':



[6] Cf. Pl. *Tim.* 54a; Speusippus fr. 4 *ap.* [Iambl.] *Theolog. Arithm.* pp. 84. 11, 85. 1 de Falco; Xenocrates fr. 39 Heinze; Theon of Smyrna p. 37. 7 Hiller; Nicomachus, *Introd. Arithmet.* p. 87. 8 Hoche; Proclus in Euclid. p. 115. 5 Friedlein.

[7] Cf. W. Burkert, *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism* (Cambridge, Mass. 1972), 349.

[8] Fr. 23 Heinze, cited by Plutarch in a passage of *De Defectu Oraculorum* (416cd) earlier than that in which he mentions Petron.

[9] *Epist. ad Pythoclem*, Diog. Laert. 10. 88.

It illustrated the ratios of the basic musical concords, 1:2 (octave), 2:3 (fifth), 3:4 (fourth). These musical ratios, which were discovered not later than the early fifth century, were accorded a profound significance in cosmology. The diatonic octave constructed from them (by alternate rising fourths and falling fifths) is built into Plato's universe as the harmony of the spheres, or more accurately speaking the attunement of I^{108} the circuits. Related ideas are attributed to 'the Pythagoreans' and specifically to Archytas.[10]

'What is the oracle at Delphi?—Tetraktys, which is the octave (ἁρμονία), which has the Sirens in it.' So ran one of the mystic catechisms of the Pythagoreans, preserved by Iamblichus. The Sirens are the divine, otherworldly singers of the ideal scale notes; they appear in the same function in the myth of Plato's *Republic*, where the cosmic tuning is described.[11] The tetraktys-triangle which contains the secret of the universe is at the same time associated with the Delphic oracle. Delphi was the mythical centre of the world, and the divine tripod, presumably, was identified as the physical symbol of the cosmic tetraktys.

It cannot be unconnected with this that a namesake of Pythagoras, a musician and musical theorist from Zacynthus, perhaps to be dated to the mid fifth century, built an instrument in the form of the Delphic tripod—and indeed called a tripod—capable of playing in all three of the modal scales generally acknowledged as fundamental, the Dorian, Phrygian, and Lydian. Its three legs served as the frames for three differently tuned lyres; the bowl of the tripod made a big common soundbox, and the whole contraption was mounted on a revolving base so that Pythagoras could turn it with his foot and play now in one mode, now in another.[12] We do not know with what, if any, philosophical or metaphysical superstructure this Pythagoras invested his creation. But it is intriguing that here we have a revolving triangular device, said to imitate the Delphic tripod in which Pythagoreans saw embodied the musical formulae of the cosmos, and actually equipped with a comprehensive set of musical scales by virtue of the tuned series of strings fixed along each side of the triangle.

[10] Arist. *Cael.* 290b12 ff., 291a8; [Plut.] *De Musica* 1147; Burkert (as n. 7), 350–6.

[11] Iambl. *Vit. Pyth.* 82; Pl. *Rep.* 617bc; cf. *CQ* 15 (1965), 200 and 17 (1967), 11–14 (=above, pp. 51–6).

[12] Artemon of Cassandrea *ap.* Ath. 637c–f.

THE AMENITY OF SIXTY

In Petron's cosmology each side of the eternal triangle was made up of sixty κόσμοι in linear series with no gaps between them, not counting the three additional ones that occupied the corner stations. These rows of contiguous units making up a larger pattern are reminiscent of Pythagorean mathematical diagrams in which pebbles or counters (ψηφοι) were used to represent units, and these units, which possessed magnitude, were regarded as the actual building-blocks from which the world is constituted. We hear of them being arranged in triangles (as with the tetraktys diagram) or in squares, to demonstrate mathematical theorems, and of attempts to define material entities, such as a man or a horse, by means of purely numerical formulae, on a sort of dot matrix system illustrated by ψηφοι.[13] Petron's worlds can hardly be equated with Pythagorean monads. But their arrangement suggests that they are meant to instantiate functional numbers, with which some calculation can be performed. They are contiguous, not because there is intended to be any communication between one world and the next, but because numbers are conceived as contiguous.

As we measure triangles, each side of the great triangle is 62 universes long. But Plutarch's description gives the distinct impression that the corner-pieces have a separate status and that the significant number is 60. Certainly, 60 looks more likely to disclose a meaning than 62. It is a friendly number, readily divisible by 2, 3, 4, 5, or 6, as well as by 10, 12, 15, 20, or 30. Babylonian mathematics and astronomy were based on sexagesimal reckoning, and it is in consequence of this that we divide our hours and minutes each into 60 parts and our circles into 360 degrees, each degree being again divided into 60 minutes of arc and each minute into 60 seconds. Each angle of an I^{109} equilateral triangle is of 60 degrees, and one might wonder if Petron's system was somehow connected with this. But lines drawn from the worlds making up one side of his triangle to the opposite corner would divide the angle not into 60 equal degrees but into 61 unequal ones. In any case the measurement of angles by

[13] Epicharmus(?) fr. 276. 1 K.–A. = DK 23 B 2; Eurytus, DK 45 A 2–3; Arist. *Met.* 985b23 ff., 1080bl6 ff., al.; Burkert (as n. 7), 31 ff., 41 f.

degrees does not appear in Greece before Hypsicles (second century BCE).

If that idea is ruled out, we seem to be left with the alternative that the three rows of 60 are designed to sustain some kind of internal subdivision into sections of precise length. Now there is one form of division of a line into measured sections—and, so far as I can see, only one—that might very well play a significant role in a Greek cosmology, especially one with Pythagorean affinities: harmonic division, as of a monochord, to yield a series of musical intervals.

The Greek musical theorists often express harmonic ratios in terms of a series of numbers, especially the series 6 8 9 12, which incorporates the intervals of the octave (12:6), fifth (12:8), fourth (12:9 and 8:6), and tone (9:8). From these intervals one can construct a diatonic scale. But to represent a full scale, using integers, one needs a larger set of numbers. A set that goes up to 60 rather than 12 offers some scope. For example, if the two and a half tones that make up a fourth are assigned the proportional values 9:8, 10:9, and 16:15 (a formula recognized by Didymus and Ptolemy), then a diatonic scale in the Lydian species (*c'–c*) may be represented by the numbers

30 32 36 40 45 48 54 60.[14]

Different theorists in fact arrived at different sets of ratios as they sought to reconcile heard intervals with mathematical elegance, and there is no way of establishing which particular scale or scales Petron might have seen fit to hallow, or what particular set of ratios he might have adopted. What we can guess, in view of the analogy with Pythagoras of Zacynthus' 'tripod', is that each side of his triangle embodied a different tuning: most likely a Dorian, a Phrygian, and a Lydian scale. If these had the forms which they acquired in fourth-century theory, those of the E, D, and C octave species

[14] The lower the number, the shorter the notional vibrating string and the higher the note. For Didymus' and Ptolemy's calculations see Andrew Barker, *Greek Musical Writings*, ii (Cambridge 1989), 310, 313, 349. Ptolemy and Aristides Quintilianus (ibid. 303, 419) divide the fourth into 60 parts in order to express in integers all the various divisions of it in tunings recognized by Aristoxenus. Elsewhere Ptolemy tabulates Aristoxenus', Archytas', Eratosthenes', Didymus', and his own tuning formulae for the enharmonic, chromatic, and diatonic genera on a scale running from 60 to 120, admitting fractions where necessary (ibid. 346 ff.). This had the practical purpose of realizing these tunings on a monochord with a calibration-scale divided into 120 parts.

respectively, they might have been represented numerically by the series:

	e′		d′		c′		b		a		g		f		e		d		c
		9:8		10:9		16:15		9:8		10:9		9:8		16:15		9:8		10:9	
Dorian	24		27		30		32		36		40		45		48				
Phrygian			27		30		32		36		40		45		48		54		
Lydian					30		32		36		40		45		48		54		60

This is only an example of the possibilities.

THE BLESSINGS OF REVOLUTION

What would be the point of encoding each of three musical scales in a stick of worlds and then turning them round a central hearth? If we were to pursue the analogy with the Zacynthian musicologist's tripod still further, we might imagine a divine artist outside all the worlds, playing each mode in turn as it came under his hands. The three modes might then correspond to the three seasons of a *magnus annus*, rather as in other Pythagorean tradition we find the seasons of our mundane l^{110} year connected with different notes played by Apollo on a cosmic lyre with the sun as plectrum.[15] But this is walking on water.

Certainly the triangle's rotation need not imply any such idea. Having constructed his prodigious complex of 183 worlds, Petron could hardly be content to have it loaf inertly in the void. Rotation is a conspicuous and fundamental feature of our visible firmament, and hence of nearly all Greek cosmological models. Those who conceived our cosmos (and others elsewhere) to have developed out of an infinite surrounding continuum postulated, as an intrinsic feature of this continuum, eternal movement, which tended locally to assume rotatory form, like whirlpools in water. Some considered circularity to be characteristic of divine movement, because it alone perpetuates itself unchanged for ever.[16] Petron would have thought

[15] See Burkert (as n. 7), 356.

[16] Cf. Alcmeon of Croton, DK 24 A 12, B 2; Hermippus fr. 73 K.–A.; Archytas, DK 47 A 23a; Ecphantus, DK 51 A 1; Pl. *Leg.* 897c–8c, *Tim.* 34ab; Arist. *Phys.* 265a13–b16; Burkert (as n. 7), 331 f.

of his system as a divine construct or as itself divine, and nothing was more natural than that he should predicate of it the circular motion that manifestly governs our individual cosmos.

DANCING ROUND THE HEARTH

From the fifth century we find the poetic idea that the revolution of the stars is a dance.[17] It is particularly significant that in a report of Philolaus' cosmology we read of ten divine bodies—the stellar sphere, five planets, sun, moon, earth, and counter-earth—that 'dance' round a central fire called the 'hearth of the universe'.[18] A ring-dance and a central hearth: just the same combination as in Petron's system.

The parallel further confirms the Pythagorean affinities of Petron's cosmology. That he pre-dated Philolaus I regard as very unlikely. The old dating to the sixth century was based on the now-discredited early dating of Hippys. The explanation offered above for the rows of 60 worlds implies a mathematical analysis of musical scales more sophisticated than that found in Philolaus, and comparable rather to that of Archytas, though not identical with it.[19] Everything we know of Petron's cosmology suits a dating sometime in the fourth century.[20]

[17] Soph. *Ant.* 1147, Eur. *El.* 467, Critias *TrGF* 43 F 4. 5.

[18] Aëtius 2. 7. 7, 3. 11. 3 = DK 44 A 16–17, cf. B 7, Arist. fr. 203. Euripides, fr. 944, mentions philosophical identification of Gaia with Hestia; cf. the Orphic hymn quoted in P. Derveni xxii. 12, Soph. fr. 615, and Pl. *Phaedr.* 247a.

[19] Cf. Barker (as n. 14), ii. 34–45.

[20] Cornford pointed out that both Hestia and the Plain of Reality appear in the myth of the *Phaedrus* (above, nn. 5 and 18). Dr Sheppard remarks that there may be a Pythagorean background to the *Phaedrus* myth—this is no doubt so—and that one cannot rule out the possibility of direct Platonic influence on Petron.

9

Seventeen Distorted Mirrors in Plato

The word *κάτοπτρον* (in various cases) occurs seventeen times in Plato, apparently without variant.[1] In fourth-century Attic inscriptions, however, the word constantly appears in the metathesized form *κάτροπτον*.[2] This, therefore, was the normal Attic form, the one Plato would have been most familiar with, and the one we should expect him to have written. There is no ground for supposing that it was only colloquial and that he would have eschewed it in favour of the 'proper' form.

On this basis alone there would be a *prima facie* case for restoring *κάτροπτον* in the text of Plato. The testimony of the manuscripts carries no weight in such a matter, as it was only to be expected that normalization would occur in the course of the tradition and that *κάτοπτρον* would prevail. Contemporary inscriptions may not be *conclusive* evidence for Plato's original orthography, but they are in general much the best evidence.

In the present case, however, we have something even better, for one of the passages in question virtually proves that Plato wrote *κάτροπτον*. *Cratylus* 414c is transmitted as follows:

CQ 52 (2002), 380–1.

[1] *Crat.* 414c, *Theaet.* 193c, 206d, *Soph.* 239d, e (twice), *Phaedr.* 255d, *Alcib. I* 132e, 133a, c, *Rep.* 402b, 596d, *Tim.* 46a, c, 71b, 72c, *Leg.* 905b. Mr D. B. Robinson tells me that he knows of no manuscript variants.

[2] L. Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions*, i (Berlin–New York 1980), 477, lists nineteen instances of this spelling from inventories, against only one of *κάτοπτρον*. The exception dates from after 318/17, and it is immediately followed by three instances of *κάτροπτον* in the succeeding lines of the same inscription. K. J. Dover introduces *κάτροπτον* in Ar. *Nub.* 752, to which the only objection would be that the inscriptional evidence does not take us back before 385. It was on this ground that I refrained from making the alteration at Aesch. *Ag.* 839 (*Aeschyli Tragoediae* (Stuttgart 1990), xlviii).

ὦ μακάριε, οὐκ οἶσθ' ὅτι τὰ πρῶτα ὀνόματα τεθέντα κατακέχωσται ἤδη ὑπὸ τῶν βουλομένων τραγωιδεῖν αὐτά, περιτιθέντων γράμματα καὶ ἐξαιρούντων εὐστομίας ἕνεκα καὶ πανταχῆι στρεφόντων, καὶ ὑπὸ καλλωπισμοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ χρόνου; ἐπεὶ ἐν τῶι κατόπτρωι οὐ δοκεῖ σοι ἄτοπον εἶναι τὸ ἐμβεβλῆσθαι τὸ ῥῶ; ἀλλὰ τοιαῦτα οἶμαι ποιοῦσιν οἱ τῆς μὲν ἀληθείας οὐδὲν φροντίζοντες, τὸ δὲ στόμα πλάττοντες, κτλ.

According to the Budé editor, L. Méridier, 'la forme primitive devait être, suivant Socrate, *κάτοπτον*. Le *ρ* est considéré par lui comme une addition superflue et une altération: il ne reconnaît pas ici le suffixe *-τρο-* qui sert, dans les noms neutres de ce genre, à marquer l'*instrument*.'[3] This is unconvincing; *-τρον* is a perfectly normal and common suffix in nouns denoting instruments, and Plato cannot have thought that **κάτοπτον* would have been better formed. It is therefore very hard to see why he should have chosen *κάτοπτρον* as an example of a word containing an intrusive *ρ*. He found an intrusive *ρ* because the form he was citing was *κάτροπτον*. This is obvious, and it has been remarked on in LSJ s.v. *κάτοπτρον*: 'spelt *κάτροπτον* in Att. Inscrr., *IG* 2^2.1471.47, 1544.58 (iv B.C.), al., and this form shd. be restored in Pl.*Cra.* 414c.' The point is taken by Catherine Dalimier in her recent translation,[4] and she advocates reading *κατρόπτωι*.

But if Plato wrote *κατροπτ-* in the *Cratylus*, we must assume that he wrote it [381] everywhere. It would be perverse to suppose that he sometimes used the one form and sometimes the other.

[3] *Platon* v(2) (Paris 1950), 97 n. 2.

[4] *Platon. Cratyle* (Paris 1998), 253.

10

An Atomist Illustration in Aristotle

Gen. et Corr. A 2. 315b9 ff. (on Democritus and Leucippus) *ἐπεὶ ὁ' ὤιοντο τἀληθὲς ἐν τῶι φαίνεσθαι, ἐναντία δὲ καὶ ἄπειρα τὰ φαινόμενα, τὰ σχήματα ἄπειρα ἐποίησαν, ὥστε ταῖς μεταβολαῖς τοῦ συγκειμένου τὸ αὐτὸ ἐναντίον δοκεῖν ἄλλωι καὶ ἄλλωι, καὶ μετακινεῖσθαι μικροῦ ἐμμειγνυμένου, καὶ ὅλως ἕτερον φαίνεσθαι ἑνὸς μετακινηθέντος· ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν γὰρ τραγωιδία καὶ κωμωιδία γίνεται γραμμάτων.*

Commentators have made up their minds that the phrase *τραγωιδία καὶ κωμωιδία* means 'a tragedy and a comedy', or 'Tragedy and Comedy' in general. So Philoponus,[1] Joachim,[2] Bailey,[3] and Forster.[4] This cannot be right. It fails to illustrate the point just made, that the appearance of a thing may be fundamentally changed by the alteration of a single element, *ἑνὸς μετακινηθέντος*;[5] we expect an example from specific words, of the same order as the examples in Lucr. 1. 912–14,

Phil. 113 (1969), 150–1. Note 6 was there p. 151 n. 1.

[1] *CAG* xiv(2). 24. 3 *παράδειγμα τῶν προειρημένων ἐστὶ τοῦτο· τὰ γὰρ αὐτὰ στοιχεῖα μεταταττόμενα τοίως ἢ τοίως τὰ πολὺ ἀλλήλων διεστῶτα, τραγωιδίαν φησὶ καὶ κωμωιδίαν, ἐργάζεται.*

[2] H. H. Joachim, *Aristotle on Coming-to-be and Passing-away* (Oxford 1922), 72, 'Tragedy and Comedy, though utterly contrasted in their effects on us, are really "the same thing", i.e. composed of the same letters'.

[3] C. Bailey, *The Greek Atomists and Epicurus* (Oxford 1926), 82, 'a tragedy and a comedy might be written with the same letters'.

[4] E. S. Forster in the Loeb Aristotle, 'For a tragedy and a comedy are composed of the same letters'.

[5] *μετακινέω* means 'change', not 'transpose'; cf. the previous clause, and also b35 *τροπῆι καὶ διαθιγῆι μετακινοῦντα τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ ταῖς τῶν σχημάτων διαφοραῖς, ὅπερ ποιεῖ Δημόκριτος*; *Gen. Animal.* A 2. 716b3 *δεῖ δὲ νοεῖν ὅτι μικρᾶς ἀρχῆς μετακινουμένης πολλὰ συμμεταβάλλειν εἴωθε τῶν μετὰ τὴν ἀρχήν. δῆλον δὲ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τῶν ἐκτεμνομένων· τοῦ γεννητικοῦ γὰρ μορίου*

quo pacto uerba quoque ipsa
inter se paulo mutatis sunt elementis,
cum l i g n a atque i g n i s distincta uoce notemus,

[151] and Philoponus p. 23. 28–30, *καὶ ἐν τῆι ἀπορροῆι δέ· μικροῦ ἀπορρέοντος ἀλλοῖον τὸ ὅλον γίνεται. εἰ γοῦν ἐκ τοῦ "ἀδυνάτου" ἀφέλεις τὸ ᾱ μόνον, τὸ "δυνατὸν" ποιεῖς· ὥστε μικρὰ ἀπορροὴ ἐναντίον τῶι ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὸ καταλειφθὲν ἐποίησεν.* Aristotle's expression itself points to this. If he had meant 'a tragedy and a comedy', he might have said *γένοιτ' ἄν* rather than *γίνεται*, and if he had meant 'Tragedy and Comedy', *αἱ τραγωιδίαι καὶ αἱ κωμωιδίαι γίνονται*.

The illustration must consist of a word in which the change of a single letter produces a strikingly different meaning. Instead of *τραγωιδία καὶ κωμωιδία* we should read *τραγωιδία καὶ τρυγωιδία*. The latter word, used by Aristophanes as an equivalent of *κωμωιδία*, is glossed by *κωμωιδία* in his scholia,[6] and could easily have been replaced by it in the text of Aristotle. After *γίνεται γραμμάτων* we should add *<πλὴν ἑνός>*. The intrusion of *κωμωιδία* would make this qualification unintelligible and liable to be omitted, the sentence being reinterpreted in the sense which has become orthodox.

διαφθειρομένου μόνου ὅλη σχεδὸν ἡ μορφὴ συμμεταβάλλει . . . πολλὰ γοῦν συμμεταβάλλει μεταβαλλόντων ἢ θῆλυ καὶ ἄρρεν, ὡς ἀρχῆς μεταπιπτούσης; *Eth. Nic.* H 11. 1152a29 *ῥᾴων γὰρ ἔθος μετακινῆσαι φύσεως.*

[6] *Ach.* 498; cf. Ath. 2. 40b; Anon. *De comoedia* in Kaibel, *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, 7; Hesych. *τ* 1549 *τρυγωιδεῖν· κωμωιδεῖν.*

11

The Cosmology of 'Hippocrates', *De Hebdomadibus*

Several of the treatises and lectures that make up the Hippocratic corpus begin with more or less extended statements about the physical composition and operation of the world at large, and approach the study of human physiology from this angle. We see this, for example, in *De Natura Hominis*, *De Flatibus*, *De Carnibus*, *De Victu*; it was the approach of Alcmeon of Croton, Diogenes of Apollonia, and according to Plato (*Phaedr.* 270c) of Hippocrates himself.

The work known as *De Hebdomadibus* would appear to be a prime example of the type. The first twelve chapters are cosmological. They are dominated by two ideas: that everything in nature is arranged in groups of seven, and that the human body is constructed on the same pattern as the whole world. In the later part of the book (13–52) we pass to the subject of fevers, their causation and treatment. But as Roscher observed, the cosmology and the pathology do not belong together. Not only is the hebdomadic principle ignored in the latter, except in the special theory of critical days (26), which is found in other works of the corpus: it is flagrantly contradicted. Chapters 13–16 contain dualistic analysis of the soul in terms of hot and cold, an equation of bodily and cosmic constituents in terms of a four-element theory, and a division of the year into three seasons. These are all topics that have been dealt with in earlier chapters on the hebdomadic principle.

The title *περὶ ἑβδομάδων* is thus only appropriate to the initial chapters; and Galen in fact only applies it to them. His three

CQ 21 (1971), 365–88. The footnotes were there numbered anew on each page.

references to the *περὶ ἑβδομάδων* are to chapters 2, 4, and 6. The pathological part of the book he cites as *τὸ α΄ περὶ νούσων τὸ μικρότερον*, and Littré and Ilberg have shown the correctness of this appellation.[1] The extension of the first title to cover both parts is presupposed by the commentary of pseudo-Galen (see below) and by the Latin version that is our most complete source. In what follows I shall disregard it and treat chapters 1–12 on their own. I assume that they represent the introduction to some other medical disquisition. The sentence in 12 that seems to link it directly with the following discussion of fevers is interpolated, as the ps.-Galen commentary shows.

The work was unknown to the modern world until in 1837 Littré published a notice of it based on a very corrupt text of the Latin version from a Paris manuscript.[2] The text was printed in the eighth volume (1853) of his great edition of the Hippocratica. Shortly afterwards a second, rather better manuscript of the Latin text was discovered, and, better still, a fragment of the Greek text (1–5). These were published in Littré's ninth volume. The three sources were reprinted by the Dutch scholar F. Z. Ermerins in his *Hippocratis et aliorum medicorum veterum reliquiae*, iii (Traiecti ad Rhenum 1864), 533 ff. Ermerins made a serious effort to make sense out of the Greek. His emendations are somewhat violent, but there are excellent corrections among them. Then in 1893 C. Harder drew [366] attention to an Arabic manuscript in Munich (Monac. arab. 802), which he described as containing a translation of the *De Hebd.* (to chapter 17) and also a translation of a commentary on it by Galen (*Rh. Mus.* 48 (1893), 433–47). His article contained what appeared to be a German version of the Arabic *De Hebd.* It was only in 1914, when H. Bergsträsser published the complete Arabic text with a literal German translation (*Corp. Med. Gr.* xi. 2), that it was made clear that the manuscript did not contain a continuous translation of the *De Hebd.* but only lemmata between sections of the commentary (which Bergsträsser showed could not be by Galen). What Harder had printed was a free reconstruction made up from the lemmata, the commentary, and the Latin version; but he left it so unclear what

[1] M. Littré, *Oeuvres d'Hippocrate*, viii. 623, 629; H. Ilberg in *Griechische Studien Hermann Lipsius dargebracht* (Leipzig 1894), 33–9.

[2] *Recherches sur une traduction inédite du traité* des Semaines, *livre attribué à Hippocrate dans l'antiquité, et dont le texte grec est perdu* (Paris).

he was about that it is not surprising that people were misled. While his version must not be treated as a source for the text, it remains useful as a contribution to understanding, for it is to this day almost the only version designed to be comprehensible that has appeared in any language.

De Hebd. attracted little general notice until W. H. Roscher came across it in the course of his studies on the number seven in myth, cult, superstition, and philosophy. He became very excited about it, made up his mind that the cosmological part dated from the mid sixth century and was thus the oldest surviving Greek prose, and published a series of lengthy and inexcusably repetitive works in which this view was argued,[3] as well as an edition which remains an indispensable basis for any study.[4] Much interest was aroused at the time. Many scholars were persuaded of the great antiquity of the cosmology, though others, including such authorities as Diels and Boll, insisted that it must be brought down to the fifth or early fourth century.[5] Since then there has been less written. The principal study that remains to be named is that by Walther Kranz in his 'Kosmos und Mensch'.[6]

In embarking upon a new analysis of the cosmology I cannot do otherwise than provide a text and apparatus as a basis for discussion. Roscher's edition will be unavailable to many readers; it could not exploit the ps.-Galen commentary to the full; and it does not attempt to be intelligible, but to report the evidence of the sources. I must say something about these sources now.

[3] 'Die Hebdomadenlehre der griechischen Philosophen und Ärzte', *Abhandlungen der sächsischen Gesellschaft* 24 (6), 1906; 'Über Alter, Ursprung und Bedeutung der hippokratischen Schrift von der Siebenzahl', ibid. 28 (5), 1911; *Mennon* 5 (1912), Heft 3/4; *Phil.* 70 (1912), 529–38; 'Die hippokratische Schrift von der Siebenzahl und ihr Verhältnis zum Altpythagoreismus', *Verhandlungen der sächsischen Gesellschaft* 71 (5), 1919.

[4] *Die hippokratische Schrift von der Siebenzahl* (Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums, vi. 3/4), 1913.

[5] The most important discussions from that period are those of F. Boll in *Nfb.* 16 (1913), 137–45 (= *Kl. Schr. zur Sternkunde des Altertums* (Leipzig 1950), 213 ff.), and his pupil E. Pfeiffer, *Studien zum antiken Sternglauben* (Leipzig 1916), 30–8, 119 f. I will also mention here K. Mras's useful observations on the Latin text, *Wien. St.* 41 (1919), 61–74 and 181–92. Other literature will be cited in due course.

[6] *NGG* 1938, 121–61 = his *Studien zur antiken Literatur und ihrem Nachwirken* (Heidelberg 1967), 165–96. Unfortunately he still quotes Harder's 'Arabic version' as a separate source from ps.-Galen. I regret that M. Wellmann's article in *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaft und Medizin* 4 (1933), 6–10, is not to be found in Oxford.

The Greek text of 1–5 survives, though partly illegible, on the final page of Paris. gr. 2142. Collations by Ilberg and Kalbfleisch and a photograph are to be found at the end of Roscher's 1911 monograph. I have checked the collations against the photograph as far as I can, and got one or two new readings, e.g. *πάντων τροφός* for *πάντροφος* in 1. 2. Other bits of Greek are supplied by I^{367} quotations in Philo and Galen. A manuscript destroyed in the Escurial fire of 1671 apparently contained the Greek text or part of it.

The Latin translation is thought to have been made in the early sixth century, when other Hippocratic works were translated. In reading it, it is important to remember that it is a translation: phrasing that does not look plausible as Latin often becomes intelligible when turned literally into Greek. Misunderstandings show; for example, we see that the translator took *ΌΚΙΜΜΕΡΙΟΣ* in 11 as one word, and *TAYTA* in 12 as *ταῦτα* instead of *ταὐτά*.

The commentary, though not by Galen himself, comes from his milieu and reflects a text several centuries older than that of the Latin and the extant Greek. Anyone who concerns himself with the text of *De Hebd.* must work carefully through Bergsträsser's edition, for the gain is considerable. Although it does not yield a continuous text, and the language does not (like the Latin) allow the structure of the Greek sentences to shine through, it reveals that the Byzantine text is defective in two different ways. It is lacunose—ps.-Galen shows that phrases and whole sentences have been left out; and in several places what appears in ps.-Galen as an interpretation of the text appears in the manuscripts as part of the text, in other words, interpolations have been made from the exegetical tradition. For instance, in 1. 2 the Greek text has *καὶ ἔστι πάντων τροφὸς (sc. ἡ γῆ) ἐξ ὕδατος ἐοῦσα*, and the corrupt Latin version may represent the same. Roscher blithely claimed this as a connection with 'Thales and his school'. But the phrase is puzzling in terms of the hebdomadist's system. He certainly does not regard the earth as composed of water, but as a distinct body that has water in and on it. The meaning might be that it came from water in the first place, but the writer has otherwise not a word to say about cosmogony. Now, ps.-Galen gives as the lemma, 'the earth surrounds the water', and says that it can also be construed as 'the water surrounds the earth' (which fits the system exactly): this implies something like *ἔστι πάντων τροφὸς διὰ τὸ περιέχειν αὐτὴν τὰ ὑγρά*. Some interpreters, he says, have

explained that the earth is made from water. It is this explanation that has intruded in the Greek text.

Where the Greek is preserved, I have printed it, and supplemented short lacunae in Greek. Elsewhere I give the Latin version, as well as I can recover it from the two mumbling witnesses, transposed into classical spelling. Where ps.-Galen supplies an addition, I sometimes insert it in Bergsträsser's German or in conjectural Greek. It is to be understood that if I mark a lacuna or interpolation in the Latin, I mean that the original Greek text had more or less at the place concerned, and not necessarily that the Latin version ever did. The apparatus does not attempt to record every scribal quirk, but the essentials. The following sigla are used:

A = Ambros. Lat. G 108.
P = Paris. Lat. 7027.
L = effective consensus of *AP*.
G = ps.-Galen as translated by Bergsträsser.
* = alteration by me.

Square brackets in the Greek text enclose passages illegible in the manuscript; in the apparatus they are also used for suggested Greek equivalents to Latin or Arabic wording. Braces { } mark conjectural deletions, half-brackets ⌊ ⌋ words omitted by *A* or *P*.

TEXT

Mundi forma sic omnis ornata est eorumque qu*ae* insunt singulorum. Necesse est septinariam ⌊quidem⌋ habere speciem et definitiones septem dierum ⌊in⌋ coagulationem seminis humani et ⌊in⌋ deformationem naturae hominis et ⌊in⌋ determinationem aegritudinum, et quaecumque deputriunt in corpore ⌊eorum †quae in omne†⌋ Et cetera omnia septinariam naturam habent {em} et speciem, ⌊insuper⌋ et perfectionem et ⌊†perpatris⌋ propter hoc: numerositas mundi *οὕτ[ως] ἔχει, ἑπταμερέα ἔχων [ἐν ἑωυτῶι πᾶσαν ἰδέην καὶ τάξιν ἑκά]στου τῶν μερέων ἑπταμερέα·*

2 *μίαν μὲν <ἐν> πᾶσι τάξιν τὴν τοῦ ἀκρίτου κόσμου, <δι>εξ[όδους] ἔχοντα θέρεος καὶ χειμῶνος· δευτέρην δὲ {τάξιν} τὴν τῶν ἄστρων ἀνταύγειαν καὶ μάνωσιν {οὖσαν θερμοτάτην} καὶ ἀραιοτέρην τῆς φύσιος λαμπηδόνα· τρίτην ἡλίου δίοδον θερμασ[ίην] ἔχοντ[ος]· τετάρτην σελήνης ἀνιούσης καὶ τελειούσης πρόσθεσιν καὶ μειούσης ἀφαί[ρεσιν]· πέμπτη μοῖρα ἡ τοῦ ἠέρος σύστασις {καὶ} κόσμου, παρέχουσα ὑετοὺς καὶ ἀστραπὰς β[ροντάς τε] καὶ χιόνας <καὶ χαλάζας καὶ τἆλλα τοιαῦτα>· ἕκτον τὸ τῆς θαλάττης ὑγρὸν μέρος καὶ ποταμῶν καὶ κρηνέων καὶ πηγέων καὶ λιμνέων, <καὶ τὸ ἄποτον καὶ τὸ πότιμον>, καὶ [τὸ] ἐν τούτοισι θερμόν, <δι'> ὃ ἀγωγὴ καὶ ἄρδευσίς ἐστι τῆς ἰκμάδος· ἕβδομον αὐτὴ ἡ γῆ, ἐφ' ἧι τά τε ζῶια καὶ τὰ [φυ]όμενα <...>· καὶ ἔστι πάντων τροφός, {ἐξ ὕδατος ἐοῦσα} <διὰ τὸ περιέχειν αὐτὴν τὰ ὑγρά>.*

1. 1 *[ἡ τοῦ κόσμου ἰδέη ὧδε πᾶσα κεκόσμηται καὶ ἑκάστων τῶν ἐν αὐτῶι]* 3 *Philo de opif. mundi 124 (i. 42 C.–W.) φησὶ δὲ καὶ Ἱπποκράτης ὁ τῆς φύσεως ἐπιγνώμων ἐν ἑβδομάδι κρατύνεσθαι καὶ τὴν πῆξιν τῆς γονῆς καὶ τὴν ἀνάπλασιν τῆς σαρκός* 4 *[νούσων κρίσιν]* 5–6 in corpus. et caetera *A* 6–8 *καὶ τἆλλα π[άντα ἑπταμερέα φύσιν ἔχει καὶ ἰδέην, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τέλος (sive τελείωσιν) καὶ . . . διὰ τόδε. ὁ τοῦ ὅλου ἀριθμὸς] οὕτ[ως κτλ.*

1. 2. 11 *ἔξοδον Kalbfleisch, διεξόδους Roscher*: transitum *A*, -us *P*: Durchgangsort *G ἔχοντος Diels: an τὸν . . . κόσμον?* 12 *τάξιν (et l) seclusi ἀνταυγίαν* splendorem et laxationem et raritatem naturae et splendidum *l*: das Licht der Sterne und die Porosität und die Feinheit und die Kompaktheit und die Dichte der Physis *G*: 12–13 *οὖσαν θερμοτάτην seclusi (glossema ad θερμασίαν ἔχοντος ut vid.), ἀραιοτέρην scripsi pro ἀραιωτάτην* 15 *πρόσθεσιν *: προσθέσει* 16 { }* (aeris constitutio mundi *P*) 18 < > *Ermerins ex l, cf. G* 20 < >* *ex G* <δι'> ὃ * 23 < >: wie vollendet sind also diese Geschöpfe geschaffen, und sie vegetieren vollkommen *G* 24*: *irrepsit interpretatio a G memorata; lemma est* die Erde umfasst das Wasser, *sed* vielleicht meint er mit diesen seinen Worten, dass das Wasser die Erde umfasst

2 οὕτως οἱ τῶν ξυμπάντων κόσμοι ἑπταμερέα ἔχουσι τὴν τάξιν· ἴσοι δὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὅμοιοί τε τὴν ἰδέην οἱ ὑπὸ τῆι γῆι κόσμοι τοῖσιν ὑπὲρ γῆς. καὶ αὐτόδρομον κύκλωσιν {περι}έχουσι τῆς τε περιόδου καὶ μεθόδου <περὶ> τὴν γῆν περιπολίην ποιεύμενοι, διὰ τόδε· ἡ γῆ καὶ ὁ Ὀλύμπιος κόσμος ἔχει τὴν φύσιν στάσιμον, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ὁδὸν ἔχει περιπολίης· κατὰ μέσον δὲ τὸν κόσμον ἡ γῆ κειμένη, {καὶ ἕ}χουσα ἐν ἑωυτῆι καὶ ὑφ' ἑωυτῆι τὰ ὑγρὰ <τὰ τρόφιμα>, ἐν τῶι ἠέρι ὀχέεται, ὥστε τοῖσι κάτω τάδε μὲν τὰ ἄνω κάτω εἶναι, τὰ δὲ κάτω ἄνω, οὕτω τε διέχειν τά τε ἐκ δεξιῆς καὶ τὰ ἐξ ἀριστερῆς· καὶ περὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν οὕτως ἔχει.—ἡ μὲν γῆ ο{ὖσα μέση} καὶ ὁ Ὀλύμπιος κόσμος ὕπατος ὢν ἀκίνητά ἐστιν· ἡ δὲ σελήνη μέση οὖσα <πάντων τῶν ἄλλων μερέων, τῶν μὲν ἀνωτέρων, τῶν δὲ κατωτέρων,> συναρμόζει αὐτὴ τἄ{λ}λα πάντα, ἐν ἀλλήλοισι ζῶντα καὶ δι' [369] {ἀ}λλήλων διόντα· αὐτά τε ὑφ' ἑωυτῶν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀεὶ ὄντων θ{εῶν} ἀϊδίως κινεῖται. <καὶ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἰδίην κινεῖται κίνησιν ἑτέρην τῶν ἄλλων, πάντων μὲν ἐν κυκλώσει ἐόντων, τῶν δὲ μερέων ἑκάστου τοῖς ξύμπασι διαφέροντος.>

2 τὰ τοίνυν ἄστρα τὰ οὐράνια ἑπτὰ ἐόντα τάξιν ἔχει τῆς τῶν ὡρέων ἐκδοχῆς, μεμ{ερισ|μένην· ᾧ}[ν ἐπὶ] μιῆς μὲν ὁ ἥλιος, ἡλίωι δὲ σελήνη <ἀκολουθέει>· ἀκολουθέει δὲ Ἄρκτος τῶι Ἀρκτούρωι ἀκολουθίην ἴ{σην} ὥσπερ ἡλίωι σελήνη· αἱ δὲ Πλειάδες τῆι{σιν Ὑάσιν} ἀκολουθέουσιν· τῶι δὲ Ὠρίωνι ὁ Κύων. ταῦτα δὲ {τὰ} ἄστρα ἀκολουθίην ἔχει ἀλλήλοισι καὶ ἐναντίωσιν· καὶ γὰρ †ἐκ δεξιῆς† τῆς τῶν ὡρέων †ἑστερίσιος ὁδεύουσιν, ὥστε μὴ {τὴν αὐτ}ὴν στάσιν ἔχειν ὁδοῦ τὰ ἄστρα.

2. 1. 27–8 eiusdem numeri (=αὐτοάριθμοι?) gyrum habent *l* {}*: παρέχουσι *Ermerins* < > *Roscher* 29 περιπολίην *Harder*: περιπολέην 31 τὸν κόσμον *(et lG)*: *fort.* τῶν κόσμων 32 ὑφ'*: super *l* < >* ex G* 33 μὲν τὰ *Boll*: μέντοι 35 *vel* ἔχειν 36 ὕπατος ὢν *Harder* (+ ἀεὶ *Boll*): ὑπὸ τοσοῦνδε 37–8 < >* ex G* 40 τε *Ermerins*: τὰ 40–1 αὐτά—κινεῖται: facile semper moventur *l*, *admissa var. lect.* ἀϊδίως *pro* ὑπὸ—θεῶν 41–3 < >*: und jedes einzelne von ihnen bewegt sich mit einer von der Bewegung seiner Genossen verschiedener Bewegung, und die Bewegung des Alls ist eine drehende Bewegung; was aber die Teile anlangt, so bewegen sie sich entgegengesetzt der Bewegung des Alls *G*

2. 2. 44 die himmlischen irrenden Sterne *G* 45 ὡραίων ἐνδοχῆς ὧ[ν ἐπὶ] *et* 46 < >*: est unum (istum dum mundum *P*) quidem sol, soli (sol lunam solem *A*) autem luna sequitur *l*: der erste Teil ist die Sonne, und der Mond folgt der Sonne *G* 50 ἐκ δεξιῆς … ἐς τὰ ἀριστερὰ *Ermerins*: ad expectationem temporum et immutationem *l*: ἐξ ἐκδοχῆς … ἑτεροιώσιος *Boll (duce Harder)*

3 {περὶ ἀνέμων.} ἀνέμων αὖ ἑπτὰ <ἀναπνεύσιος χῶραί εἰσιν ὅθεν ὡραῖοι> ἀναπνέουσιν, περιόδους ποιεύμενοι καὶ κίνησιν ἀόρατον πλάνης, ἀναπνεύματι τοῦ πνεύματος ἰσχὺν ποιεύμενοι. ἀρχὴ μὲν οὖν ἀνέμων ὅθεν οὗτοι πεφύκασιν· ἀπὸ τοῦ θερμοῦ Ἀπηλιώτης· ἐχόμενος Βορέης· ἔπειτα Ἀπαρκτίας· εἶτα Ζέφυρος· μετ' αὐτὸν δὲ ὁ <καλούμενος> Λίψ· ἔπειτα Νότος· ἐχόμενος Εὖρος.

οὗτοι οἱ ἑπτὰ ἀνάπνευσιν ἔχουσιν ὡραίην·

4 {περὶ ὡρῶν.} ὧραι δὲ ἐνιαύσιοι ἑπτά. εἰσὶ δὲ αὗται· σπορητός, χειμών, φυταλιά, ἔαρ, θέρος, ὀπώρ{η}, μετόπωρον. αὗται ἀλλήλεών διαφέρουσι διὰ τάδε· σπορητὸς ἐν θέρει οὐ γόνιμος, οὐδὲ φύτευσις ἐν μετοπώρωι, οὐδὲ ἄνθησις ἐν χειμῶνι, οὐδὲ βλάστησις ἐν θέρει, οὐδὲ πέπανσις ἐν χειμῶνι.

5 οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἐπ' ἀνθρώπου φύσιος ἑπτὰ ὧραί εἰσιν, ἃς ἡλικίας καλέομεν· παιδίον, παῖς, μειράκιον, νεηνίσκος, ἀνήρ, πρεσβύτης, γέρων. καὶ παιδίον μέν ἐστιν ἄχρις ἑπτὰ ἐτῶν <καὶ> ὀδόντων ἐκβολῆς· παῖς δὲ ἄχρι γονῆς ἐκφύσεως ἐς τὰ δὶς ἑπτά· μειράκιον δὲ ἄχρι γενείου λαχνώσεως ἐς τὰ τρὶς ἑπτά· νεηνίσκος δὲ ἄχρις αὐξήσιος ὅλου τοῦ σώματος ἐς τὰ τετράκις ἑπτά· ἀνὴρ δὲ ἄχρις ἑνὸς δέοντος ἐτῶν πεντήκοντα ἐς τὰ ἑπτάκις ἑπτά· πρεσβύτης δὲ ἄχρι ἐτῶν πεντήκοντα ἓξ ἐς τὰ ἑπτάκις ὀκτώ· τὸ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν γέρων.

6 Quae autem in terra sunt corpora et arbores naturam similem habent mundo, quae minima et quae magna; necesse est enim mundi partes, cum sint omnia similiter, comparari mundo; ex [370]

3. 53–4 < >*: regiones septem ‹respirationes› habent tempu<ri>s circuitum *l*: die Tore der Winde sind sieben, aus denen die Zeitenwinde wehen *G* 55 πλανῆσιν ἀπ<ε>υματι: * motum vegetantem erroris respiramen (-mine *Mras*) flatus virtutes facientes *l*: der Wind ist von der Kraft des Einziehens der Luft *G* 56 sie bewegen sich von einem hochgelegenen Ort *G* 58 Aparktias *G*: ἄρκτος: Africus *l*: Ἀργέστης? *Boll* < >*: qui appellatur Lips *l* 60 ἀνάπνευσιν *Ermerins*: ἀνα πνεύμασιν: respirationes ‹sunt› temporales *l*

4. 61 septem aetheriam partem (-as -es *A*) habentia *l*: in jener Stelle ist ein Teil von den Teilen des αἰθήρ *G* 62 *et* 63 σπορητός *Gal. xvii. 18 K.*: σποράτος

5. *de hoc capite v. nunc appendicem novam* 67 ἐν ἀνθρώπου φύσει *Philo de opif. mundi 105 (i. 37 C.–W.)* 69 *post* γέρων *deficit cod.: cetera ex Philone* 72–5 *aliter l et testes Latini* 74 *fort.* ὀκτάκις ἑπτά 75 γῆρας κἂν ἀτυχῇ τὰ τοῦ τέλους *excerptum ap. Littré viii. 633*

6. 1. 78 similem compati *P*: [ἐπεὶ ἔχει πάντα ὁμοίως, ὁμοιοῦσθαι τοῖς ὅλοισι]

aequalibus enim partibus et similibus mundo consistunt. Terra quidem stabilis et immobilis: media quidem lapidosa, <ossium> imitationem habens, impassibilis et immobilis natura; quod autem circa eam est, hominum caro, solubilis. Quod autem in terra calidum humidum, medulla et cerebrum hominis, <unde descendit> semen; aqua autem fluminum imitatio est venae et qui in venis est sanguinis; stagna autem vesicae et longao<nis>; maria vero, qui in visceribus est humor⌈is⌋ hominis. Aer vero spiritus qui est in homine. Luna{e} locus †sensus.

2 Apparet calidum hominis, quomodo in mundo, in duobus locis, ⌈et⌋ <quod> quidem ex solis splendoribus est congregatum terrae, hoc quod in visceribus hominis et quod in venis calidum est; quod autem in superioribus partibus est mundi, quod stellae et sol, quod sub cute est hominis calidum circa carnem, quod per celeritatem splendens mutat colores, sicut et illic Iovem aegiochum invenies esse. Arctos autem fervoris in homine operatio{nem} quae e sole nutrita. Inseparabilis autem soliditas quae mundum continet omnem, cutis coagulatio, frigida constituta. Ergo omnis constitutio uniuscuiusque formarum sic continetur.

7 Uniuscuiusque specierum septem partes. <Hominis septem partes.> Caput una pars; manus operum ministratrix secunda; interiora viscera et praecordiorum definitio tertia; veretri duae partes, una quidem urinae profusio, quarta, alia seminis ministratura, quinta; longao {⌈id est⌋ intestinum maius} cibi sediminis exitus sexta; crura ambulationes septima.

80 media lapidi quidem ossa *A*: media quidem lapidiosa *P*: liegt in der Mitte der Welt . . . und gleicht den Knochen *G* 83–4 < >* *ex G* (*pp. 71, 89*) 85 longe intestinus natus (=-um maius) *P* 86 dem feuchten Wind *G* 87 Stelle des Gehirns *G*, *interpr.* des Verstandes

6. 2. 88 apparet calidum *Harder*: apparuit iudicium *A*, apparitio dictum *P* 89 quiddam *A* 93 der Saturn, der dort ist, der sich bewegt und kreist *G* 94 Arcturius *A*: ero hos *P* in omnem *P* 95 quaestula enutrita *A*: que e sole nutrita *P*: die beiden Kalbsterne (=Ἄρκτοι) gleichen der (dünnen) Wärme, die im Menschen ist . . . die Sonne leitet die beiden Kalbsterne *G*: * 95 ἄκριτον πάγος *Gal. xix. 73 K.* (ἐν τῶι περὶ ἑβδομάδων)

7. 99–100 < >* *ex G* 101 die Scheidewand, die φρένες genannt wird *G* 102 similis natura *P* 103 cibis *b*: *

8 Caput ergo ipsum septinarium habet auxilium ad vitam. Frigidi introitus per quam ubique part<em pat>et, una haec; secunda fervoris exhalatio ex omni corpore; tertia visus, iudicium <colorum et ceterorum>; quarta auris, auditus; quinta nares respirantes, odorum intellectus; sexta humoris bibitio{nis} et ciborum transmissio, arteria et stomachum; septima lingua{e}, gustus sensus.

9 Et ipsius quidem vocis <per> septem {vocalium} inarticulatio {litterarum}.

10 Anima{m} itaque septenarium habet: <unum> ⌈calidum <in> se*minis* form<ation>e*m* septen<di>aria*m*⌋ constitutum et {in} deficiens facillime eis septem die<bu>s, quod in aere et quod in animalibus; secundum aerium frigus utile; tertium humorem per totum conl[37]stitutum corpus; quartum terrenum, {sanguinem,} cibo indigentem; quintum choleras amaras—aegritudinum dolores multi{tudinum} <ex> his septem dierum; sextum cibum dulcem omne<m> {quod est lucrum sanguinis innascens}; septimum omne salsum, delectationum imminutiones.

Natura autem hae septem partes animae; quae cum consilio quidem sine dolore consistunt; <χρὴ δὲ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, εἴ τι φρονεῖ, ὀρθῶς γνῶναι ὅπως ἐπιμέλειαν ἕξει τοῦ σώματος·> cetera si recte agunt, vegeti *vivunt* vitam et fortitudinem habent et vivunt sufficienter. Male autem in<vicem> compositae curantis peccatis violentum dolorem et iactationem incurrunt; moriuntur autem ⌈homines⌋ advenientibus illis per suas culpas, ipsi sibi vere doloris causa constituti{s}.

8. 105 [ἡ τοίνυν κεφαλὴ καὶ αὐτὴ ἑπταμερέα ἔχει ὠφελίην πρὸς τὴν ζωήν] 106 quem *l* patet *A*: partet *P*: * 108 < >* *ex G* 110 artyria *A*: atheria *P*

9 sunt vocales litterae *A*: in sieben Teile geteilt . . . deutlich gemacht *G*: * [δι' ἑπτὰ δηλοῦται]

10. 114 [ἑπτὰ μέρεα] < >* calidum septe forme septenarium *P*, *om. A*: die urpsrüngliche Wärme, die im Anfang der Schwangerschaft ist . . . vernichtet sich selbst *G*: * 116 eis *P*: in *A* 118 { }*, *cf. G* 119 coleram amaram *A*: bittere Gifte *G*: [πικρὴν χολήν] 120 multitudinem *A*: * [ἑπταμερέων] 121 { }*, *cf. G* locum *P* [ἐγγινόμενον] 124 der Mensch muss, wenn er sich um etwas kümmert, seine Ansicht richtig machen, damit er seinen Körper gut behandle *G* 126 [ἀλλὰ] vegit in unum *A*, begeti unam *P*: * 127 < >*: [ἀλλήλαισι] curare his *A*, curantes *P*: * 129 ipsis sibi vere *A*, ipsi bibere *P*: *

11 Terra autem omnis septem partes habet: caput et faciem Peloponnesum, magnarum animarum habitationem; secundum Isthmus, medulla <et> cervix; tertia pars inter<iora> viscera et praecordia, Ionie, <und die Bewohner dieser Gegend sind besonders verständig, einsichtig und weise>; quarta crura, Hellespontus, <und diese Gegend ist lang ausgestreckt, und geht nach der Richtung unseres Meeres, und sie ist schmal>; quinta pedes, Bosporus {transitus} {Thracius et Cimmerius}: <so wisset, dass die Bevölkerung und Bewohner dieser Gegend kräftig, stark, Krieger und Leute von Mut und Tapferkeit sind, und niemand sie zurückhalten kann>; sexta venter, Aegyptus et pelagus Aegyptium, <und es ist ein fruchtbares Land, voll Körnerfrüchte und Obst>; septima venter inferior et longao {intestinum maius}, Euxinus Pontus et palus Maeotis, <und dies ist eine grosse Insel von den Inseln des Meeres, die die Abfälle der Erde aufnimmt; in ihrem Volk aber und ihren Bewohnern ist kein Mut, sondern sie sind schwach und dienstfertig und können den Kampf und Krieg nicht ertragen>.

12 De autem toto mundo et natura hominis secundum naturam et rationem dixi, quia tale est quale ego ipse ostendo, et quatenus ipsum corpus divisum est. Cum sit ergo eiusmodi mundus, ostendam et in aegritudine haec pati totius mundi et aliorum omnium corpora. Necesse est enim propter eos qui nesciunt mundi totius et omnium naturam ostendere, ut scientes magis adsequi possint quae nunc dicuntur. Manifeste quidem qualia sint haec, ratio naturalis est; docet haec autem ratio quae secundum naturam continent; {ipsas febres et alias causas et quidem acutas aegritudines quomodo fiant docet, et factas quomodo oportet cohiberi †aut non fieri† et nascentes quomodo debeant curari recte.} Considerare ergo oportet secundum hanc rationem omnia.

11. 133 < >*, *cf. 7* 134 iuniae *A*, tome *P*: [*Ἰωνίη*] 138 { } { } * (oder *Θράικιος* oder *Κιμμέριος G*) hocimerus *A*, onchyme mertus *P*: [*ὁ Κιμμέριος*]
12. 150–1 [*ἔλεξα, ὅτι οὕτως ἔχει ὡς ἐγὼ ἀποδείκνυμι, καὶ ὅκως αὖ τὸ σῶμα μεμέρισται*] 152 [*καὶ κατὰ τὰς νούσους ταὐτὰ πάσχειν*] 153 [*διὰ τοὺς ἀγνοοῦντας*] 156 [*φυσικὸς λόγος*] 157–60 { }*, *cf. G*

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COMMENTARY

1. 1. The opening paragraph states the principle that the world has seven parts, and so has each thing in it. (Cf. Philolaus 44 B 1 *ἁ φύσις δὲ ἐν τῶι κόσμωι ἁρμόχθη ἐξ ἀπείρων τε καὶ περαινόντων, καὶ ὅλος ὁ κόσμος καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῶι πάντα.*) Oddly inserted in the general statement are some special examples known to medicine, not indeed of seven-part structure but of the significance of the seven-day period: the foetus is fully formed in seven days (cf. 10, and *De Carn.* 19); diseases pass critical points; the vital heat extinguishes itself, in the body or in the world at large (? cf. on 10). The logic of the paragraph would be improved if we deleted the first sentence. The work would then start with a medical thesis, the universal theory opening up from it.

1. 2. The seven strata of the natural world are described. It is primarily the macrocosm that the writer has in view, but note the words <*ἐν*> *πᾶσι* at the beginning (not the same as *ἐν τοῖς πᾶσι*, which you are free to conjecture). Corresponding strata will presently be found in the human body, and at one point the microcosmic parallel helps the interpretation.

The seven strata are called *κόσμοι* or *τάξεις* or *μοῖραι*. For the last cf. Pherecydes 7 B 5 *κείνης δὲ τῆς μοίρης ἔνερθέν ἐστιν ἡ Ταρταρίη μοῖρα* (from a description proceeding in a downward direction, as in *De Hebd.* Later planetary lists usually begin from the outermost: Boll, *RE* vii. 2561); *De Carn.* 2 *ἡ δὲ δευτέρη μοῖρα ἡ κάτωθεν αὐτῆς*. Kranz thought that the use of *κόσμος* was evidence of an early date (not long after 500), when the usage of the word was not yet fixed (as n. 6, 140 f./180 f.). He overlooks the fact that all the parallels come from later writers: Arist. *Mete.* 339a20, al., *ὁ περὶ τὴν γῆν κόσμος*, b18 *ὁ περὶ τὰς ἄνω φορὰς κόσμος*, 340b12 *τοῦ κάτω κόσμου*; oracle of Sarapis *ap.* Macr. *Sat.* 1. 20. 17 *οὐράνιος κόσμος κεφαλή, γαστὴρ δὲ θάλασσα*; Plut. *De E* 389f, *De Def. Orac.* 422f; Hermetica, Neoplatonists. Cf. W. Kranz, *Kosmos* (Bonn 1955–7), i. 83.

The outermost part is the *ἄκριτον*, later called *ὁ Ὀλύμπιος κόσμος* (twice in 2. 1) and *ἄκριτον πάγος* (6. 2), an undivided concretion, cold like the skin. The term 'Olympus' was used for the outermost firmament by Parmenides (28 B 11. 2), Empedocles (31 B 44), and Philolaus (44 A 16), and thus has a Pythagorean

flavour (Pfeiffer (as n. 5), 34). *πάγος* is used of the firmament in a doxographer's report of Empedocles A 30 (cf. his *κρύσταλλος*, A 54 etc.), and in *Et. Magn.* 196. 24 from a Homeric allegorizer. The word first occurs as a neuter in [Arist.] *Probl.* 907a9, and perhaps we should emend to *ἄκριτος* in 6. 2 in view of *De Victu* 1. 10 *τὸν περιέχοντα πάγον*, which is at once the skin and the firmament in a similar macro-microcosmic system. (See below on chapter 6.) The same treatise suggests an explanation of the mysterious 'passage(s) of summer and winter'. In 1. 10 and 23 the body is said to be provided with *διέξοδοι πνεύματος ψυχροῦ καὶ θερμοῦ, ἔξω καὶ ἔσω*. Plato's *Timaeus* brings further clarification (79d): there are two *διέξοδοι*, the pores of the skin and the respiratory tract, by which the entry and exit of cold and warm air is controlled. (The skin acts as a heat-valve in another way too (74c), producing cooling sweat in summer and retaining the internal heat in winter.) The passages of summer and winter in *De Hebd.* must be a macrocosmic analogue of this physiological system. (Somewhat differently Pfeiffer (as n. 5), 31 n. 5.) See also below on chapter 4.

The next three levels are those of the stars, sun, and moon—the plain man's l[373] threefold division that makes no special provision for the planets; cf. e.g. Parm. B 11; Anaxag. 59 B 12; *De Victu* 1. 10, 4. 89. 1–2. The order is the usual one. The writer goes out of his way to create ornate phrases here. The description of the sun as 'having heat' may seem particularly banal, though the microcosmic parallel (6. 2) gives it its point. Of more interest is the expression used for the stars. *ἀνταύγειαν* presupposes the theory that the stars shine by reflected or refracted light. This is only attested for Metrodorus of Chios (70 A 9) in pre-Alexandrian times, but reflection-theories for various celestial phenomena—sun, comets, Milky Way—were popular in the second half of the fifth century (Empedocles, Hippocrates of Chios and his pupil Aeschylus, Philolaus). It would be implausible for this reason alone to put *De Hebd.* any earlier. *μάνωσιν* and *ἀραιο-* imply that the light from the source is thinned out and rarefied by the stars. 'The finest gleam in nature' is an improbable expression for classical Greek, and I have substituted a comparative, 'a gleam finer than it was by origin'; cf. *De Morbo Sacro* 16. *οὖσαν θερμοτάτην* (a doubtful reading) is ignored by *G* and *l*, is not in accord with the system, and spoils the shape of the phrase: I suggest that it refers to *δίοδον* below.

We descend through the sublunary weather region to the various waters over the earth and the earth itself. The idea that it is warmth in the water that gives it movement is paralleled in Hippon 38 A 3, *De Victu* 1. 3 and 35. *πάντων τροφός*: Eur. *Ph.* 686 *ἁπάντων γᾶ τροφός*, etc. So in the *Timaeus*, when Plato passes from the stars to the earth, he calls it *τροφὸν ἡμετέραν* (40b). On the text of what follows, see above, p. 151.

2. 1. The things below the earth are a symmetrical counterpart of those above. The earth rides in mid-air, and those on the other side see our up as down (cf. Philol. B 17 *ἔστι τὰ ἄνω τοῦ μέσου ὑπεναντίως κείμενα τοῖς κάτω. τοῖς γὰρ κάτω τὸ κατωτάτω μέρος ἐστὶν ὥσπερ τὸ ἀνωτάτω, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὡσαύτως*; W. Burkert, *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism* (Cambridge, Mass. 1972), 269), and our right as left (cf. Pl. *Tim.* 43e: right and left are reversed for a man standing on his head). It is not clear that the earth is conceived as spherical. *καὶ περὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν οὕτως ἔχει(ν)* could be so understood; but as Kranz says (as n. 6, 143/182), it would have been more natural to use the term *σφαῖρα* or *σφαιροειδής*. See also C. H. Kahn, *Anaximander and the Origins of Greek Cosmology* (New York–London 1960), 85, who finds an indication of a flat earth in *ἐν τῶι ἠέρι ὀχέεται*.

The earth and the outer firmament are stationary, the other five *κόσμοι* revolve eternally round the earth, driven by themselves and the immortal gods. In the case of the air and waters we must presumably think of what we would call circulation, but it is surprising to find this treated as similar to the revolutions of the heavenly bodies. It looks very much as if the writer is adapting a system in which the things that revolved between the earth and 'Olympus' were the sun, moon, and planets. This seems to be confirmed by the remarkable addition in *G*, which is much what would be said of the planets with their different speeds but common participation in the daily clockwise revolution. Cf. Pl. *Rep.* 617ab, *Tim.* 36cd, 38c–39d. In the *Republic* they are made to revolve by Ananke and the Moirai, in the *Timaeus* by the creator; in the *Epinomis* (986b) and Xenocrates (fr. 17) they are gods or the vehicles of gods. They were, after all, the star of Kronos, the star of Zeus, etc. This connects with what is said of the propulsion of the *κόσμοι* in *De Hebd.* The fact that the writer does not mention the sun, moon, and planets as an example of a natural heptad has attracted attention and been regarded as setting a l[374] *terminus ante quem* of *c.*425 (cf.

Burkert, *Lore and Science*, 290 n. 63); the planets were known to be five by Philolaus' time (A 16). It seems to me that the hebdomadist may well have lived later, whether or not he was well educated about the planets. His thesis was that the whole universe divides into seven, and he had to include the earth and fixed stars. He ends with a compromise between a system of planetary spheres and a system of elemental spheres such as is probable in Empedocles (cf. W. K. C. Guthrie, *History of Greek Philosophy* (Cambridge 1962–81), ii. 177; *De Carn.* 2).

The moon, being in the middle station, connects (*συναρμόζει*) the other things which live in and traverse each other. The latter part of this curious statement might be more fittingly applied to the constituents of the microcosmic system. It is possible, however, that we have here an echo of older cosmic eschatology. For more than one fifth-century writer (not to mention later ones) the moon marks the boundary between the mortal and immortal worlds (Heraclitus 22 A 1 §10, id. and Empedocles in DK 31 A 62; Alcmeon 24 A 1, cf. 12); according to the old Pythagorean *σύμβολον*, the sun and moon are the isles of the blest. In *EGPO*, chapter 6, I relate all this—on more elaborate grounds than can be indicated here—to the Indian belief that the souls of the dead go to the moon and are there either turned back to enter another mortal life or allowed to pass on to paradise. Empedocles B 115 describes how the exiled god, passing through many mortal bodies, is transferred from aither to sea, sea to earth, earth to sunlight, while Heraclitus had spoken of mortals living in the death of immortals, and *vice versa*. Here is one complex of ideas that may be relevant to the *De Hebd.* passage. At the same time the concept of joining is significant. Again it comes in Heraclitus, and thereafter in the Pythagorean line of tradition: Empedocles, Philolaus. (See the index to Diels–Kranz s.vv. *ἁρμόζειν*, *ἁρμονία*, *συναρμόττειν*.) In Philolaus it clearly has musical associations, and in the fourth century, if not earlier, we get the identification of the celestial spheres with a musical scale: 'Orpheus' *Lyra* (A. D. Nock, *CR* 41 (1927), 170; 43 (1929), 60 f.); Scythinus, DK 22 C 3. 1; Pl. *Rep.* 617b, *Tim.* 36; 'the Delphians' *ap.* Plut. *Qu. conv.* 745b (Xenocr. p. 76 Heinze). The scale is a *ἁρμονία*, and it pivots on the middle string, the *μέση*. Below it is the *ὑπάτη*, cf. *ὁ Ὀλύμπιος κόσμος ὕπατος ὤν* (Boll (as n. 5), 145), and Xenocr. fr. 18. In the 'Delphian' scheme (adduced by Pfeiffer (as n. 5), 119) it is the region of the planets that occupies the middle place: *μέσην τὴν μεταξὺ συνέχουσαν ἅμα καὶ συνεπιστρέφουσαν ὡς ἀνυστόν ἐστι τὰ θνητὰ τοῖς θείοις καὶ τὰ περίγεια τοῖς οὐρανίοις*. In the *Timaeus* the four elements too are felt to need holding together, and this is done by the two middle terms in what is regarded as a geometrical progression: in solid constructions *δύο ἀεὶ μεσότητες συναρμόττουσιν* (32b).

2. 2. The next section pretends to be concerned with the 'stars', or rather celestial signs, that mark the succession of the seasons. As there are seven seasons according to the writer, there must be seven heavenly signs; but he lists eight, arranged in four pairs. I cannot explain how he imagines the discrepancy to be justified. It is safe to say that here, at any rate, he does not know what he is talking about. What he has done is to take the four signs that conventionally marked the beginning of seasons and provide each with a partner by free association. The sun by passing its equinox marks the beginning of spring, the rising of the Pleiades the beginning of summer, that of Arcturus the beginning of autumn, the setting of the Pleiades the beginning of winter I[375] (*De Victu* 3. 68). The long summer period is bisected by the rising of Sirius: medical theory assigned the more fatal class of fevers to the period between the risings of Sirius and Arcturus (*De Hebd.* 23). In *Aër.* 11 the following times are specified as critical: the solstices, the equinoxes, the risings of Sirius and Arcturus (the latter practically coincides with the autumn equinox), and the setting of the Pleiades. With the sun the hebdomadist has paired the moon, with Arcturus the Bear that it watches, with the Pleiades the nearby cluster of the Hyades, and with Sirius his master and neighbour Orion. But the moon, which rises at all times of day in every season, and the Bear which does not rise or set at all, are totally unfitted for the service he would have them perform.[7] Real season-markers could be said to have an *ἀκολουθίην ἀλλήλοισι καὶ ἐναντίωσιν* (e.g. the rising of the Pleiades coincides approximately with the setting of Arcturus); but the moon does not follow the sun, nor the Bear Arcturus, nor the Pleiades the Hyades. The writer is trying to blind us with a science in which he is far from

[7] The Chinese used the Bear's attitude as a guide to the seasons (Ginzel *ap.* Roscher (as n. 3, 1911), 17; U. Holmberg, *Der Baum des Lebens* (Helsinki 1922), 6), but the Greeks always use risings and settings. The moon and Bears perhaps occur in connection with a heptad of seasons in Heraclitus B 126a, but the authenticity is very suspect and the meaning very obscure: *κατὰ λόγον δὲ ὡρέων συμβάλλεται ἑβδομάσι κατὰ σελήνην, διαιρεῖται δὲ κατὰ τὰς ἄρκτους, ἀθανάτου μνήμης σημεῖα*.

learned. What he is trying to say in the last sentence I have no idea, but that may not be his fault.

The Arabic translation of the opening of the paragraph, 'the wandering stars of heaven', is at variance with the identifications that follow, but it is symptomatic of the fact that we would naturally expect 'the stars of heaven which are seven in number' to be the sun, moon, and planets. (Cf. references in Burkert, *Lore and Science*, 310 n. 62.) This may be another hint that a planetary system is being adapted. Boll (as n. 5, 143) observed that *ἐναντίωσιν* would suit the planets, with their individual and sometimes retrograde movements. But his attempt to interpret the planets into the paragraph is very forced; it takes him a page to explain it.

3. Another series related to the seven seasons—though the relationship is not set out in detail, and hardly could have been—is constituted by the seven winds, obscurely but persistently connected with breath. They are said to start *ἀπὸ τοῦ θερμοῦ*, and the list accordingly begins at Apeliotes. East winds are warmer than west, according to Aristotle (*Mete.* 364a24), because they are under the sun longer. Explanation of winds as arising from the action of heat, solar heat in particular, is common from Anaximander onwards (see O. Gilbert, *Die meteorologischen Theorien des griechischen Altertums* (Leipzig 1907), 511 ff.), and in the Philolaus–Plato line of tradition we find breath connected with the heat of the body (Philol. A 27, Pl. *Tim.* 79d).

From Apeliotes we might have expected the writer to proceed clockwise, from warmer to colder, but he does the opposite. The composition of his list deserves attention. We should beware of the assumption that he has taken a symmetrical eight-point wind table and omitted one (A. Rehm, *SBAW* 1916 (3), 30 ff.; cf. K. Nielsen, *Classica et Mediaevalia* 7 (1945), 20 ff.). For one thing we know of no such scheme earlier than Aristotle (*Mete.* 363a21 ff.); for another, the only known system which would yield precisely this set of names is that of Eratosthenes (Galen in IIp. *De Humor.* 3. 13, xvi. 403 K.; I[376] Gilbert, op. cit. 549 n. 1), for all the rest, whether or not they distinguish Boreas from Aparktias, have Kaikias between these and Apeliotes. It is seldom proposed to bring *De Hebd.* down to the third century. With the exception of Aparktias, the names given by the hebdomadist are all known to Herodotus, and their stations come in the same order (assuming that Lips in 2. 25 is west of south): Apeliotes is north of east, 7. 188, cf. 4. 99. Aparktias first appears in

Aristotle as an alternative name for Boreas. Both names, therefore, were in current use. The first dated authority to distinguish them is Timosthenes *ap.* Agathem. 7 (*Geogr. min.* ii. 473; Gilbert 548 ff.), in the time of Ptolemy II, and it is noteworthy that he agrees with *De Hebd.* in placing Boreas east of Aparktias. But no chronological conclusions can safely be drawn. Both sources may reflect a distinction discoverable in actual usage, despite Aristotle.

4. We come to the seasons themselves. The Greeks usually speak of two, three, or four seasons. The writer *De Victu*, 3. 63, says 'I divide the year into four parts, *ἅπερ μάλιστα γινώσκουσιν οἱ πολλοί*, winter, spring, summer, autumn'. This shows awareness of at least one alternative system, and it would be very interesting to know whether he knew this section of *De Hebd.* and had it in mind. In 1. 2 above, summer and winter were mentioned as an opposing pair, and appeared to be parallel to the warm and cold air of our breath. That would imply that they were thought of as states of the atmosphere; and here the Latin version agrees with ps.-Galen in saying that the seven seasons represent parts of the aither(?). 'Aither' seems to be the same as 'aer', as in Empedocles. The meaning that is suggested is that the air is divided into seven parts (we were told that each part of the cosmos has itself seven parts, though there is no systematic argument to this effect), with different properties and different effects on vegetation. They visit us in annual cycle, and they are closely connected with the seven winds; wind is simply air in motion, as was widely understood (Anaximander A 24, *De Flat.* 3, etc.). The 'passages of summer and winter' perforating the outer firmament may thus be related to the *respirationes* (Latin) or 'gates' (Arabic) of the seven winds. For the Greek original, obscured by a lacuna in our manuscript, Harder cleverly proposed *ἀνάπνοιαι*, which would imply orifices of some kind.

5. Human life too has its seven 'seasons', the so-called *ἡλικίαι*. For the parallelism of stages of life with seasons of the year cf. Pericles *ap.* Arist. *Rhet.* 1365a32 = 1411a2; 'Pythagoras' *ap.* Diog. Laert. 8. 10, Diod. 10. 9. 5, Ov. *M.* 15. 199 (H. Thesleff, *The Pythagorean Texts of the Hellenistic Period* (Åbo 1965), 171, 233). Solon had divided man's life into ten seven-year periods (fr. 27 W.). The hebdomadist begins by following his account closely, but is resolved to limit the stages to seven; the later ones therefore have to be extended. The series is given in different forms by different sources. Besides Philo, two Latin

writers refer to the teaching of 'Hippocrates' on this subject: Censorinus, *De Die Natali* 14. 3, and Favonius Eulogius, *In Somn. Scip.* p. 9. 22 Holder (who specifies the *libri περὶ ἑβδομάδων*). The terminal ages are given as follows [see now the fuller material in the Appendix at the end of the chapter]:

Philo	7	14	21	28	49	56	death
Censorinus	7	14	38	35	42	56	death
Favonius	7	14	31	28			
AP	7	14	21	35	49	63	98

[377] The variants doubtless reflect contamination with other people's doctrines. Galen, for example, makes the *νεανίσκος*-period last till 35 (xvii (2). 644, 795 K.; cf. ps.-Galen, p. 59 Bergsträsser). Evidence from the fifth or fourth century is hard to come by, but *De Carn.* 13 apparently puts the *νεανίσκος* from the third to the fourth or fifth hebdomad, and it may be worth noting that the formula 36–49 (days) appears in the embryology of Empedocles (A 83).

6. In this important chapter the seven parts of the world are related to the parts of the body. This time we start from the middle. According to the first sentence the parallelism extends to all animals, and trees too, but in what follows only man is considered. The nature of the relationship, if the Latin version may be trusted, is expressed indifferently in terms of similarity, imitation (of man by the world!), or identity. The stony interior of the earth corresponds to the bones, the weaker parts surrounding it to the flesh. The terrestrial waters correspond to the liquid parts of man: hot springs to the spinal marrow and semen, which according to widespread belief comes down from the brain (R. B. Onians, *The Origins of European Thought* (Cambridge 1951), 109 ff., 121 ff., al.); rivers to the veins; ponds and marshes to the bowels; seas to the visceral fluids. The air is the breath in the body. The moon is the region of the brain (so *G*, who interprets as 'the seat of apperception'; the interpretation had intruded into the text from which the Latin version was made. The Greek phrase may have been *ὁ τοῦ ἐγκεφάλου τόπος*.) This equation is less obvious than the preceding ones. We have seen that the moon connects the mortal and immortal worlds and has associations with reincarnation theory, and that the brain is the source of the semen. The Indian theory is that souls rising to the moon, if they are not pure enough to pass higher, are turned into

rain and eventually (via plants and food) into semen. In *EGPO* 183–8 I argue that Heraclitus may have held a similar doctrine; and it would explain the equation of moon and brain in our passage. In Pl. *Tim.* 73bc it is the marrow, coming from the brain, that binds the immortal soul to the mortal body, a function comparable to that which the hebdomadist assigns to the moon.

The sun, we were told, is notable for heat; it corresponds to heat in the body. But the author is in trouble here. The body's heat is well distributed through the inner parts. There are the stars to be accounted for as well, before we reach the cool outer skin. We are instructed that some of the solar heat is united with the earth: this is the inner heat in man, while the heat in the upper regions of the world, represented by the sun and stars, is the heat near the surface of the body, which glows in consequence of rapid motion and produces visible changes of complexion, 'just as up there you will find *Ζεὺς αἰγίοχος*'. Interpretation of Zeus as the sky or aither is common enough from the fifth century on; what we have here is an interpretation of one of his traditional epithets (apparently applied to the elemental Zeus in Emp. B 142, but perhaps ornamentally). One ancient interpretation of *αἰγίοχος* was based on the use of *αἰγίς* for a squall (so Cornutus 9. 1; Nonn. *D.* 2. 420–1; Eust. 602. 18, 1017. 37, 1119. 28 ff.), but this loses the connection with the sun and stars. Another explanation recorded in *Et. Magn.* 27. 34 is that Zeus wore a goatskin, and this might have been built upon in a cosmological allegory: in Apollodorus *π. θεῶν* 244 F 136 Pan is identified with *τὸ πᾶν*, his ruddy face with the aither, and his fawnskin [378] with the *ποικιλία τῶν ἄστρων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χρωμάτων ἃ θεωρεῖται ἐν αὐτῷ* (*sc. τῷ παντί*). (Cf. Orph. fr. 541. 5–7, from the late poem *Bacchica*.) Certainly the planet Jupiter has no business here (against Kranz (as n. 6), 125 f./168 f.). A minor puzzle is how the Arabic version of ps.-Galen has come to turn Zeus into 'the Saturn that is there, that moves and circles'; the commentator says the sun is meant. Saturn in Greek would be *Φαίνων*, or *Κρόνου* or *Ἡλίου ἀστήρ*. Perhaps the participle *φαίνων* appeared somewhere here.

The following sentence about the Bear raises further difficulties, textual and exegetical. The Latin copies give *arcturius* and *ero hos*; the latter points to *arctos* (Kranz) rather than *arcturus*, and ps.-Galen apparently read *ἄρκτοι*. He makes the sun lead them (whatever that may mean), so it looks as if the last phrase in the Latin, *quae e sole nutrita*, refers to the feminine *arctos*; it is the translator's way of

dealing with a Greek article, ἡ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου -ομένη (τρεφ-, v.l. στρεφ-?), as above we have *quae minima et quae magna* for τά τε μικρότατα καὶ τὰ μεγάλα or the like. The reference might be to the reflected nature of starlight (1. 2). The Bear or Bears mark the pole about which all the stars revolve. Perhaps the idea is that they supervise the circling of the stars (=the changing colours of the skin), being themselves dependent on the sun (=the heat lower down). American Indians treat the Pole Star as the leader of the other stars, and great importance is attached to it in other places (Holmberg (as n. 7), 6 f.); cf. Critias *TrGF* 43 F 3–4. I have considered possible connections with the mention of the Bear in chapter 2, without finding a plausible one.

To illustrate the analogies drawn between cosmos and animal we must turn once again to the *De Victu* and *Timaeus*, though Kranz has pointed to an earlier parallel, the two fragments of Choerilus which refer to stones as 'earth's bones' and to rivers as 'earth's veins'. Tzetzes' citations do not betray the metre, but a plausible combination with an anonymous quotation in Eustathius supports ascription to the tragedian Choerilus who was apparently about contemporary with Aeschylus (*TrGF* 2 F 2–3) and not to the epic poet of the late fifth century (fr. fals. 26 Bernabé). In *De Victu* 1. 10 a systematic scheme is worked out. The parts of the body are formed in imitation of the universe: ἀπομίμησιν τοῦ ὅλου, μικρὰ πρὸς μεγάλα καὶ μεγάλα πρὸς μικρά (cf. *De Hebd.* 6 at the beginning). The κοιλίη ἡ μεγίστη has the power of the sea. Surrounding it is a formation of which the description is remarkably obscure, but it is an imitation of the earth, and seems to comprehend the flesh generally (cf. 4. 89. 11, 90. 3, 6). In it there are triple circuits (περίοδοι) of fire which 'abut on each other inside and outside', i.e. they are concentric. Those nearest the fluid reservoir represent the power of the moon, those nearest the containing concretion (πάγος) the power of the stars, and those in between, the power of the sun. Further particulars can be added from 4. 89–90, where the system is used as a basis for medical interpretation of dreams. The breath in the body is equated with the air in which cloud, rain, hail, and so on occur (89. 2, 13). The veins are rivers, the bladder a well (90. 4–5). Despite some differences of detail from the *De Hebd.*, it will be evident that the scheme is closely related to it. All seven of the hebdomadist's world parts are present, and only the moon is given a materially different analogue in the body—one more in accord with its location in the cosmos, but less meaningful functionally.

The *Timaeus* too has this strange idea of the heavenly bodies' περίοδοι being built into the human body (43a), though they are not the same in number as I^{379} in the two Hippocratic works, and the rest of the system is not worked out. The cosmic analogy has psychological, not physiological import, and reflects an altogether more abstract line of speculation, but the cruder physiological scheme presumably lies behind it.

7. Next we are offered what appears as an alternative division of man into seven parts according to his outward form. But the heading is misleading. We would expect such a division to give us head, chest, belly, two arms, and two legs (so Philo, *De Opif. Mundi* 118, i. 41 C.–W.). What we are actually given is rather a list of seven organs of interaction between the body and its environment: the head, whose various offices will be specified shortly; the hand for action, the σπλάγχνα and φρένες; the penis as the outlet of the urine; the same as the organ of generation; the rectum for the evacuation of solids; the leg for walking about. The second, third, and seventh items would each have been more naturally counted as two, so that it looks as if an original list of ten may have been compressed to make one of seven. The principle of this canon of key points, though not the detail, may be compared with Philolaus B 13, where the four ἀρχαί of the intelligent creature are specified as the brain, the heart, the navel, and the penis: ἐγκέφαλος μὲν νόου, καρδία δὲ ψυχῆς καὶ αἰσθήσιος, ὀμφαλὸς δὲ ῥιζώσιος καὶ ἀναφύσιος τοῦ πρώτου, αἰδοῖον δὲ σπέρματος καταβολᾶς τε καὶ γεννήσιος. The number ten seems to be of special interest to Philolaus (A 13, 16, B 11), and possibly Archytas if the περὶ τῆς δεκάδος ascribed to him was genuine.

8–9. The idea that each member of a set of seven can itself be divided into seven is here brought back into play. The first of the seven vital organs just listed, the head, has seven functions of its own: inhalation, exhalation, sight, hearing, smell, ingestion, and taste. Respiration is described as the entry of the cold 'through any part that is open' (perhaps a mistranslation, e.g. of ἤιπερ δὴ ἐσέρχεται) and the exportation of heat from the whole body. Thermal exchange is treated as the essence of breathing by Philolaus (A 27), *De Victu* (1. 10, 23), and the *Timaeus* (78–9). For the

association of vision particularly with colours cf. *Tim.* 67c. The sixth entry betrays the common ancient belief that drink goes down the windpipe to the lungs (Alc. fr. 347. 1; M. Wellmann on Philistion fr. 7 (*Fragmentensammlung der griechischen Ärzte*, i. 112); A. E. Taylor on Pl. *Tim.* 70c).

'And the voice itself has sevenfold articulation'—as if speech had been mentioned among the offices of the head, as it well might have been. What makes this more suspicious is a similar passage in *De Victu*, 1. 23, where it is remarked that sense-perception takes seven forms: hearing, sight, smell, taste, speech, touch, and *θερμοῦ ἢ ψυχροῦ πνεύματος διέξοδοι ἔξω καὶ ἔσω*. The writer seems to have borrowed the list, if not from *De Hebd.*, from something very like it, and presented it as what it is only in part, a list of the senses. It comes in a series of illustrations of the thesis that the arts and crafts imitate cosmic realities (1. 11–24; cf. Philolaus B 11). The parallel to the transmission of knowledge by seven ways is the art of writing: both admit the formula *δι' ἑπτὰ σχημάτων ἡ γνῶσις*. In the case of writing the reference is presumed to be to the seven vowels *α ε η ι ο υ ω*, though it is an odd statement. The *De Hebd.* may have used a similar expression. Ps.-Galen gives 'the voice is divided into seven parts' or 'is made clear'. The commentary explains that the vowels are meant; as l[380] in other places, the explanation has intruded in the Latin text. In both Hippocratic works, then, these seven elements of language are mentioned in close association with the seven functions of the head, or the seven senses. The association is more artificial in *De Victu*, and the heptadic principle less integral to the plan of the work, so that the version of *De Hebd.* seems to be either the original or a close relation thereof. The latter alternative rather than the former is suggested by the (evidently secondary) exclusion of the voice from the list of functions.

10. The soul (*anima, sc. ψυχή*) likewise has seven parts, i.e. it is a mixture of seven substances. The first is warmth. The text is uncertain here, but ps.-Galen and the parallel of 1. 1 indicate the sense. *Quod in aere et quod in animalibus* = *τό τε ἐν τῶι ἠέρι καὶ τὸ ἐν τοῖς ζώιοισι*, the same idea as seems to lurk in 1. 1 in *corpore eorum quae in omne*. Perhaps the meaning is that a newborn child is very liable to die within seven days (Arist. *Hist. anim.* 588a8), and so is a fire. The second substance is the cool of the air that we breathe in, cf. 8. The third is moisture, distributed throughout the body, cf. the several fluids specified in 6. 1. The fourth is earthy; the Latin text

identifies it as the blood (=the interpretation of ps.-Galen), and this may be right. In 6. 1 the blood was counted with the fluids, and it was the bones and the flesh that corresponded to earth, but the present account is of the soul, and although the soul is being conceived materialistically, it is unlikely to include bones and flesh. The writer wants to find an earthy element in it for the sake of his scheme, and blood may have been the thickest and earthiest of the parts that he would regard as belonging to the soul. (It is a quarter earth, according to Empedocles B 98.) We would certainly expect it to appear in his list. The detail that it is the earthy element that needs food may suit the blood, cf. Pl. *Tim.* 80de, 82c. The fifth ingredient is bitter bile, the sixth sweet nourishment, the seventh *τὸ ἁλμυρόν*. Health depends on the proper balance of these seven, which a man can maintain by good regimen.

The Presocratics often gave a materialistic account of the soul, though mostly in terms of a single substance, fire or air. Diog. Laert. 9. 29 ascribes to Zeno the doctrine that the soul consists of hot, cold, wet, and dry in balanced proportions. This is followed by an apophthegm elsewhere attributed to Empedocles, and perhaps the paragraph as a whole should be referred to Empedocles; the recipe for soul corresponds with Empedocles' recipe for blood (B 98), which was the seat of consciousness (B 105), and although he cannot have equated the soul with the blood, Aristotelian interpretation seems to have made him do so (A 78, B 109). Macrobius' statement that Xenophanes derived the soul from earth and water (A 50) is a perversion of B 33, and his statement that Parmenides derived it from earth and fire (A 45) is equally unreliable (cf. B 8. 53ff.+B 16+Aët. 4. 5. 12 (A 45)). The *De Victu* says that the soul contains a mixture of fire and water (1. 7). The hebdomadist makes it a compound of bodily powers or opposites of the kind that medical theory had assumed at least from the early fifth century (Alcmeon B 4; *De Morbo Sacro* 17, 21; *De Nat. Hom.* 2–3; Philolaus A 27; *De Vet. Med.* 14–16, 22, 24; Philistion fr. 4, etc.; cf. Kahn, *Anaximander*, 126ff.). He starts with the famous tetrad hot, cold, wet, dry, which show signs of equation with fire, air, water, and earth—an equation first found in this simple form in Philistion loc. cit. To make a heptad he adds bitter, sweet, and salty. Bitter and sweet are the opposites most coml[381]monly mentioned, after hot–cold and wet–dry; the report of Alcmeon speaks of *ὑγροῦ, ξηροῦ, ψυχροῦ, θερμοῦ, πικροῦ, γλυκέος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν*. But

these too, at least the bitter and the sweet, are identified with particular things. We may note the doctrine of *Tim.* 74c that the flesh is compounded from water, fire, earth, and a *ζύμωμα ἐξ ὀξέος καὶ ἁλμυροῦ*.

11. It is now the turn of the earth's surface to be divided into seven, and to complicate things, the seven parts are to correspond with parts of the body. It was on this chapter above all that Roscher based his sixth-century dating. That period, he maintained, was indicated by the omission of the Asiatic kingdoms and the whole of the West from what he persistently called the 'world map', and by the designation of Ionia as the *φρένες* of the earth, and of the Peloponnese as the habitat of great souls. He even argued that the Isthmus as the neck of the earth was peculiarly appropriate to the prosperity of Corinth under Periander. Extraordinary to relate, it was left to Boll to point out that the equivalences take their starting point from the physical shape of Greece. In discussing the chapter we must ask firstly on what principle man is here divided up, secondly on what basis countries have been chosen to correspond with his different parts, and thirdly what is the status of the remarks about their inhabitants.

The seven parts of man are here head, neck and spine, *viscera* and *praecordia*, legs, feet, belly, and rectum. The list differs from that in 7, there are remarkable omissions (arms; the whole casing of the trunk), and the last two items are out of order. The identification of head and neck with Peloponnese and Isthmus is given by geography. Roscher quoted examples from Herodotus onwards of *αὐχήν* being applied to a neck of land. Conversely, *Tim.* 69e describes the neck as an *ἰσθμὸς καὶ ὅρος τῆς τε κεφαλῆς καὶ τοῦ στήθους*. *ἴσθμιον* 'necklace' occurs in the *Odyssey*. Now, where will the *viscera et praecordia* be? Remembering from 6. 1 that they are full of liquid, which corresponds to the sea, we shall not be upset to find them identified with Ionia, provided we include the islands under that name. (Then presumably Attica too, as in Solon 4a W.; H. Philipp, *Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie* 30 (1913), 667.) The Thessalian–Thracian coast will delimit the man's body on one side. His legs are the Hellespont; they must surely extend along the sides of the Propontis, not just the straits at its entrance. The name Hellespont is so used by Herodotus and in the Athenian tribute lists. The feet are then at the Bosporus, where the coast turns outwards on each side. 'Thracian and Cimmerian' is an absurd gloss, appearing in

G as 'either the Thracian or the Cimmerian' (*sc.* *ἤτοι . . . ἢ . . .*). So far, so good. But the two parts of the body that are out of place in the series are assigned to quite preposterous localities, right outside the area covered by the rest of the man. They must have been added by someone who did not understand the geographical basis of the original scheme at all (R. Ganszyniec, *Eos* 35 (1934), 116). If the hebdomadist is responsible, the map-man's origin must be sought in some older source.

In the Latin text the inhabitants of the Peloponnese are characterized in a way appropriate to their dwelling in the head. In ps.-Galen there appear corresponding remarks about the inhabitants of Ionia, the Bosporus, and the Euxine, and notes about the Hellespont, Egypt, and the Crimea(?) as places. It is not quite certain that these are all excerpts from the text of *De Hebd.* rather than part of the commentary, but it looks as though this chapter suf[382]fered some abridgment before the Latin version was made. Originally there may have been something like a systematic relation of each region or its people to the part of the body supposed to be represented by it. The 'great souls' of the Peloponnese may suggest either the kings of the Bronze Age who continued to be venerated as heroes, Agamemnon, Menelaus, and the rest, or the 'Laconomania' of the late fifth and early fourth centuries. The connection of head with soul is primitive; cf. e.g. the variant *κεφαλάς/ψυχάς* in *Il.* 1. 3, 11. 55, and Onians, *Origins of European Thought*, 95 ff. The seat of intelligence is located in the breast, as we see from the annotation on the Ionians (to which it is rash to try and set a date). The feet appear as organs of aggression. The equation of 'Egypt and the Egyptian sea' with the belly is justified with a reference to the fertility of the Nile-land. One might have expected rather the people to be called greedy good-for-nothings (*γαστέρες*); they had a reputation for *πανουργία* (see Gow on Theoc. 15. 48), and it would not have been difficult to relate them to the belly. The last of the seven regions is called *Euxinus Pontus et palus Maeotis* in the Latin, and a sea suits the *venter inferior* (=*ἡ κάτω κοιλίη*); ps.-Galen, however, speaks of a great island—most likely the Crimean peninsula—which collects the refuse of earth and sea, and whose people are weak and servile. We think of the description of the Scythians in *Aër.* 18–22, except that Maeotis is the very district where a much more warlike tribe is found (ibid. 17).

12. Concluding the cosmological part of his work, the writer claims to have expounded the nature of the universe and of man. It is such

that all creatures' ailments are necessarily parallel to those of the world as a whole, as will be shown in due course. The cosmology is necessary for the understanding of what follows. A full exposition would call for a physical treatise (*ratio naturalis* = φυσικὸς λόγος), but the present account explains the natural structure of things, in the light of which everything must be considered.

THE COMPOSITION OF THE WHOLE

'Die ersten elf Kapitel sind ein Ganzes (vom Schlusskapitel abgesehen), aus einem Guss and ganz folgerichtig aufgebaut' (Kranz (as n. 6), 137/177). This is by no means my impression. I see a sharp contrast between two strata of composition. On the one hand there are chapters 1. 1–2. 1, 6, 10, 12, forming a coherent and systematic whole:

1.1, the world has seven parts, and so has its members.

1.2, account of the seven parts of the world, ending with earth.

2.1, the interrelation and movement of the parts.

6, the corresponding seven bodily parts in earth's creatures. (*In terra* seems to connect with 1–2.)

10, the seven parts of the soul, on which health and sickness depend.

12, we shall find the parallelism of man and the world operating in disease too.

Interrupting this argument, in chapters 2. 2–5, 7–9, 11, we have a ragbag of further heptads, none of them related to the conception of man as an integrated whole. An ordering principle can be seen: the section on seasonal stars is tagged on to the account of cosmic revolutions, and the winds, seasons, and ages follow in a natural enough sequence, though there is then a complete break between 5 and 6. 7 competes awkwardly with 6, but 8 and 9 develop well [383] enough from 7. Then another break between 9 and 10, while 11 is quite isolated. All these parts except 9 may be said to have potential medical relevance. The doctor is elsewhere taught to pay attention to the seasons and the stars that mark them (*Aër.* 1–2, 10–11; *De Nat. Hom.* 7–8; *De Hebd.* 16, 23; *De Humor.* 13–19; *De Victu* 1. 2, 32, 3. 68; *Aphor.* 3. 1–23), to the winds (*Aër.* 3–6; *De Morbo Sacro* 16; *De Humor.* 14; *De Victu* 2. 38), to the ages of life (*De Humor.* 16; *De Victu* 1. 2, 32–3; *Aphor.* 3. 24–31), to geographical factors (*Aër. passim*, with application to particular countries in 12–24; *De Humor.* 12 ; *De Victu* 1. 2, 2. 37–8). But the hebdomadist's interest in these topics seems to be more mystical than practical. Chapters 1+6+10+12 are capable of development into a theory of diagnosis and therapy, however mistaken; it is hard to see how the rest could have been. I infer that they have a different origin.

Now the writer of *De Victu* is acquainted with a system closely resembling that of 1–2, 6 (though he has nothing to say of its heptadic character), and also with a scheme similar to that in 8–9 but free from an anomaly which is a feature of the relationship of 9 to 8. The commentary has shown up other such anomalies at the very beginning, in the inapposite heading of 7, and in the last two items of the list in 11. These all come in the short, miscellaneous sections, and two of them (7, 11) are connected with the adaptation of older, non-heptadic series. We may say, then, that these sections collectively, in their present form, reflect a later stage of development than what is presupposed in the *De Victu*. What the author of that work knew was not our *De Hebd.* but some of the material from which it has been put together. What we have before us is a compilation, in which several ingredients may be distinguished in the light of the above observations:

(*a*) A well worked out macro-microcosmic system, expounded in an artistic variety of prose (1–2. 1, 6, 10, 12).

(*b*) Heptadic catalogues current before *De Victu*: the functions of the head (8), the vowels (9); perhaps others.

(*c*) Non-heptadic catalogues adapted by the last compiler: the key points of the body (7), the equation of bodily members with parts of the earth (11); perhaps others. (The seven seasons are built up from the customary tetrad, the seven ages of life reduced from Solon's decad, but we cannot tell whether this is due to the compiler or had been done before him.)

The compiler's procedure has been to take the nucleus (*a*) and augment it with the more random collection of heptads for the sake of illustrating the cosmic significance of seven as fully as possible. What has happened in 1. 1 is not clear, but here too we may see his interfering hand.

DATING

It follows that there can be no simple answer to the question 'what is the date of *De Hebd.*?' We must ask how old is each of its constituent parts, and when they were put together in their present form.

Let us take first the rather grand system that forms the nucleus. It is immediately obvious to what line of cosmological speculation it must be assigned: the line that runs from Empedocles to Philolaus and Plato and that may for convenience be dubbed Pythagorean, provided we do not attempt to trace it back to the earlier part of the fifth century. (Parmenides' system is notoriously I[384] obscure.) What appears in *De Hebd.* is apparently modelled on an astronomically more sophisticated scheme which included the individual planets (see on chapter 2). We must not attribute *this* reworking to the compiler, for it is presupposed in the physiology of chapter 6, and in *De Victu*. No such planetary scheme, and no knowledge that there are five planets, can be traced earlier than Philolaus (A 16). It is noteworthy that he too is at pains to fit his cosmology to a magic number, ten. A striking feature of his system that *De Hebd.* does not share is the displacement of the earth from the centre and the assumption of an Antichthon. His central fire is not counted among the ten, which are: Antichthon, earth, moon, sun, five planets, Olympus. The system behind *De Hebd.* could in principle be earlier. But the idea of reflected starlight is against raising the date by much. The assumption of a lower half of the universe symmetrical and opposite to the visible upper part, and the way this is expressed, again have their closest parallel in Philolaus. This bivalve picture is not as sophisticated as the spherical earth, needing no support from air, which first appears in Plato's *Phaedo* and was soon widely accepted. We should beware of assuming that our cosmologist was necessarily abreast of the latest speculation, but his scheme looks remarkably like a product of the latter part of the fifth century. A linguistic detail that perhaps suggests the fifth rather than the fourth century for this section is the concrete use of a noun in *-σις* (*τὴν ἄστρων μάνωσιν*), for the suffix was rapidly becoming specialized in application to processes; see R. Browning, *Phil.* 102 (1958), 60 ff.

The heptadistic remodelling was undertaken by someone to whom planets were newfangled nonsense: sun, moon, and stars made a good enough division for him. His interests were medical, and he was concerned with the macrocosm primarily as a parallel to the structure of the human body. It would have been difficult to find analogues for five planets at different levels as well as sun, moon, and stars. Besides, seven was his appointed number. (Belief in the power of seven in connection with critical days must already have been established in his field; cf. the series in *Progn.* 20, *Epid.* 1. 26, *De Carn.* 19, *De Hebd.* 26; Roscher, 'Hebdomadenlehre' (as in n. 3), 60 ff.) As to when he operated, we can say with confidence that it was before the writing of *De Victu*. G. S. Kirk, *Heraclitus. The Cosmic Fragments* (Cambridge 1954), 26–9, shows that no date for this work earlier than the mid fourth century is likely. I would add that 1. 18, *ἁρμονίης συντάξιες ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν οὐχ αἱ αὐταί, ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος καὶ ἐκ τοῦ βαρέος . . . τὰ πλεῖστα διάφορα μάλιστα συμφέρει* κτλ., echoes Heraclitus B 51 as interpreted by Pl. *Symp.* 187ab, and that 2. 38. 3 presupposes a spherical earth divided into polar, temperate, and tropical zones, a doctrine not reliably attested before Eudoxus frr. 288–9 Lasserre and Arist. *Mete.* 362b. A *terminus ante quem* may be drawn from an apparent criticism of the work by Diocles, whom Jaeger put in the later fourth century but a more recent researcher has put back up to the middle of the century (F. Kudlien, *Archiv für die Geschichte der Medizin* 47 (1963), 456–64). We shall not go far wrong if we assign *De Victu* to the same period. The author of the macro-microcosmic system of *De Hebd.*, then, might be put anywhere in the first half of the century. The only other clue that I can see is the coincidence with Philistion noted on chapter 10. Philistion was old enough to teach Eudoxus, and may have been approximately Plato's contemporary.

I see little prospect of dating the various heptadic and other catalogues that the compiler has used, except that the pair in 8–9 were formulated, and associated with each other, before the *De Victu*. If anyone wishes to date chapter 3 (the I[385] winds) to the third century on the basis of the facts mentioned in the commentary on that section, he may, though it does not seem necessary. The list in chapter 7 was in two ways reminiscent of Philolaus. As for 11, the reference of the names *Ἰωνίη* and *Ἑλλήσποντος* suggests a date not later than the fifth century for the original.

The *terminus ante quem* for the compiler is Philo, since Roscher's claims to find earlier references to the work are far-fetched. But Philo knew it as a work of the wise Hippocrates, and it must have borne his name in the Alexandrian library. It is natural to suppose that the

compiler was not far removed in space or time from the author of *De Victu*, where some of the things that he combines appear separately. We see from Aristotle, *Metaph.* 1093a13–16, that people had been collecting heptads more indiscriminately by his time. He mentions the seven vowels, the notes of the scale, the Pleiades, the loss of first teeth in the seventh year, and the Seven against Thebes. Two of these items appear in the *De Hebd.*, but not only there, and there is no reason to think that Aristotle knows this particular work. Nor can anything be inferred from its omission of his other items, any more than from its omission of the Seven Sages (Pl. *Prot.* 343a), the Seven Great Islands (Alexis fr. 270 K.–A., Timaeus 566 F 65), or countless other possible sevens. They have not the association with medical philosophy that it was possible to find in all the sets that are present.

RELATION TO NON-GREEK SPECULATION

In 1923 A. Götze published a remarkable article entitled 'Persische Weisheit in griechischem Gewande' (*Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* 2. 60 ff., 167 ff.). In it he pointed out some striking parallels between the sixth chapter of *De Hebd.* and the twenty-eighth of the *Greater Bundahišn*, a Zoroastrian cosmological work of the ninth century CE. The latter is certainly based on an older Persian source; Götze argued that it was directly used by the writer of *De Hebd.* He described the Hippocratic work as 'an erratic block in Hellas'. I will conclude my study with a brief discussion of its relationship to the *Bundahišn* and to other non-Greek material.

We have seen that in general, far from being an erratic block, it is put together from parts that very obviously belong in a known tradition of speculation, the Pythagorean or western tradition. Preoccupation with number is itself a characteristic of that tradition. As for the number seven, there is no period at which its significance in Greece cannot be illustrated, as the peruser of Roscher's 'Hebdomadenlehre' will see. But it is in Pythagoreanism that it is first consciously formulated. Philolaus B 20 hails the seven as divine leader and ruler of all, eternal, stable, unmoving, like itself and different from others. In the fourth century heptadism was on the increase, as we see from Aristotle, and in later centuries it becomes ever more elaborate.

In approaching the question of non-Greek material, then, we should not think in terms of any direct influence upon the work before us, but at most of the absorption of such material into a certain current of Greek thought at an earlier period. We have seen that the macro-microcosmic comparison, with which Götze is occupied, is hinted at in the first half of the fifth century—only in a couple of poetic kennings, but enough of the idea is present for the developed system of *De Victu* and *De Hebd.* to be explicable without postulating any further model. But at this point we had better distinguish between different kinds of parallelism between world and man.

[386] 1. The world may be represented as the body of a god. His head is sought at the top of the universe, the sun and moon are his eyes, the earth and sea correspond to his lower parts, or he may extend to a region below the earth. This type is particularly well established in Indian literature from the earliest times; see R. Reitzenstein and H. H. Schaeder, *Studien zum antiken Synkretismus* (Studien der Bibliothek Warburg 7, 1926), 69–103; A. Olerud, *L'Idée de macrocosmos et de microcosmos dans le Timée de Platon* (Diss. Uppsala 1951), 128 ff. There are traces of it in Iran (J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *RE* Supp. ix. 1585) and perhaps Mesopotamia (T. Jacobsen in H. Frankfort *et al.*, *Before Philosophy* (Harmondsworth 1949), 145 f.). In Greek I may refer to the Pythagorean aphorisms 'the Bears are the hands of Rhea' and 'the sea is the tear of Kronos' (though no single god is here coextensive with the universe); to Aeschylus' *Ζεύς ἐστιν αἰθήρ, Ζεὺς δὲ γῆ, Ζεὺς δ' οὐρανός, Ζεύς τοι τὰ πάντα χὤτι τῶνδ' ὑπέρτερον* (fr. 70); and to the cosmic deity whose human shape is explicitly denied by Xenophanes (B 24, 26) and Empedocles (B 27–31, 35. 11 ff., 134). For the Stoics the world is still identifiable with Zeus (*SVF* ii. 169. 32, iii. 217. 9), and in Orph. fr. 243. 6–30 B. we have a full description relating the parts of the world to the members of an anthropomorphic Zeus (who has horns and wings, implying Hellenistic syncretism).

2. The traditional personification of the earth may be elaborated. In Pherecydes the visible surface of the earth is the robe of Chthonie, and the *Peplos* of the fifth-century Pythagorean poet Brontinus may have developed this further (cf. Epigenes in Orph. fr. 407). Choerilus properly belongs under this heading, as he talks of the bones and veins of earth, not of the universe.

3. The parts of the universe may be treated as having a likeness with the several parts of man, without regard to their relative position. So in the *Greater Bundahišn*, despite a series of agreements with *De Hebd.* Man is a copy of the world. His flesh is as the earth, his bones like the mountains, his veins like the rivers, his blood like the water of the sea, his belly like the sea, his breath like the wind, his marrow like metal, his rectum like the hell under the earth; this is all in order. But his back is like the sky, his hair like vegetation, his fingers and toes like the planets and signs of the zodiac, his intestines like the clouds and Vāzišt fire, his eyes like the sun and moon, his teeth like the stars. Once you start such a list, many equivalences suggest themselves, and it may be doubted whether the agreements with *De Hebd.* really call for the assumption of a common source containing all the same details. In 2 Enoch 30: 8 (ii. 448 Charles) God creates Adam's flesh from earth, his blood from the dew, his eyes from the sun, his bones from stone, his intelligence from the swiftness of angels and from cloud, his veins and hair from the grass, his soul from his own breath and the wind. The myth had a long career in the Middle Ages, and survives in folklore today; cf. Reinhold Köhler, *Kleinere Schriften* ii (Weimar 1900), 1–7; M. Förster, *ARW* 11 (1908), 477–529; F. Boll, *Aus der Offenbarung Johannis* (Amsterdam 1914), 62 f.

4. The whole universe may be treated as an organism with working parts similarly arranged as in man. This is the most sophisticated type. It is best illustrated by the *De Victu*; the system of *De Hebd.* is an almost perfect example, but the moon–brain equation shows an element of type 3. The sequence moon–sun–stars–crust, by the way, is quite different from the standard Persian arrangement, stars–moon–sun–Beginningless Light.

I[387] The basic idea of a parallelism between the world and the human form, type 1, may well have come to Greece from the East, in the sixth century. After that, however, independent development seems sufficient to account for the phenomena.

In connection with *De Hebd.* 11 Boll and Philipp independently compared a passage of the *Kore Kosmou*, one of the Hermetic treatises of which substantial excerpts are preserved by Stobaeus. It is fr. 24. 11 ff. (iv. 55–7 Nock–Festugière), where Isis tells Horus that the earth is like a man lying on his back with his head to the south. His heart is where Egypt is, at the centre, and for this reason the

Egyptians are *πάντων νοερώτεροι καὶ σώφρονες*. Those to the south have good heads and hair; those to the east, where the right hand is, are warlike, Sagittarians; those to the west are left-hand fighters, good in defence; those in the north have good feet and legs; while those in front of them, round Italy and Greece, have such attractive thighs and bottoms that they are drawn to homosexuality. As in *De Hebd.*, national characteristics are related to parts of the map-man's body. No other such parallel has been adduced from elsewhere.

The Hermetica are more Greek than Egyptian, and one cannot assume that something is Egyptian just because it comes in the *Kore Kosmou*. But the idea that the earth is a male figure lying on his back is genuinely Egyptian: Geb the earth-god lies on his back, with Nut the sky-goddess arched over him. Isis says that the earth *ἐμβλέπει οὐρανῷ καθάπερ πατρὶ ἰδίῳ, ὅπως ταῖς ἐκείνου μεταβολαῖς καὶ αὐτὴ τὰ ἴδια συμμεταβάλλῃ*: the earth has no father in ordinary Greek tradition, but according to Heliopolitan theology Geb has a father, namely Shu, the air or wind that divides him from Nut. Nothing could be more natural than the assignation of different lands to the limbs of Geb. Gaia is personified in Greece, of course, and she has her navel at Delphi, but we do not find pictures of her as a supine figure; the Greeks did not imagine her in such literal anthropomorphic terms. The evidence is not sufficient for us to assert that the map-man must have originated in Egypt before *De Hebd.* and come to Greece from there, but it is certainly a possibility.

Lastly, the heptadism itself. Number superstition is primitive and widespread. Much interesting material on this subject is referred to by Burkert, *Lore and Science*, 465 ff. In Greece it was the Pythagoreans in the fifth century who raised whatever was there before to philosophic status. In particular, the idea that a certain number is to be found throughout the universe appears. 'Every thing is three things, neither more nor less. Each thing's quality is a trinity: *σύνεσις, κράτος, τύχη*' (Ion of Chios 36 B 1). Did this way of looking at things come from abroad? In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upanishad*, which it is thought cannot be later than 600 BCE, we read, 'Clearly, this world is a triple reality: name, visible appearance, and action' (1. 6. 1, trans. Olivelle), as it were *ἑνὸς ἑκάστου ἀρετὴ τριάς, ὄνομα καὶ εἶδος καὶ ἔργον*. Not much later, in the *Taittirīya Upanishad*, we find a passage conceived in disturbingly similar spirit to the *De Hebd.*:

Earth, Intermediate Region, Sky, Quarters, Intermediate Quarters.
Fire, Wind, Sun, Moon, Stars.
Waters, Plants, Trees, Space, Body (*ātman*).
That was with respect to beings. Now with respect to the body:
Out-breath, Inter-breath, In-breath, Up-breath, Link-breath.
Sight, Hearing, Mind, Speech, Touch.
I[388] Skin, Flesh, Sinew, Bones, Marrow.
After making this analysis, a seer proclaimed: 'Clearly, this whole world is fivefold. By means of the fivefold one surely secures the fivefold.' (1. 7)

There is much in the Upanishads for which I insist on a historical connection with some of the teachings of Greek philosophers in the late sixth and early fifth centuries, and this number speculation fits so well into the overall picture that it is natural to find a connection here too. This does not necessarily mean attributing the common pattern of the *Taittirīya Upanishad* and the *De Hebd.* to an archetype. Once speculation had been given an impetus in this direction, it might develop on parallel lines in different countries.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

This paper was published in 1971. Simultaneously there appeared the very substantial study by Jaap Mansfeld, *The Pseudo-Hippocratic Tract περὶ ἑβδομάδων Ch. 1–11 and Greek Philosophy* (Assen 1971), in which the author argues with great learning that the treatise is of late Hellenistic date (after Posidonius). He persuades me that my dating to the first half of the fourth century is improbably early on linguistic and doctrinal grounds, but I am not convinced that it needs to be brought down after 300. In any case, as he does not provide a text or continuous commentary, I think that my article retains whatever usefulness it had.

I have revised the text and apparatus of chapter 3 (the winds).

APPENDIX (2012)
THE SOURCES FOR CHAPTER 5

Philo *De opif. mundi* 105	Anatolius π. δεκάδος p. 37. 23	Sch. Hes. *Op.* 447a (cod. L)
οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἐν ἀνθρώπου φύσει ἑπτὰ ὧραί εἰσιν, ἃς ἡλικίας καλέομεν· παιδίον, παῖς, μειράκιον, νεηνίσκος, ἀνήρ, πρεσβύτης, γέρων.	Ἱπποκράτης· ἑπτά εἰσιν ὧραι, ἃς ἡλικίας καλέομεν· παιδίον, παῖς, μειράκιον, νεανίσκος, ἀνήρ, πρεσβύτης, γέρων.	ἰστέον ὅτι ὁ Ἱπποκράτης ἑπτὰ ἡλικίας ἐπ' ἀνθρώπου τίθησιν, ἃς ὥρας αὐτός φησιν·
καὶ παιδίον μέν ἐστιν ἄχρι ἑπτὰ ἐτῶν ὀδόντων ἐκβολῆς, παῖς δὲ ἄχρι γονῆς ἐκφύσεως ἐς τὰ δὶς ἑπτά,	παιδίον μὲν ἄχρι ἑπτὰ ἐτέων ὀδόντων ἐκβολῆς, παῖς ἄχρι γονῆς ἐκφύσεως ἐς τὰ δὶς ἑπτά,	ἔστι γὰρ παιδίον μέχρις ἑπτὰ ἐτῶν ἤγουν ὀδόντων ἐκβολῆς, παῖς δὲ μέχρις ἑπτὰ δὶς ἤτοι γονῆς ἀφέσεως,
μειράκιον δὲ ἄχρι γενείου λαχνώσεως ἐς τὰ τρὶς ἑπτά, νεηνίσκος δὲ ἄχρις αὐξήσιος ὅλου τοῦ σώματος ἐς τὰ τετράκις ἑπτά,	μειράκιον ἄχρι γενείου λαχνώσεως ἐς τὰ τρὶς ζ', νεανίσκος ἐς τὰ τῆς αὐξήσεως ὅλου τοῦ σώματος ἐς τὰ τετράκις ζ',	μειράκιον δὲ μέχρι τρὶς ἑπτὰ ἤτοι γενείου ἐκφύσεως, νεανίσκος δὲ μέχρις ἑπτὰ τετράκις ἤγουν τῆς τοῦ σώματος αὐξήσεως,
ἀνὴρ δὲ ἄχρις ἑνὸς δέοντος ἐτῶν πεντήκοντα ἐς τὰ ἑπτάκις ἑπτά,	ἀνὴρ δὲ ἄχρις ἑνὸς δεόντων πεντήκοντα ἐς τὰ ἑπτάκις ζ',	ἀνὴρ δὲ τέλειος εἰς λε' ἔτη μέχρι {μθ'} ἑνὸς δέοντος ἑ<τῶν> ν', ἤγουν εἰς τὰ ἑπτάκις ἑπτά,
πρεσβύτης δὲ ἄχρι ἐτῶν πεντήκοντα ἓξ ἐς τὰ ἑπτάκις ὀκτώ, τὸ δ' ἐντεῦθεν γέρων.	πρεσβύτης δὲ ἄχρις ἐτῶν νς' ἐς τὰ ἑπτάκις η', τὸ δ' ἐντεῦθεν γέρων.	πρεσβύτης δὲ ξγ' ἤγουν εἰς τὰς θ' ἑβδομάδας, τὸ δ' ἐντεῦθεν γέρων εἰς τὰς ιδ' ἑβδομάδας.

Cod. Par. Coisl. 345 f. 224^{v} (Delatte, *Études*)	Cod. Par. gr. 2720 (Anecd. Boiss. ii. 455–6)
Ἱπποκράτους· παιδίον, παῖς, μειράκιον, νεηνίσκος, ἀνήρ, πρεσβείτης, γέρον.	*Ἱπποκράτους· ἑπτά εἰσιν αἱ ἡλικίαι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου· παιδίον, παῖς, μειράκιον, νεανίσκος, ἀνήρ, πρεσβύτης, γέρων.*
ταῦτα δέ ἐστιν ὧδε·	
παιδίον μέχρι ἑπτὰ ἐτέων ὀδόντων τε ἐκβολῆς,	*παιδίον μὲν ἄχρις ἐτῶν ζ′, ἀλλάξεως ὀδόντων·*
παῖς δὲ μέχρι γονῆς ἀφέσιος ἕως δ′ καὶ ι′ ἐτέων, ἑπτὰ δὶς ἑπτά,	*παῖς ἄχρις δυνάμεως σπερμογονίας εἰς τὰ δὶς ἑπτά·*
μειράκιον δὲ μέχρι γενείου ἀφέσιος ἕως ἑνὸς καὶ κ′, εἰς τὸ τρεῖς ἑπτά,	*μειράκιον ἄχρι γενείων λαχνώσεως ἐς τὰ τρὶς ἑπτά,*
νεηνίσκος δὲ μέχρι αὐξίσιος τοῦ σώματος ἐς τετράκις ἑπτά,	*νεανίσκος ἄχρις αὐξήσεως τελείας εἰς τὰ τετράκις ἑπτά,*
ἀνὴρ δὲ τέλειος ἐς λ′ καὶ ε′ ἔτεα ἐς τὰ πεντάκις ἑπτά, μέχρι {μθ῾} ἑνὸς δέοντος	
ἐς ν′, ἐς τὰ ἑπτάκις ἑπτά,	
πρεσβύτης δὲ μέχρι ξ′ καὶ γ′ ἐτέων εἰς τὰς θ′ ἑβδομάδας,	*πρεσβύτης ἄχρι ἐτῶν ν̣ς′ εἰς τὰ ἑπτάκις ὀκτώ,*
τὸ δὲ ἐνθένδε γέρον εἰς τὰς τεσσάρες καὶ δέκα ἑβδομάδας τῶν ἐτέων.	*τὸ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν γέρων.*

[Iambl.] *Theol. arithm.* 55. 14 ff. de Falco is virtually identical with Anatolius.

Codd. *A P*	Censorinus *De die nat.* 14. 3	Cod. Monac. arab. 802
Sic autem et in hominis natura septem tempora sunt; aetates appellantur: puerulus, puer, adolescens, iuuenis, uir, senior, senex. Haec sunt sic:	Hippocrates medicus in septem gradus aetates distribuit.	So gibt es nun im menschlichen Dasein sieben Zeiten, welche wir Lebensalter nennen: Kind, Knabe, Jüngling, junger Mann, Mann, bejahrter Mann, Greis.
puerulus usque ad septem annos in dentium immutationem,	Finem primae putauit esse septimum annum,	Das Alter des Kindes reicht bis zum 7. Jahre, bis zum Zahnwechsel,
puer autem usque ad seminis emissionem XIV annorum ad bis septenos;	secundae quartum decimum,	des Knaben bis zum 14., der Pubertät,
adulescens autem usque ad barbam, XXI annorum ad ter septenos, usque ad incrementum corporis;	tertiae duodetricensimum,	des Jünglings bis zum 21., dem Sprossen des Bartes,
iuuenis autem consummatus/r in XXXV annos et in quinque septenos;	quartae tricensimum quintum,	des jungen Mannes bis zum 28., dem völligen Ausgewachsensein des Körpers,
uir autem usque ad XL. et VIIII annos, ad septies septem;	quintae duo et quadragensimum,	des Mannes bis zum 49.,
senior uero LX et III ad VIIII ebdomadas;	sextae quinquagensimum sextum,	des bejahrten Mannes bis zum 56. Jahre;
exinde senex in quatuordecim ebdomadas.	septimae nouissimum annum uitae humanae.	von da an wird er Greis genannt.

Notes on the Text

Philo's version of the introductory sentence agrees with the Latin version. He also preserves the Ionic form *νεηνίσκος*.

παιδίον section: Anatol. and Coisl. give Ionic *ἐτέων*. *ἐκβολῆς* is guaranteed by Solon 27. 1–2 *ἕρκος ὀδόντων . . . ἐκβάλλει*. The variant *ἀλλάξεως* (Boiss.) is the version presupposed by Lat. and Arab.

παῖς section: Coisl. again has *ἐτέων*, and *ἀφέσιος*. *ἀφεσ-* also sch. Hes. as against *ἐκφύσεως* Philo Anatol. Coisl.; *emissio* Lat. Solon does not help (*ἥβης δ' ἐκφαίνει σήματα*). Boiss. alters the phrasing.

μειράκιον section: *λαχνώσεως* = Solon 27. 5 f. *γένειον . . . λαχνοῦται*. Sch. Hes. has *ἐκφύσεως*, Coisl. *ἀφέσιος* from the preceding sentence. Censorinus alone extends this stage of life to the age of 28.

νεηνίσκος section: Philo and Coisl. have the Ionic forms *νεηνίσκος*, *αὐξ(ή)σιος*. All sources agree on 'growth of the body', with minor variations; Philo and Anatol. have *ὅλου τοῦ σώματος*. The Latin sources extend this stage of life to the age of 35.

ἀνήρ section: sch. Hes. and Coisl. have *ἀνὴρ τέλειος* (cf. *iuuenis consummatus* in the Latin version of the previous section). They also agree in first saying that this stage lasts to age 35, but then that it lasts for two more hebdomads, to age 49. Philo and Anatol. and the Arabic version simply go straight to age 49, which is surely right; the reference to 35 is a blunder caused by the expectation that the increments will continue to be single hebdomads. For the same reason Censorinus, who advanced as far as 35 for the *iuuenis*, now goes up only to 42.

πρεσβύτης section: Philo, Anatol., Censorinus, and Arab. take this to age 56, while sch. Hes. and Coisl. agree with the Latin version on 63, which is the terminal age for the penultimate phase of life (of the ten) in the Solonian model.

γέρων section: in Solon's scheme 70 is given as the reasonable terminus of life. The same sources that give 56 for the transition from *πρεσβύτης* to *γέρων* avoid specifying a terminal age for the final stage, whereas those that give 63 for the transition allow the old man to live to 98 (=2×7×7).

Music and Metre

12

The Transmission of Ancient Greek Music: Then and Now

When Aristoxenus of Tarentum wrote about music in the fourth century BCE, he was able to refer to old melodies thought to have been composed by such musicians as Olympus in the eighth century and Terpander in the seventh. When Dionysius of Halicarnassus in the time of Augustus wants to illustrate the principle that music subordinates words to melody and not melody to words, he takes as his example some verses from the entry of the chorus in Euripides' *Orestes*, and he observes that the melodic line does not follow the pitch-accents of the words.[1] He seems confident that what he is describing was Euripides' original music. So cultivated Greeks knew some pieces of music that had been handed down over several hundred years; at any rate, they believed that it was as old as that, and clearly it was not new. How was Greek music transmitted from one generation to another in antiquity? Was it transmitted in a similar way to literature, or were there fundamental differences?

[156] Before the advent of modern recording techniques music could be handed down in two ways: orally, or in writing (or in some combination of the two). Written transmission virtually requires some form of musical notation. It is true that Dionysius is able to say something about the contours of the *Orestes* melody without using

The first part of the paper (up to the point marked by an asterisk) represents a paper delivered at the FIEC Congress at Ouro Preto, Brazil, in August 2004, and was published in *Classica* (São Paulo) 17/18 (2004/5), 155–63. The extended version was delivered as a lecture in Warsaw two months later; a Polish version appeared in *Konteksty* 60 (2006), 43–51. The footnotes are new.

[1] Aristox. frr. 80, 83, 84 and *ap.* ps.-Plut. *De musica* 1137a–d, 1143b; Dion. Hal. *Comp.* 63 f.

notation, and if he had specified the size of the intervals we might have been able to reconstruct the melody from his account. But such a cumbersome method of recording music could never have been practical. In fact the Greeks did have a system of musical notation: it had been in use for some centuries before Dionysius' time, and remained in use for some centuries after him. If he does not make use of it in his discussion of the *Orestes* melody, it is because he did not himself understand it, and/or because he could not expect many of his readers to understand it. In all probability he did not need to read music in order to know that piece. He might well have heard it in the theatre, since the *Orestes* was Euripides' most popular drama after his death. There are inscriptional records of performances of it in the fourth and third centuries, and the scholia to the play, echoing some Alexandrian commentator, several times refer to what 'present-day actors' do in performing it. A house-owner in Ephesus in the late second century of our era had one of his walls adorned with a scene from it.[2] The lines that Dionysius refers to were the first sung words in the play, the musical number that a spectator was most likely to recall.

But if this was Euripides' original music, how had it survived for nearly four centuries from 408 BCE? Written transmission must certainly be considered as a possibility. We know that tragic lyrics were sometimes copied with musical notation; we have several examples on papyrus, including a well-known one from the *Orestes* itself, copied around 200 BCE. There is also a fragment from another of Euripides' late plays, the *Iphigeneia in Aulis*, a group of eight small fragments apparently from an *Achilles* by Sophocles the younger, and a number of others from unidentified dramas, most or all of them probably post-classical.[3]

On the other hand, such finds are rarities. It is clear that dramatic and lyric texts were normally copied without the music. The very early papyrus of Timotheos' *Persai* has only text, no music, although this work was more famous as a citharode's display piece than as a literary monument. From the Ptolemaic and Roman periods we have papyri of such poets as Alcman, Sappho, Alcaeus, Stesichorus, Ibycus, Anacreon, Simonides, Pindar, Bacchylides, Corinna, and the dramatists, and they practically never carry musical notation or any

[2] Sch. Eur. *Or.* 57, 268, 643; V. M. Strocka, *Gymnasium* 80 (1973), 366 ff. and pl. 18.
[3] *DAGM* nos. 3–5, 8–10, 17–18, 38–40, 42–3, 53–4.

other information about musical performance. Of the texts for which we do have any notation, none is earlier than the *Orestes*, so that it remains quite uncertain to what extent music of (say) the mid fifth century or of earlier generations ever was written down. Did musical scores for the lyrics of Aeschylus, Pindar, or Sappho ever exist? I think it is very likely that they did not, except that occasionally some particular melody might have been written out by some later performer or musicologist for his own use.

[157] Yet fourth-century writers such as Aristoxenus and Heraclides Ponticus apparently knew some of this music, or thought they did, because they make many statements about its technical features. They tell us, for example, that Aeschylus and Phrynichus avoided the chromatic genus, which became fashionable later; that Terpander, Alcman, Anacreon, Simonides, Bacchylides, and Pindar all made use of the Dorian mode, and that Sappho used the Mixolydian; that Dorian and Mixolydian were the principal modes used in earlier tragedy, while Sophocles introduced the Phrygian and Lydian, and Agathon the Hypodorian and Hypophrygian.[4]

How were they able to make such statements? In a few cases they might have been based on references in the lyric poets themselves to the modes of their music, since a number of such references survive in the fragments. But this could only account for a small part of the information that these writers give. Nor does it seem at all likely that their knowledge was based on examination of written scores, nor that it was simply invented. The only plausible view is that it came from hearing the music in performance. In certain cases this is made explicit in the sources. Heraclides Ponticus quotes from a hymn to Demeter by Lasos of Hermione, where Lasos himself said that he was singing in the Aeolian *harmonia*; Heraclides observes that 'everybody sings this in Hypodorian', and he infers that Aeolian is the old name for Hypodorian.[5] Aristoxenus discusses the traditional aulos tune called the *Spondeion melos*, which was believed to have been composed by Olympus. It was generally played in a way that involved an enharmonic tetrachord, with a semitone divided into two quarter-tones. But, says Aristoxenus, if you listen to someone playing it in the old-fashioned manner, you can see that the semitone was meant to be undivided.[6]

[4] For references see *AGM* 179, 181 f., 331 f., 344, 351–4.
[5] Heraclid. Pont. fr. 163.
[6] Aristox. *ap.* ps.-Plut. *De Musica* 1135b.

So there was in the fourth century a continuing performance tradition of older music. One could hear renderings of lyric songs and instrumental melodies from the fifth, the sixth, even the seventh century. The performers, some of them professionals, some amateurs, will themselves have learned these items, in most or all cases, by hearing them, either casually or through formal instruction by a teacher. There is nothing implausible or surprising in the preservation of favoured songs and tunes over many generations by oral transmission. In our own modern European culture only a minority of people know how to read music, but everyone knows many songs that they have learned by hearing, some of them perhaps more than a hundred or more than two hundred years old. In archaic and classical Greece, where music and song played such an important role both in public festivals and at domestic gatherings, and many boys were taught to play the lyre, the conditions for such transmission were all the more favourable.

Professionals such as pipers (*αὐλητα*ί) and citharodes might, it is true, have made some use of written scores following the invention of musical notation. Indeed, this invention must have been felt to serve some need, and some use must have been made of it, or it would not have continued to exist. But how early was it invented? Does it go as far back as the archaic or the classical age?[7]

I[158] The earliest surviving examples are on papyri of the mid third century BCE. A system of notation already existed in the time of Aristoxenus, though he does not make use of it in his musicological writings: he criticizes people who treat the notation of melodies as the sole aim of harmonic analysis, and he also criticizes the design of the system. There is no good reason to doubt that the system he criticizes was the same one that was current later. That is the earliest direct evidence. It has sometimes been claimed that certain fifth-century vase paintings which show people reading from book-rolls in musical performances must represent the use of musical scores; but the books need not have been more than libretti.

However, internal analysis of the notational system allows us to take it back somewhat before the time of Aristoxenus. There are in fact two parallel systems, one normally used for vocal music, the other for instrumental. Both of them use symbols based on letters of

[7] On the notation systems and their origins and development see *AGM* 254–65; *ZPE* 92 (1992), 38–41.

the alphabet to indicate the pitch of notes; in the case of vocal music they are written above the syllables of the text. The vocal notation uses the twenty-four letters of the standard Ionic alphabet for notes in the octave that corresponds to the average register of the male voice. The series was extended upwards and downwards by using the letters again but turning them upside down, sideways, or back to front, or by making some addition or subtraction to their shape. The instrumental notation presents a more esoteric appearance. It uses only sixteen basic letter-symbols. These have strange forms and it is not easy to identify what letters they are. And instead of proceeding in alphabetical sequence, they follow one another in an unintelligible order.

The two systems must have had separate origins, but they were brought into harmony with one another. The twenty-four-letter alphabet of the vocal notation covered just one octave, whereas the sixteen-letter series of the other system covered a little over two octaves. The scope of the vocal system was then enlarged by means of a second alphabet, divided between the higher and lower registers, so that it exactly matched the ambitus of the instrumental series. At a later stage both systems were further enlarged in parallel so that they spanned over three octaves.

The strangely formed letters of the instrumental system appear to come from an Argive alphabet of, probably, the first half of the fifth century. The Argolid had been notable for its instrumental virtuosi since early in the sixth century. In the time of Polycrates of Samos, according to Herodotus (3. 131. 3), the Argives had the highest reputation for music of all Greeks. Two of the earliest known musical theorists came from the north-east Peloponnese: Lasos of Hermione and Epigenes of Sicyon. Lasos is said to have written the first book about music, and he may have actually invented the word *μουσική*. There is no evidence that he or Epigenes developed a notation for music, and what we know about their analysis of scales would suggest a different conceptual approach from the one embodied in the notation that we have. But given the level of musical and musicological activity in the region, it seems to have been a favourable milieu for the innovative step of inventing a notation.

I[159] Originally I suppose the notation was intended for the recording of both vocal and instrumental music. There was no reason to devise two different systems at the same time. Somewhat later, we may imagine, the need was felt for a less abstruse set of

symbols, especially for the use of singers, and then the system based on the Ionian alphabet was created. This was most likely in the late fifth or the fourth century. The Ionian alphabet was officially adopted at Athens in 403/2, and it had been in widespread unofficial use there for a generation or so before; it was also establishing itself in other Greek cities at this period. The letter forms used in the musical notation point to a date before 300 rather than after.

So it is possible that Euripides could have written down the music for his *Orestes* and *Iphigeneia in Aulis*, or had it written down by a musician who was familiar with the notation. But it is not clear that there was any need for it to be written down. Tragic choruses, drawn from the citizen body, cannot have been expected to read music, and no doubt they had always been trained orally by the poet-composer in what they had to sing; maybe they were not even given copies of the words. There is a story in Plutarch (*De Audiendo* 46b) that Euripides was teaching his singers an ode, and one of them giggled; the poet rebuked him, saying, 'if you weren't an ignorant yob, you wouldn't laugh when I was singing in the Mixolydian mode'. Similarly, the piper who accompanied the chorus would have learned the melodies by hearing them sung.

After the first performance of a tragedy there would be, besides the poet and the piper, twelve or fifteen chorus-members who knew the songs by heart and who could have taught them to any of their friends who were interested. There is a famous story that some of the Athenian survivors of the Sicilian disaster were able to beg food and water in return for singing lyrics of Euripides; and there is another story that the people of Caunus admitted into their harbour an Athenian ship that was being pursued by pirates only after establishing that the sailors knew some songs of Euripides.[8] So there was potentially an oral tradition of tragic lyrics. When a popular play such as the *Orestes* was revived in the fourth century, it might well have been possible to find people who remembered the original music, even if no written scores existed. In theory this process might have been repeated from one performance to the next, down to the time of Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

Still, we know that at least one chorus from that play had been written out with musical notation by 200 BCE. It is natural to suspect

[8] Satyrus, *Vita Euripidis* xix; Plut. *Nic.* 29. 3–5.

that some use was made of such scores when an old play was to be performed once more. On the other hand, the scores may have been produced for a different purpose. The papyrus with music for the *Iphigeneia* (*DAGM* no. 4), copied in the mid third century BCE, is not a fragment from a text of the whole play, nor even from a complete collection of the lyrics. It contains merely excerpts from two separate lyric portions, and they are in the wrong order: the first is from the sung dialogue between Iphigeneia and the chorus towards the end of the play (1500–9), and the second is from the middle of the play (784–92). Both passages are emotional utterances of women, though the music is set in the male $l^{[60]}$ vocal register. We may guess that the manuscript was made not for a regular production of the play but for some sort of concert performance of highlights by a star vocalist. From later times we have several records of professional musicians performing songs from plays of Euripides.[9] And it is typical of the musical papyri that they tend to contain excerpts from a series of works rather than a single continuous one. There are just two examples of papyri, both Ptolemaic in date, that may have contained the whole text of a play as well as musical notation for the lyrics; but in both cases the lyrics were separated off and written on the back of the roll. One of them is a papyrus in Oxford containing fragments of Sophocles' *Achilles*, which I published in 1999 (*DAGM* no. 5). Iambic and anapaestic portions of the play—that is, the spoken parts—were written on the recto, and lyrics with musical notation on the verso. The other is a papyrus in Cologne (P. Köln 241) which also contained an Achilles tragedy. There between two iambic episodes stands a note saying ἄλλα ὀπίσω χοροῦ μέλος, 'more on the back—choral song'. None of this lyric text survives, but we may guess that, as in the Oxford papyrus, it was accompanied by musical notation.

Evidently the copying of tragic music, and we may say of musical texts generally, followed a separate course from the ordinary copying of poetic literature. It was not simply that some manuscripts of Euripides or Timotheos carried musical notation and others omitted it. Texts with notation were exceptional, and where they existed, the lyric portions were treated apart from the rest, or mere excerpts were taken from them. We do not know of a single example of a text of an entire drama, nome, or dithyramb copied with everything in due order and furnished with its musical notation.

[9] See *AGM* 376–8.

There are other ways in which the musical papyri differ from normal copies of poetic texts. They are usually written in much wider columns, to give longer unbroken lines of text. And whereas in literary papyri after about 200 BCE we regularly find colometry applied to lyric verse—in other words it is written as verse, divided into lines in accord with scholarly metrical analysis—in the musical papyri the texts continued to be written as prose, without colometry; even iambic trimeters are treated in this way. These differences of format no doubt reflect the fact that the two types of text were intended for different types of user: the one for the ordinary cultured reader, the other for practising musicians.

Despite the apparently sketchy and desultory nature of the transmission, some of Euripides' music seems to have been preserved for four hundred years, to be heard by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and indeed longer, to judge by a papyrus document of the first or second century of our era which contains a list of items in the repertoire of one Epagathos, a *choraules*, that is, a piper who accompanied singers; it includes songs from *Hypsipyle*, *Medea*, and *Antiope*, presumably the Euripidean dramas of those titles, besides others from other tragedians.[10] Of course we cannot tell how authentic such renderings were. Even if the tragic texts had not been set to completely new lyrics, the original melodies may have suffered considerable deformation as a result of inaccurate transmission or the vagaries of performing style and changing taste.

I[161] The music of Timotheos and other leading composers of his time likewise continued to be heard for several centuries. One of Timotheos' dithyrambs was sung by the boys' chorus of the Cecropid tribe at the Great Dionysiac festival at Athens in 319 BCE. (They won the prize.) His *Persai* was performed by a citharode at the Nemean Games in 205 BCE. Some forty or fifty years later a certain Menecles, an official envoy from Teos to Crete, entertained his hosts with recitals to the kithara of works of Timotheos and Polyidos among others. The historian Polybius records that young men in Arcadia at this period were taught the nomes of Philoxenus and Timotheos and danced them in the theatres to aulos accompaniment. A Stoic writer on music, Diogenes of Seleucia, referred to a composition by Krexos that his readers might be expected to have heard, and he was able to compare Philoxenus' style of dithyramb with Pindar's. The emperor

[10] *AGM* 377; *TrGF* v.2 p. 1103.

Nero, who liked to perform as a citharode, had in his repertoire a *Niobe* and a *Nauplios*, which may well have been the nomes of Timotheos that bore those titles.[11] Again, we cannot be sure that the original music was still being used, or if it was, how faithfully it had been preserved. If it was a version of the original, we would imagine that its preservation owed more to a professional tradition of direct tuition of one musician by another than to continuous copying of scores.

The longest and finest specimens of ancient music that we possess are the two Paeans by otherwise unknown Athenian composers inscribed at Delphi following their performance there in 127 BCE (*DAGM* nos. 21, 22). These are the earliest examples of inscriptions being used for the recording of music. There are three later instances, two of them from sanctuaries, the third a funerary monument (*DAGM* nos. 19, 22, 23). The durable nature of the medium has ensured that these texts, with varying degrees of damage, have been preserved to the present day; but we cannot tell whether anyone took any notice of them in antiquity after they were set up. What was the intention of those who caused them to be inscribed? The Delphic Paeans were festival texts performed by a chorus of thirty-nine men accompanied by pipe and kithara. Were they inscribed in the hope that some future ensemble would take them up and mount new performances? Which has in fact happened in recent times, but perhaps never happened in antiquity. Or were they inscribed simply as a proud record of artistic achievement? As for the funerary monument (*DAGM* no. 23), it bears an elegiac couplet (without music) and then a little song with a philosophical message:

ὅσον ζῇις, φαίνου,
μηδὲν ὅλως σὺ λυποῦ.
πρὸς ὀλίγον ἐστὶ τὸ ζῆν·
τὸ τέλος ὁ χρόνος ἀπαιτεῖ.

While you're alive, shine, man,
don't be the least bit blue.
Life's for a little span;
Time demands its due.

The passer-by could read the verse, and if he happened to understand musical notation he could also learn the melody to sing it to.

[11] References for all of this: *AGM* 381 f.

As I have said, such knowledge was probably never widespread. There is some evidence from the second century BCE that musical notation, both in its melodic and rhythmic aspects, was taught in Ionian high schools.[12] But Dionysius of Halicarnassus I[162] does not use it when he discusses the *Orestes* melody. Quintilian (1. 10. 1–33; 1. 12. 14) advises that the aspiring orator should study music, but that he will not have time to go into it so thoroughly as to learn to sing from a score. Many of the technical writers on music, including Aristoxenus, Cleonides, Nicomachus of Gerasa, Ptolemy, and Porphyry, make no use of notation. Several of the later ones, in and after the third century of our era, do use it, or at any rate they set out tables of the note symbols used in each key. But one of them, Gaudentius (fourth or fifth century?), speaks of the notation as something used by the ancients, and he seems to imply that it was no longer in general currency.[13] The latest papyri with notation are from the late third or early fourth century.

The texts that appear in the musical papyri of the Roman period are never by identifiable authors. In a few cases they may go back to the classical or Hellenistic periods, but the music looks more recent. The papyri seem in general to have been collections used by recitalists, and we do not get the impression that they were playing much of a role in transmitting old or famous compositions from generation to generation.

There was, however, one composer, some of whose music was transmitted from the second century into the Middle Ages and hence to us. This was Mesomedes, a citharode of Cretan origin who became a court musician to the emperors Hadrian and Antoninus Pius. We have fourteen or fifteen of his poems, and musical notation is preserved for five of them in manuscripts of the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries (*DAGM* nos. 24–31). How did this come about?

There are several pieces of evidence for Mesomedes' enduring reputation in late antiquity. The historian Cassius Dio, writing in the early third century, identifies him as 'the man who wrote the citharodic nomes'. The chronicler Eusebius a century later recorded the date of Mesomedes' *floruit*, and Synesius, the cultured Christian Neoplatonist from Cyrene, about 400 CE, quotes from his *Hymn to Nemesis* as something that 'we sing to the lyre'. It is quoted again by Johannes Lydus in the sixth century.[14]

[12] *AGM* 271 f.; E. Rocconi, *Le Parole delle Muse* (Rome 2003), 51 n. 234.

[13] Gaud. pp. 347. 11, 349. 8–23, 350. 9–11 Jan.

Mesomedes' music seems to us plain, limited, and uninspired by comparison with many of the pieces that we know from other sources. So why was he so celebrated, and why did some of his compositions survive so long? I think the answer must be that they were adopted as standard items in teaching young musicians to play the lyre. (Perhaps imperial patronage was a deciding factor here.) That is why Synesius speaks of his *Hymn to Nemesis* as something that 'we sing to the lyre', rather as someone today who has had piano lessons might refer to the works of Carl Czerny, or a flautist to those of Marcel Moyse. In the medieval tradition Mesomedes' pieces are associated with a late musical treatise by one Dionysius, transmitted with other works of music theory.[15] They are accompanied by annotations identifying the musical key and the metres. At an earlier stage all this material may have been included in a corpus of writings on music bearing the title ἡ *Μουσική*. We may suppose that towards the end of antiquity the teaching of Hellenic music as a practical art had ceased, and that the Mesomedes scores had passed from the didactic tradition to that of theoretical writing.

I[163] Another technical treatise, the so-called Anonymus Bellermannianus, preserves a set of six short instrumental pieces without ascription (*DAGM* nos. 32–7). These too must derive from the ancient teaching repertoire, as they are nothing but simple exercises. One of them is just an ascending and descending scale, while two of the others consist merely of a series of permutations of four consecutive notes, clearly a fingering exercise.

So the transmission of Greek music in antiquity was fitful and much depended on chance. Music for the most part was regarded as an ornament to poetry, with little claim to classic status of its own. It was the words that counted for more; and they were much easier to transmit in writing through the ages. * That is why we have today a vast amount of ancient Greek literature (only a fraction, of course, of what once existed), but only a very small collection of ancient melodies and fragments of melodies: a mere handful from the late

[14] Dio 77. 13. 7; Euseb. *Chron.* Ol. 230. 4; Synes. *Epist.* 95; Lyd. *Mens.* 184. 15 Wünsch.

[15] Now edited with extensive introduction and commentary by Chr. Terzes, *Διονυσίου "Τέχνη μουσική"* (Athens 2010).

classical period, a little more from the Hellenistic age, the greater part from the Roman period.

We have built up this collection gradually over time, and it is still slowly growing. The Mesomedes hymns, which were preserved in medieval manuscripts, were published as early as 1581. The instrumental pieces in the Anonymus Bellermannianus did not appear until 1841. After that everything depended on the discovery of inscriptions and papyri. A series of important finds were made in the last two decades of the nineteenth century: the funerary monument of Seikilos in 1883, the fragment from Euripides' *Orestes* in 1890, and the two Delphic Paeans in 1893–4. In the first half of the twentieth century there were no more than three new musical papyri; one inscription fragment was published in 1945, but it remained unnoticed by specialists for over forty years. After 1955 the pace of publication increased. Only one further inscription with musical notation has come to light, but papyri have continued to turn up. In the new corpus of Greek musical documents which Egert Pöhlmann and I published in 2001 the total number of items comes to sixty-one. We hear that there is another unpublished piece in the Louvre.[16] No doubt more will appear from time to time in the future.

With this activity of scholarly publication and consolidation in collections, the transmission of ancient Greek music has entered a new phase. We carefully examine the texts for every trace of letters, notes, and other musical symbols, and we make every effort to interpret them correctly in the light of what we know of ancient theory and notational practice. We make transcriptions into modern musical notation, so that specialists and non-specialists alike may be able to get an idea of how we think the melodies went.

Melody, of course, is meant to be heard, not read, and there is naturally a temptation to turn these documents back into audible form, to perform this music. Keats in his 'Ode on a Grecian Urn' wrote that 'Heard melodies are sweet; but those unheard | Are sweeter.' Many who have listened to renderings of the ancient Greek fragments have felt that they were not at all sweet, and would have been better unheard. Henry Macran in his edition of Aristoxenus, published in 1902, records that

[16] Antiquités égyptiennes inv. E 10534, published by Annie Bélis in *CRAI* 2004, 1305–29. See *Hellenica* ii. 334–50.

> Some years ago . . . Sir Robert Stewart delivered a lecture in Trinity College, Dublin, on the Music of Distant Times and Places; and illustrated it by specimens from various nationalities and periods, an ancient Greek hymn being included in the number. [This must have been one of the Delphic Paeans.] It was the unanimous verdict of all the musicians present that, while the music of the less civilized nations was often crude, barbarous, and monotonous in the highest degree, the Greek hymn stood quite alone in its absolute lack of meaning and its unredeemed ugliness; and much surprise was expressed that a nation which had delighted all succeeding generations by its achievements in the other arts should have failed so completely in the art which it had prized and practised most.[17]

Now, over a hundred years later, we are more accustomed to non-Western musics of many varieties, and indeed to much Western music that seemed abominable to its first audiences but that we have come to admire. Nevertheless, when a French ensemble, led by a specialist in ancient Greek music, gave a concert of it to an international conference of classicists in Brazil two months ago, the general opinion was still that it was horrible.

My own view is that in those few cases where we have complete pieces or extensive fragments they are not horrible at all, when one gets to know them, and indeed that some of them are satisfying and even haunting. Now, I am not an impresario, and I am not concerned to promote Greek music as something for a modern public to enjoy. As a scholar, my concern is to try to find out everything that can be found out about it, and it really does not matter whether or not the sound of it appeals to me or to other people. But let us by all means have performances, let us hear the sound of it.

Of course, the scholar's viewpoint is not the only one. If a musician or a group of musicians wants to build on these ancient remains, to arrange them in a way that may make them more palatable to a modern audience, or to make use of them in the creation of new music, these are legitimate undertakings. And if a composer is inspired by what he or she perceives of Greek music, it does not matter whether that perception is accurate or badly distorted; what matters in that case is the inspiration and what comes out of the creative process. I believe there is much in Greek music that composers might draw on. Stravinsky once said that there was still much music to be written in C major. There is much too that

[17] H. S. Macran, *Ἁρμονικὰ στοιχεῖα. The Harmonics of Aristoxenus* (Oxford 1902), 2.

might be written using the old Greek modes—not the medieval Church modes, but the archaic ones based on non-diatonic scales. Likewise with the ancient rhythms: cretic, dochmiac, syncopated ionic, and so forth. The use of such materials in combination with Western polyphonic techniques might result in a quite original new synthesis.

However, it is important to make it clear what is being offered on each occasion. If someone were to compose a violin sonata based on ancient Greek scales and rhythms, and programme it as *Sonate parnassienne*, I do not suppose that anyone would be misled into thinking that the ancients composed violin sonatas or that their music sounded something like that. But when recitals are given of what purports to be Greek music, even if the aim is to provide a public entertainment rather than an antiquarian exercise in historical reconstruction, it ought to be made quite explicit what liberties have been taken with the evidence, which elements in the performance make some approximation to authenticity and which ones knowingly sacrifice it.

Let me return to that recital that I heard in Brazil. The first item was announced as the fragment from Euripides' *Orestes*. A young lady appeared with a flute and played some slow, sweet phrases. Another young lady sang: *κατολοφύρομαι, κατολοφύρομαι*. So sweet was the singing and the flute-playing that afterwards some people admitted that they did rather like that first piece, though the rest of the concert was horrible. But everything was wrong. The voice was wrong. That music was written to be sung by fifteen men, not by one young woman. The instrumental accompaniment was wrong. The ancient chorus was not accompanied by a flute but by a pair of reed instruments of the oboe type, no doubt rather rougher in tone than a modern oboe. The rhythm was wrong. The dochmiac phrases ought to have run on without interruption, *κατολοφύρομαι, κατολοφύρομαι*, but these performers made a great pause after each one, *κατολοφύρομαι*, 𝄽 • , *κατολοφύρομαι*, 𝄽 • , which changes the metre from the distinctive 3/8 + 5/8 into a banal 12/8. The tempo was wrong. Dochmiacs in tragedy always have an urgent or disturbed tone. They must have been sung, if not *allegro*, at least *andante con moto*, not at a funereal speed. And finally, the melody was probably wrong. Of those ten notes, only the last three are actually preserved on the papyrus. The rest are supplemented by conjecture. The supplements may be correct; and it is legitimate to sing a supplemented text, because if one performed only the notes that are actually preserved, it would just be five or six notes here, then a gap of ten or twelve notes, then another half-phrase, and so on. But in this particular case there is another problem. The three notes preserved, written *Π Ρ C*, are three consecutive notes in the descending scale, and represent what was called the *pyknon*, the segment of the scale that was tightly packed together. Now, there were two different ways of performing the scale that contained the notes *Π Ρ C*, one called chromatic, the other called enharmonic. In the chromatic genus those notes were successive semitones; in the enharmonic they were closer together, successive quarter-tones. The notation does not distinguish between the two alternatives. We have to choose on the basis of what we know of musical history. For Euripides the answer is uncertain, but the enharmonic is more likely, because the sources tell us that the enharmonic genus was typical of tragedy and other fifth-century lyric. The chromatic style was starting to come in in the second half of the fifth century, and in the fourth it became increasingly popular, while the enharmonic went out of fashion—a trend deplored by Aristoxenus. In any case, when performing the two fragments that we have of fifth-century music one should attempt to do it in the enharmonic manner, to give some idea of the harmonic idiom of the early period. The performers that we heard in Brazil took the chromatic option.

Later in the recital there appeared a gentleman dressed in a dinner jacket and black bow-tie and carrying a seven-stringed kithara. When he sat down and played it, he held a plectrum in his right hand and plucked out the melody with it. With his left hand he did more or less nothing. The instrument looked reasonably authentic, but the manner of playing it did not. The ancient technique, as depicted in quite a consistent manner in vase paintings and other works of art, was for the fingers of the left hand to pluck or to damp individual strings, while the right hand with the plectrum swept across them all. The same technique was used in the ancient Near East and is used today by those peoples of East Africa who still employ lyres. The effect is of course very different from that of just picking out the tune as one might do with one finger on a piano.

For some of the items he played, our citharist took off his shoe and inserted his foot into a gadget which, when pressed down, rang a small bell—Ding! This was evidently the modern French equivalent of the Greek *kroupeza*, a device for beating time; the *kroupeza*,

however, involved a wooden clapper, not a bell, and it was used by pipers, not by kithara-players.

The highlight of the programme was the performance of the two Delphic Paeans. These are predominantly in paeonic metre, that is, in 5/8 time: *κέκλυθ' Ἑλικῶνα βαθύδενδρον αἴ*, etc. Here it was felt necessary to beat time in a more insistent manner than could be achieved with a small foot-operated bell. The director of the ensemble, Mme Bélis herself, came forth bearing a frame drum, which she held up in one hand and smote with the other, beating out the rhythm in such fashion that no one could mistake it: Boom boo-boom! Boom boo-boom! Meanwhile the first Paean was sung, correctly as regards melody and rhythm, by a solo voice. However, when it was originally performed in 127 BCE, it was by a chorus of thirty-nine singers, accompanied by pipes and a thirteen-stringed kithara. There was no drum; and a drum is entirely inappropriate not just for this composition but for any performance of ancient Greek music, because it played a part only in the music of orgiastic cults such as those of the Great Mother, Dionysus Baccheios, and Sabazios. To import it into a Paean for Apollo at Delphi is a gross falsification, indeed an impiety, that gives the innocent public a quite wrong idea of the atmosphere that the composer intended to create with his sophisticated music.

When it came to the second Paean, the two male singers of the ensemble sang it in unison. This was an improvement on the solo rendering of the first Paean. Two are not thirty-nine, but at least the effect was produced of blended male voices.

This recital, then, which claimed to be a representation of ancient music, had many inauthentic and misleading features. What was the reason? I think it was not a question of ignorance, as Mme Bélis is a specialist who has done important work on the texts, in particular of the Delphic Paeans; she has written an article on the *kroupeza*, and a book on *Les Musiciens dans l'antiquité*. It was partly a matter of the resources available. She does not have a chorus of thirty-nine at her disposal, or an expert citharist, or an instrument resembling the ancient auloi. But we must also say that it was a matter of seeking authenticity only in certain respects and not caring about it in other respects. The presupposition of the performance was that the most important thing was to be faithful to the melodic line of the texts, with some supplementation to cover gaps, but no deliberate alterations. An attempt was made to be faithful to the rhythms, though it

was not always successful. What was not attempted was fidelity to the original instrumentation and vocal requirements.

This has been a recurrent weakness in efforts to bring ancient music back to life. In 1978 a Spanish group led by Gregorio Paniagua produced a long-playing record (later reissued as a CD) that contained almost every fragment of Greek music known at that time, as well as the forgeries of Athanasius Kircher and other post-Renaissance fictions.[18] Mr Paniagua laboured to reconstruct over thirty types of ancient instrument, ranging from the *krotala*, that is, clappers or castanets, to the hydraulic organ. A praiseworthy endeavour, and the instruments sounded plausible on the recording, except that the kithara sounded as if it had metal strings. But having constructed these instruments, Mr Paniagua used them indiscriminately in his group's performances. In nearly every piece that he and his six colleagues played, they employed several of these instruments, either simultaneously or by turns, without any regard for historical probability. For example, Mesomedes' *Hymn to Nemesis* was presumably (since Mesomedes was famous as a citharode) intended to be sung to the kithara; but on this recording it is performed on wind and percussion, with a bagpipe drone. Certainly the result is enjoyable, even exhilarating. But it gives the uninstructed listener a false impression of Mesomedes' art. When it comes to the second Delphic Paean, the performance begins with a woman reading out the words of the first section, pronouncing them as in modern Greek, which means that the metre is destroyed. Then the melody is played through without words, with contributions from over twenty instruments. At one point there is a noise of gurgling water and what sounds like a ship's siren. Has the ensemble been overtaken by some marine disaster? No, it is the hydraulic organ preparing itself to enter the mêlée.

There have been other recordings since then. They are always interesting and enjoyable to listen to, but they never achieve consistent authenticity. Their most constant fault is the failure to use the right vocal and instrumental forces. As regards instruments, the difficulties are real and obvious. The ancient instruments were different from the ones to be found in a modern orchestra or music shop. Reconstructions have to be made. People have succeeded in doing this from time to time. But that is only half the battle. It is then

[18] I reviewed the recording in *Gnomon* 45 (1980), 697–700.

necessary for players to train themselves in the proper techniques of playing those instruments, and that is, I suppose, not much easier than learning to play a modern instrument. I have mentioned the ancient method of playing the lyre, which does not correspond to the way any modern instrument is played. The other most common ancient instrument is the aulos, a kind of oboe. We have oboists who will have an idea of how to manage the blowing and fingering of such an instrument. But in ancient Greece, as in the Near East, it was the universal practice to play two of them at once. The aulete held one in each hand and had both mouthpieces in his mouth. This is not something that the modern wind player is trained to do. At a lecture in Oxford in 1995 Mr Maurice Byrne attempted to do it with a pair of auloi constructed by himself from plastic tubing, but he had not had long enough to practise the art, and it was not a great success. I do not know of any recording in which it has been tried.

I do not want to argue that Greek music should not be performed unless everything is done with the most meticulous authenticity. I do not demand that the aulos should only be heard in pairs managed by a single player, or that the Delphic Paeans should not be sung unless a chorus of thirty-nine men is available. I only ask that the attempt should be made to produce the right kinds of sound: men singing in unison rather than a solo soprano; a reed instrument rather than a flute; no drums, bells, and organs where they do not belong. And attention should be given not only to the melodic line but to accuracy of rhythm and appropriateness of tempo. It should be possible to meet these requirements without excessive difficulty.

We should be deluding ourselves if we imagined that by attending carefully to all these things we can re-create the musical experience that the ancients enjoyed. We simply do not know enough about ancient performance practice. In music of any age the written notes do not tell the whole story. How much did the performers add to them by way of embroidery or inflection or rubato? We do not know. Does this consideration not entitle the modern performer to add something of his own in order to revivify this dead music? Mr Paniagua felt something of the sort when he and his group made their recordings. He explained his intentions as follows:

> We do not claim, with this record, to be making a mere compilation of what has been preserved of Greek music, neither are we attempting to dissect an archaeologically cold and distant document. It is more in the nature of the personal expression of a profoundly sad feeling in the face of an irremediable loss . . . [Study] has led us to the conclusion that to restore its value to the music, it would not do to treat it as an archaeological element which could be more or less faithfully reconstituted, but that we had to infuse it with new life through our own spirits.

I should say they succeeded in infusing it with life. But in the process they did many things that were definitely wrong in terms of ancient practice. Thus they infused it with alien life rather than with its own. Might we not bring it to life just as surely—and to something nearer its own proper life—by avoiding those solecisms, by following our best evidence about the correct forces to use and the right tempi and so on? Need that be a dry archaeological process? The scholarly editors of the texts have done the dry archaeological part. Musicians and artists can take it from there, add flesh to the bones, and breathe life into the limbs.

13

When is a Harp a Panpipe?

The Meanings of πηκτίς

From the archaic period to the sixth century CE, as well as in later Byzantine lexica, we find numerous instances of the word πηκτίς as the name of a musical instrument. It occurs in some seventy-eight passages:[1] enough, one might suppose, to establish its meaning beyond peradventure. Yet of all ancient instrument names, this one proves to be the most Protean. In the earlier sources it designates a harp. Later it is applied to other types of stringed instrument, both to lyres and to lutes. But it does not remain confined to the chordophone category, for in the imperial period it frequently signifies a panpipe. As no complete collection and analysis of the evidence has ever been made, I have thought it worth while to undertake one.

πηκτίς, genitive πηκτίδος, is the Attic–Ionic form, while in Lesbian and literary Doric we find πακτ-. The word is clearly formed from πηκτός/πᾱκτός 'fastened, jointed', by means of the highly productive suffix -ίς.[2] Because its relationship to πηκτός/πᾱκτός must have been obvious to all, we cannot argue from the coexistence of the dialect forms that it came into use before the Attic–Ionic change of original ᾱ to η; if it began as πηκτίς among Ionians, speakers of Aeolic or Doric would naturally have restored πᾱκτ- after πᾱκτός, and *vice versa*. The lack of specific reference in the term 'the jointed' may have facilitated its transfer from one sort

CQ 47 (1997), 48–55.

[1] My collection is based on data drawn from the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae CD-ROM (version D), plus two or three other passages that I happened to know. [A 79th example appeared in 2004: see below on nos. 8–10.]

[2] On this suffix cf. C. D. Buck and W. Petersen, A *Reverse Index of Greek Nouns and Adjectives* (Chicago 1949), 416 f.

of musical instrument to another. It may be noted that by an independent development a type of bird-catching device—presumably the one that Aristophanes and Aristotle call πηκταί—came to be called πηκτίδες in the Roman period.[3]

1. πηκτίς AS A HARP

In the archaic and classical periods a number of texts indicate that the πηκτίς was a plucked chordophone with many strings, characterized by the playing of octave concords or the echoing of the melody at octave intervals. This points clearly to a harp. The instrument is strongly associated with Lydia. Here are the passages in question.

(1) Anacreon, *PMG* 373: νῦν δ' ἁβρῶς ἐρόεσσαν ψάλλω πηκτίδα τῆι φίληι κωμάζων †παιδὶ ἁβρῆι†. The instrument here is plucked and makes a sweet or gentle sound.

(2) Pindar, fr. 125: Terpander invented the barbitos, ἐν δείπνοισι Λυδῶν ψαλμὸν ἀντίφθογγον ὑψηλᾶς ἀκούων πακτίδος. The barbitos was a bowl (tortoise-shell) lyre with longer arms than the common λύρα, giving a deeper pitch and softer tone. Pindar speculates that Terpander got the idea of it from hearing the tall Lydian πηκτίς with its 'answering' plucking, which Aristoxenus correctly understood as a reference to octave-doubling.[4]

[49] (3) Soph. *Mysoi* fr. 412: πολὺς δὲ Φρὺξ τρίγωνος ἀντίσπαστά τε Λυδῆς ἐφυμνεῖ (or ἐφύμνει) πηκτίδος συγχορδία. Sophocles was evidently describing a banquet in ancient Mysia. The τρίγωνος (later τρίγωνον) is a type of harp. The πηκτίς is here again characterized as Lydian. Its συγχορδία may just refer to its concord with the τρίγωνος; but it may, especially as it is reinforced by ἀντίσπαστα (apparently neuter plural accusative in adverbial sense), allude to its typical use of octave-doubling. The latter word appears also in a fragment of Phrynichus' *Phoinissai* (*TrGF* 3 F 11), again presumably referring to music in an oriental setting: ψαλμοῖσίν ἀντίσπαστ' ἀείδοντες μέλη. There may have been a mention of πηκτίδες in the context, since Aristoxenus (loc. cit.)

[3] See Nan Dunbar, *Aristophanes. Birds* (Oxford 1995), on *Av.* 527–8.

[4] Fr. 99 Wehrli *ap.* Ath. 635bc; cf. *AGM* 58 n. 41, 73 f.

quoted the fragment together with the Pindar and Sophocles passages in support of his finding that *τὴν μάγαδιν καὶ τὴν πηκτίδα χωρὶς πλήκτρου διὰ ψαλμοῦ παρέχεσθαι τὴν χρείαν.*

(4) Telestes, *PMG* 810. 4: Pelops' followers introduced the Phrygian *nomos* of the Mountain Mother to Greece, *τοὶ δ' ὀξυφώνοις πηκτίδων ψαλμοῖς κρέκον Λύδιον ὕμνον.* Again a reference to plucking and the association with Lydia.

(5) Diogenes, *Semele*, *TrGF* 45 F 1. 6–9: I hear that Lydian and Bactrian girls living by the Halys worship the Tmolian goddess Artemis, *ψαλμοῖς τριγώνων πηκτίδων <τ'>* (Casaubon) *ἀντιζύγοις | ὁλκοῖς* (*-αῖς* Graf) *κρεκούσας* (Cas.: *-σαις* A, *-ση* CE) *μάγαδιν.* The last two words mean 'thrumming an octave concord',[5] and *ἀντιζύγοις* perhaps means 'counter-strung', of the pairs of strings that answer each other at the octave, with *ἀντι-* as in *ἀντίφθογγον* and *ἀντίσπαστα* above.

(6) Pl. *Rep.* 399c: *πολυχορδία* and *παναρμόνιον* will not be required in the songs of our designer city, so we shall not have jobs for makers of those instruments which are *πολύχορδα* and *πολυαρμόνια*, such as *τρίγωνοι* and *πηκτίδες.*

In other pre-Hellenistic passages where the *πηκτίς* is mentioned we cannot tell what sort of instrument is meant, but we may assume, in the absence of counter-indications, that it is always a harp. Hellenistic antiquarian writers, whose references are drawn from archaic and classical literature, may be included with this group of texts.

(7) *Margites* 9. 15 West[2] (P. Oxy. 3964): line-ending *]ὑπὸ πηκτίδος.* The context is less than certain, but it may have been Margites' wedding, and the *πηκτίς* may have been accompanying a dance. Cf. below, §5 no. 74 (Dionysius of Halicarnassus).

(8–10) Alcaeus 36. 5 *π]άκτιδι* in a fragmentary context; Sappho 22. 11 *πᾶ]κτιν* in broken context, apparently as the instrument on which a girl or woman would accompany the song that Sappho invites her to sing (supplementing 9 *κέλομαί σ' ἀ[είδην*, cf. 21. 11 f.); Sappho 156 *πόλυ πάκτιδος ἀδυμελεστέρα.* Either a harp or a lyre would be suitable in these passages, but the harp may have the stronger claim to *ἡδυμέλεια*, and it may be added that the

[5] On the meaning of *μάγαδις* cf. A. Barker in B. Gentili and R. Pretagostini (edd.), *La musica in Grecia* (Rome–Bari 1988), 96–107; *AGM* 73.

Lesbian poets mention lyres under other names: *λύρα* Sapph. 103. 9; *κίθαρις* Alc. 41. 15, cf. 38b. 2; *φοίνιξ* Alc. p. 509 Voigt = fr. 424A Campbell, 424B Liberman. [In the new fragment of Sappho in P. Köln 429. 1–8 (cf. *Hellenica* ii. 54) we find *πᾶκτιν* and *χε]λύ̣ν̣̣α̣ν* in successive lines, apparently as alternative instruments on which Sappho may accompany herself.]

(11) Anacreon, *PMG* 386: *Σίμαλον εἶδον ἐν χορῶι πηκτίδ' ἔχοντα καλήν.* Doubtless the same instrument as in the other Anacreon fragment (above, no. 1).

(12) Hdt. 1. 17. 1: Alyattes marched against Miletus *ὑπὸ συρίγγων τε καὶ πηκτίδων καὶ αὐλοῦ γυναικηίου τε καὶ ἀνδρηίου.* Cf. *Ἡροδότου λέξεις* p. 222 Rosén, *πηκτίς· ὄργανον, ψαλτήριον.* Once again the *πηκτίς* appears as a Lydian instrument.

(13) Soph. *Thamyras* fr. 241: *οἴχωκε γὰρ κροτητὰ πηκτίδων μέλη λύραι μοναύλοις* †—†.

I[50] (14) Ar. *Thesm.* 1217: the Scythian asks where the old woman (the disguised Euripides) has gone; the chorus-leader asks, you mean the one *ἣ ᾽φερεν τὰς πηκτίδας*; The scholiast took this to be a kithara (*πηκτὶς ὄργανον κιθαρωιδικόν*; cf. *Suda* below, §3 no. 43), but if Aristophanes had intended a lyre, he had several words for 'lyre' at his disposal. Cf. Hermippus fr. 94 Wehrli (*Vit. Eur.* p. 5. 16 Schwartz) for Euripides' alleged ownership of a harp (*ψαλτήριον*).

(15) Anaxilas, *Λυροποιός* fr. 15. 1–2 K.–A.: *ἐγὼ δὲ βαρβίτους, τριχόρδους, πηκτίδας, | κιθάρας, λύρας, σκινδαψὸν ἐξηρτυόμαν.* The 'lyre-maker' made other kinds of stringed instrument besides lyres, as his inclusion of *τρίχορδοι* (lutes) confirms.

(16) Arist. *Pol.* 1341a40: many instruments of the ancients have gone out of fashion at Athens, such as *πηκτίδες καὶ βάρβιτοι κτλ.*

(17) Aristox. fr. 97 W. (Ath. 182f, from which Eust. *Il.* 1157. 52 and *Od.* 1558. 8) lists the *πηκτίς* among foreign (*ἔκφυλα*) instruments. Wehrli's fr. 98, a statement that Aristoxenus identified the *πηκτίς* with the *μάγαδις*, is a mere alias of fr. 99 (above, under nos. 2–3), as is clear from the association of both with the same citation of Menaichmos (next).

(18) Menaichmos of Sicyon, *περὶ Τεχνιτῶν*, *FGrHist* 131 F 4 (Ath. 635b, e), repeated Aristoxenus' equation of the *πηκτίς* with the *μάγαδις*, and stated that it was invented by Sappho.

(19) Phillis of Delos *ἐν δευτέρωι περὶ Μουσικῆς*, *FHG* iv. 476 fr. 2 (*ap.* Ath. 636b), included *πηκτίδες* and *μαγάδιδες* in a list of out-of-the-way instruments which reproduces the list of *ἔκφυλα*

ὄργανα in Aristox. fr. 97. Athenaeus infers that Phillis denied the identity of πηκτίς and μάγαδις.

Nowhere before the time of Alexander do we find evidence for πηκτίς denoting anything but a harp. We may fairly conclude that this was the original application of the word. As to what type of harp it denoted, I have argued that as it is distinguished from the τρίγωνος, which is presumably the aggressively triangular 'spindle harp', it should refer to the other design seen on Attic vases, the one with a soundbox curving away from the player and over at the top, whether with or without a front pillar (*AGM* 71 f.).

The name πηκτίς may throw a little light into the dark prehistory of the Greek harp. Harps were widely used in the Near East from the fourth millennium on, and the dearth of evidence from Greece between the Cycladic culture of the mid third millennium and the late seventh century is surprising (*AGM* 70 f.). Now, to designate a type of harp as 'the jointed' suggests an antithesis to a different type that is not jointed but made from a single piece of wood. Hesiod makes a similar distinction between two ploughs, the αὐτόγυον and the πηκτόν (*Op.* 433). In relation to harps, the distinction is naturally taken to be between the primitive arched harp derived from the musical bow, with a soundbox prolonged into a curving neck, and the angular harp, in which the neck was jointed to the soundbox at an acute angle. The latter displaced the former in Mesopotamia about 2000 BCE and reached Egypt in the New Kingdom. The main types of Greek harp, including those which I have identified as πηκτίς and τρίγωνος, belong to the angular, jointed category. A survival of the arched harp, however, is seen in the *déclassé* σαμβύκη, which was not necessarily made in one piece but nonetheless preserved the general shape of the primitive instrument (*AGM* 75–7). There is no evidence for the σαμβύκη before Eupolis, and it may have been a recent import. But the name πηκτίς suggests that some sort of arched harp had been known at an earlier period.

[51]

2. πηκτίς AS A LYRE

We have it on Aristotle's authority (above, no. 16) that the πηκτίς had fallen out of fashion (ἀπεδοκιμάσθη). Aristoxenus and later antiquarian writers had to make inferences as to its nature from

classical allusions. ψαλτήριον had by now become the normal word for a harp. From early Hellenistic times πηκτίς came to be used in literature of other stringed instruments, both lyres and lutes, though most of the evidence for the latter sense comes from later sources. This development probably came about not because there was anything distinctively 'jointed' about the instruments, but because the name was already established as that of a stringed instrument, no longer clearly identifiable, and so available for literary use as an elegant alternative to plainer names for more familiar objects.

Among lyres there was a conspicuous difference between the κιθάρα, the box lyre used by the professional citharode, and the λύρα, the homely instrument made from a tortoise shell. With the decline of private music-making, it was the former type that was the more familiar to the public. When πηκτίς is used of a lyre, it seems generally to be the other type, except in a couple of late passages. Here are the passages for which I propose this interpretation.

(20) *Hymn. Curet.* 7 (*Coll. Alex.* 160) καὶ γέγαθι μολπᾶι, τάν τοι κρέκομεν πακτίσι μείξαντες ἅμ' αὐλοῖσιν. There is no proof that these are not still harps, but I can recall no evidence for harps in cult use, or in combination with auloi, whereas lyres can certainly be documented in both connections. As the singers all(?) seem to be equipped with them, something humbler than the kithara is likely.[6]

(21) Theoc. *epigr.* 5. 2 Gow (Gow–Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams*, 3493): sing me something on the twin auloi, I will take up the πηκτίς and ἀρξεῦμαί τι κρέκειν, while Daphnis the cowherd will play κηροδέτωι πνεύματι. The simple lyre seems the likeliest companion for the auloi and panpipe in this context.

(22–5) Nicarchus, *A.P.* 6. 285. 7 (*HE* 2743): a young woman has abandoned weaving for the life of a hetaira, taking up στεφάνους καὶ πηκτίδα; Meleager *A.P.* 5. 139. 1 (*HE* 4146), to a bewitching woman: ἀδὺ μέλος, ναὶ Πᾶνα τὸν Ἀρκάδα, πηκτίδι μέλπεις, | Ζηνοφίλα, ναὶ Πᾶν', ἀδὺ κρέκεις τι μέλος; 140. 1 (4152) *fere item*; 175. 8 (4361), a promiscuous woman is dismissed, καλεῖ σε γὰρ ἡ

[6] I would assume the same for the Laconian Hyakinthia as described by Polycrates, *FGrHist* 588 F 1, where the boys' chorus κιθαρίζουσιν ἐν χιτῶσιν ἀνεζωσμένοι, καὶ πρὸς αὐλὸν ἄιδοντες πάσας ἅμα τῶι πλήκτρωι τὰς χορδὰς ἐπιτρέχοντες ἐν ῥυθμῶι μὲν ἀναπαίστωι, μετ' ὀξέος δὲ τόνου τὸν θεὸν ἄιδουσιν. (κιθαρίζω is the ordinary word for playing any sort of lyre and does not imply kitharas.)

φιλόκωμος | πηκτὶς καὶ κροτάλων χειροτυπὴς πάταγος. In all these four passages the πηκτίς appears as the typical instrument of the singing hetaira and the symposium. A harp—especially a σαμβύκη—cannot be ruled out, but a lyre is at least as likely. In the next passage it is certain:

(26) Marcus Argentarius, *A.P.* 9. 270. 4 (Gow–Page, *Garland of Philip* 1444): the comast sees his dance as a parallel to that of the stars, his garland and his κελαδεινὴ πηκτίς corresponding to the constellations Στέφανος and Λύρα.

(27) *GVI* 1925 (i CE?): epitaph on a beautiful, virtuous woman, to whom the Muse gave καὶ σοφίαν καὶ πακτίδα τὰν φιλέραστον.

(28) Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 710b, alluding to Plato's *Symposium* at which the auletris was dismissed so that the guests could entertain themselves with intellectual debate (176e): Φίλιππος ὁ Προυσιεὺς ἐᾶν ἐκέλευσεν τοὺς παρ' Ἀγάθωνι δαιτυμόνας [52] ἐκείνους, παντὸς αὐλοῦ καὶ πηκτίδων ἐπιτερπέστερα φθεγγομένους. The πηκτίδες are not in Plato but have been added by Plutarch as the typical instrument (besides the aulos) of the symposium.

(29) Luc. *Dial. mar.* (78) 1. 4: Polyphemus' lyre, made from a deer's skull, with its horns for arms, is called both πηκτίς and λύρα.

(30) Philostr. *Imag.* 1. 10. 3: a painting of Amphion receiving the lyre as a gift from Hermes. The instrument is described in detail, and it is made from a tortoise and goat's horns, so properly a λύρα, not a κιθάρα. Philostratus calls it a λύρα eight times, and a πηκτίς once by way of *variatio*.

(31) Id. ib. 2. 2. 4: a painting representing the education of Achilles. πηκτίς is used of Chiron's lyre, the civilizing instrument ὑφ' ἧς ἐκμεμούσωται.

(32) Orph. *Arg.* 413: Chiron's lyre again.

In the last two passages of this section πηκτίς seems to be used more loosely of a lyre that we should expect to be a kithara:

(33) Kaibel, *Epigr.* 1025. 9 (hymn to Apollo, Tenos, ii or iii CE): πη|κτίδα δ' οὐρανίων ἑτάρην θαλίης τ[ε χορῶν τε. The preceding and following verses are missing, but there is presumably an allusion to Apollo's kithara.

(34) Orph. *Arg.* 6: Orpheus' lyre (called κιθάρη at 707, χέλυς at 72 and 88, φόρμιγξ at 111, 419, 1001, 1274).

3. πηκτίς AS A LUTE

The lute appeared in Greece in the mid fourth century BCE.[7] Its usual name is πανδοῦρα (or some variant of this), but the τρίχορδοι of Anaxilas (above, no. 15) must also be lutes. The passages in which πηκτίς is applied to this instrument are mostly post-Hellenistic, but the first is relatively early, from the time of Alexander.

(35) Sopater of Paphos, fr. 12. 1 K.–A. (*PCG* i. 282): πηκτὶς δὲ μούσῃ γαυριῶσα βαρβάροι | δίχορδος εἰς σὴν χεῖρα πῶς κατεστάθη; The reference must be to a two-stringed lute.

(36) Aretaeus 5 (= *Cur. Acut.* 1). 1. 15 (*CMG* ii. 94. 32): people are lulled to sleep by familiar surroundings, μουσικῶι δὲ (*sc.* ὕπνου ἀγωγὰ) ἐρεθισμὸς (ἔτι ἐθισμὸς codd.: correxi) αὐλῶν ἐφ' ἡσυχίηι ἢ ψαλμὸς λύρης ἢ πηκτίδος ἢ μελέτη παίδων ξὺν ὠιδῆι. The πηκτίς here is a plucked instrument distinct from a λύρα. Perhaps a harp is meant, but ψαλτήριον would be the normal word for a harp at this date. The lute therefore comes into question, though it might be objected that πανδοῦρα would be the expected word for that.

(37) Plut. *De virt. mor.* 443a: instruments that mirror human emotions, ψαλτήρια . . . καὶ λύρας καὶ πηκτίδας καὶ αὐλοὺς κτλ. Harps are covered by ψαλτήρια, lyres by λύρας.

(38–40) Hesychius π 2169 πηκτίδες καὶ σύριγγες· ὄργανα μουσικά. 2170 πηκτίδος· πανδουρίου. 2171 πηκτίς· πανδούριον, ψαλτήριον, σῦριγξ, ὄργανον. Here we find πηκτίς explicitly identified with the lute, besides other explanations as harp or panpipe.

(41) Phot. *Lex.* πηκτίς· πανδούριον, ἤτοι Λύδιον ὄργανον χωρὶς πλήκτρου ψαλλόμενον. The second explanation reflects Aristoxenus (fr. 99, cf. above under no. 3; fr. 97, above under no. 17).

[53] (42–3) *Suda* [π 181 πανδούρα· μάχαιρα κρεωκόπος. ἡ πηκτίς. ζήτει ἐν τῶι πηκτίς.] π 1502 πηκτίς πηκτίδος· πανδούρα· μάχαιρα κρεωκόπος. παρὰ δὲ Ἀριστοφάνει ἐν Θεσμοφοριαζούσαις εἶδος ὀργάνου κιθαρωιδικοῦ· "τὴν γραῦν ἐρωτᾶις ἢ 'φερεν τὰς πηκτίδας;" ἢ εἶδος ἀκολάστου σχήματος.

[7] See R. A. Higgins and R. P. Winnington-Ingram, *JHS* 85 (1965), 62–71; *AGM* 79f.

The Aristophanes quotation is from sch. Ar. *Thesm.* 1217 (cf. above, no. 14).

4. πηκτίς AS A PANPIPE

The application of the name πηκτίς to the panpipe appears only in the imperial period, unless the Vienna bucolic fragment is of earlier composition, but it is then abundantly attested. It is foreshadowed by Theocritus' use of the verb πηγνύναι, πήγνυσθαι with reference to the making of a panpipe: *Idyll* 4. 28 χἀ σύριγξ . . . ἄν ποκ' ἐπάξα, cf. *Syrinx* 7 and sch. The association of the name and the object might have been reinforced by the conjunction in Theoc. *epigr.* 5. 2 (above, no. 21).

(44–5) Anon. Bucol. (P. Vindob. Rainer 29801; Gow, *Bucolici Graeci*, 168; H. Bernsdorff, *Das Fragmentum Bucolicum Vindobonense* (Göttingen 1999)), 10 f.: Silenus asks Pan, πῶς δὲ] χορῶν ἐπ' ἀγῶνας ἄνευ σύριγγος ἱκ[άνεις; | πῆι σ]οι πηκτὶς ἔβη, μηλοσκόπε; πῆι σεο φ[ωνή; ibid. 54 ff.: Pan collects wax and makes a new πηκτίς (63 π]ηκτίδα πῆξε < ∪ − > χρίσας). The description of his playing it in 71–7 leaves no doubt that it is the panpipe. In 10–11, therefore, πηκτίς is a mere *variatio* on σύριγξ, not distinguished from it.

(46) *Anacreontea* 43. 4–11 (third–fourth century?): a drinking-party is described; a girl dances as a maenad ὑπὸ βαρβίτωι, while a lad στομάτων ἁδὺ πνεόντων κατὰ πηκτίδων ἀθύρει, προχέων λίγειαν ὀμφάν.

(47) Aristid. Quint. 2. 5 (p. 58. 13 W.-I.): the pleasure of music is a powerful lure even for animals, ὡς δηλοῦσι ποιμένων τε σύριγγες καὶ αἰπόλων πηκτίδες. The distinction between shepherds and goatherds and between σύριγγες and πηκτίδες seems to be drawn on purely literary grounds.

(48) Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 4. 17. 1: (Tyrian merchants) πρὸς αὐλοῖς ἔτι καὶ ὀρχήσεσιν ὄντας, ἃς ὑπὸ πηκτίδων ἐπίτροχον μέλος Ἀσσύριόν τινα νόμον ἐσκίρτων. The nature of the instrument does not appear clearly here, except that it is one used by amateurs at improvised entertainments.

(49) John Chrysostom, *De Sacerdotio* 6. 12 line 136: μειράκιον τῶν ἐν ἀγρῶι τραφέντων καὶ τῆς πηκτίδος καὶ τῆς καλαύροπος πλέον εἰδότων οὐδέν. We find the same conjunction of πηκτίς and καλαῦροψ in three passages of Nonnus (*Dion.* 15. 348 f., 43. 216 f., 47. 400 f.).

(50) Id. *In Epist. ad Coloss.* 1. 1. 5 (*PG* lxii. 306. 50 ff.) condemns pagan revelry: ἐκεῖ μὲν αὐλοὶ καὶ κιθάραι καὶ σύριγγες, ἐνταῦθα δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπηχὲς μέλος, ἀλλὰ τί; ὕμνοι, ψαλμωιδίαι. He proceeds to contrast our (Christian) praises of God with their celebration of δαίμονες: τὰ γὰρ διὰ τῶν πηκτίδων οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ δαιμόνων ἄισματα. Of the three instruments first mentioned, it must (in view of the other Chrysostom passage) be the σύριγγες that are picked up by τῶν πηκτίδων.

(51) Kaibel, *Epigr.* 271 (Aegina, fourth–fifth century? A statue of Pan speaks) οὐκέτι κηροχύτοισι κατ' οὔρεα τέρπομε (-αι) αὐλοῖς | πηκτίδος, οὔτ' ἄντροις, οὐ δένδρεσιν.

(52–70) The word occurs nineteen times in Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*, apparently always of the panpipe; see Vian's note on 26. 206 in the Budé edition (vol. ix, 279). Of Cadmus' panpipe, 1. 389, 431, 434, 444; 2. 19. Of panpipes coupled with auloi as wedding music, 8. 377, cf. 26. 206. As the instrument of Pan or Panes, 11. 124, 20. 338, 43. 217, 45. 186. As a herdsman's instrument, 15. 348 (=303 σύριγγι), 47. 400. As Dionysus' instrument, I[54] 27. 171, cf. 28. 43. As Polyphemus' instrument, 40. 557. The other passages are all compatible: 7. 52, 12. 122, 20. 93.

(71) Arabius Scholasticus, *A.P.* 16. 225. 4: Pan's syrinx.

(72) Agathias, *A.P.* 16. 244. 6: a satyr's reed pipe (δόναξ, κάλαμος).

(73) Cometas Chartularius, *A.P.* 9. 586. 5: Pan's syrinx.

5. PASSAGES OF UNCERTAIN REFERENCE

Although the meaning is not strictly determinable in all of the above texts, relationships with other passages allow us to assign them to one or other heading with some degree of probability. There remain a few passages where it is more difficult to establish precisely what instrument the author had in mind.

(74) Dion. Hal. *Ars Rhet.* 4. 1 (ii. 270. 13 Us.–Rad.) mentions auloi and πηκτίδες as the typical accompaniment of a wedding song. We

have seen one possible reference to the harp being used in this connection (*Margites*, above, no. 7); but Dionysius is not likely to be using πηκτίς in this sense unless he is echoing allusions of archaic or classical date. At his period the lute may come into question: I do not know of any reference to its being played at weddings, but it is perfectly conceivable. In art lutes are normally played by women or by an Eros. Panpipes too are a possibility, and here we can adduce Nonnus (cited above under nos. 52–70).

(75) Plutarch, *De Tribus Reip. Generibus* 827a, recalls Plato's recommendation to dispense with instruments more complex than the λύρα and κιθάρα (*Rep.* 399cd, above, no. 6), but he elaborates the list of rejected instruments to include πηκτίδας, σαμβύκας, καὶ ψαλτήρια πολύφθογγα καὶ βαρβίτους καὶ τρίγωνα. He seems to have thrown in several instrument names taken from literary or antiquarian sources—some of them no longer current—and may have had no clear idea of what they were. His πηκτίδες come from the Plato passage, but if he attached a definite meaning to the word, it may have differed from Plato's. Lutes and panpipes are likeliest; it may speak against the latter that Plato does actually allow them for rustics.

(76) Herodian, *Καθολικὴ προσωιδία* i. 104. 4 Lentz, notes that the word is oxytone. The meaning is irrelevant here.

(77) Clement, *Paed.* 2. 42. 2–3 (i. 183. 6 St.), lists a series of instruments used in pagan festivity but discredited by military applications: χρῶνται γοῦν παρὰ τοὺς πολέμους αὐτῶν Τυρρηνοὶ μὲν τῇι σάλπιγγι, σύριγγι δὲ Ἀρκάδες, Σικελοὶ δὲ πηκτίσιν, καὶ Κρῆτες λύραι, καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι αὐλῶι, καὶ κέρατι Θρᾷκες, καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι τυμπάνωι, καὶ Ἄραβες κυμβάλωι. ἐνὶ δὲ ἄρα ὀργάνωι τῶι λόγωι μόνωι τῶι εἰρηνικῶι ἡμεῖς κεχρήμεθα, ὧι γεραίρομεν τὸν θεόν, οὐκέτι τῶι ψαλτηρίωι τῶι παλαιῶι καὶ τῇι σάλπιγγι καὶ τυμπάνωι καὶ αὐλῶι. What are these πηκτίδες that the Sicilians use? If ψαλτηρίωι in the following sentence picks up one of the items in the list, it must be this one. But harps would not seem effective either for giving signals or for disconcerting the enemy. Neither would a lyre, a lute, or a panpipe, even if Nonnus (27. 170 f., 28. 42 f.) fancifully makes Dionysus use his panpipe in battle in place of a trumpet (just as other Bacchic accoutrements double as military equipment, the Maenads' thyrsi becoming lethal spears, and so on). Otherwise I can only recall Herodotus' reference to the Lydians marching to war ὑπὸ συρίγγων τε καὶ πηκτίδων καὶ αὐλοῦ γυναικηίου τε καὶ ἀνδρηίου (above, no. 12), and the earlier mention in the *Doloneia* of the Trojans and their allies diverting themselves round the campfires with auloi and σύριγγες (*Il.* 10. 13).

(78) Isid. *Orig.* 3. 22. 3 *paulatim autem plures eius* [= citharae] *species extiterunt, ut* l[55] *psalteria lyrae barbitae phoenices et pectides, et quae dicuntur Indicae et feriuntur a duobus simul.* The terminology is confused, for *psalteria* should not be included among varieties of *cithara*, even if we take this as meaning 'lyre' in general. Isidore clearly understands *pectis* to be a stringed instrument, but he has probably taken it from some older source without having any clear conception of its nature.

14

Ion of Chios on the Eleven-stringed Lyre

Ἑνδεκάχορδε λύρα, δεκαβάμονα τάξιν ἔχουσα
††τὰς† συμφωνούσας ἁρμονίας τριόδους·
πρὶν μέν σ' ἑπτάτονον ψάλλον διὰ τέσσαρα πάντες
Ἕλληνες, σπανίαν μοῦσαν ἀειράμενοι.
(fr. 32 West)

The couplets are quoted by Cleonides,[1] *Isag.* 12 (p. 202 Jan; *Euclidis Opera*, viii. 266 Menge), who names the author as 'Ion'. The only writer ever cited by this name is Ion of Chios, and he is certainly meant. So much was accepted even by Wilamowitz, who conjectured that the poem was one of several by Ion of Samos that had become mixed up with the Chian's work.[2] This idea has rightly been rejected by scholars. Two anthology epigrams on the death of Euripides, ascribed to 'Ion', certainly cannot be by Ion of Chios, who died in 422.[3] But Ion of Samos is known only as the author of a couple of epigrams inscribed on the base of a statuary group dedicated at Delphi by Lysander after Aigospotamoi. There is no evidence that verse of his ever went into literary l[24] circulation; and it now seems that his epigrams were not contemporary with the statuary group but an addition in the second half of the fourth century.[4]

As for the poem on the lyre, Wilamowitz's reason for denying it to Ion of Chios was that Timotheos, on his own showing (*Pers.* 229 ff. Page), was the first to bring the eleven-stringed lyre to the fore ('zur

From 'Analecta Musica', *ZPE* 92 (1992), 1–54, at pp. 23–8, with footnotes numbered 27–42.

[1] Scribes and editors spell this author's name *Κλεονείδης* or *Κλεονίδης*. But the correct form is surely *Κλεωνίδης*.

[2] *Timotheos* (Berlin 1903), 75 n. 1; cf. *Hermes* 62 (1927), 283 = *Kl. Schr.* iv. 438.

[3] *A.P.* 7. 43–4; D. L. Page, *Further Greek Epigrams* (Cambridge 1981), 157 f.

[4] See P. A. Hansen at *CEG* 819.

Herrschaft'): 'das hat der Chier Ion nicht erlebt.' But Timotheos' words,

νῦν δὲ Τιμόθεος μέτροις
ῥυθμοῖς θ' ἑνδεκακρουμάτοις
κίθαριν ἐξανατέλλει,

although they probably do refer to an eleven-stringed kithara,[5] are a boast concerning his status as an epoch-making citharode and need not mean that he was the very first person to build an eleven-stringed lyre. Even if he was, chronology does not exclude Ion's having seen it, since Timotheos was probably born about 450 or a few years earlier. It was perhaps about 420 that he defeated the famous Phrynis in competition.[6] This removes the only argument against Ion's authorship of the elegy, and gives us the year 422 as a valuable *terminus ante quem* for the development of the eleven-stringed instrument.[7] References in Old Comedy to polychord modern music will be cited below.

Now for interpretation of the detail.

1. **λύρα**: in poetic usage down to the end of the fifth century *φόρμιγξ*, *κίθαρις*/*κιθάρα*, and *λύρα* do not demonstrably refer to different types of instrument. In the *Hymn to Hermes*, for example, all three words are used of Hermes' tortoise-shell lyre. Pindar uses both *φόρμιγξ* and *λύρα* of his own instrument, which was probably a box-lyre of the sort used by citharodes. Ion too is doubtless referring to a box lyre of some size, not a tortoise-shell lyre. Fourth-century and later writers distinguish the *λύρα* and *κίθαρις* as separate instruments, *sc.* the tortoise-shell and box-lyre respectively.[8] There is nothing to be said for the recent suggestion that Ion is referring to a harp.[9] *λύρα* never means 'harp', and the

[5] For *ἑνδεκακρούματος* cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 2. 70 *ἑπτακτύπου φόρμιγγος*. The later tradition, perhaps on the basis of this passage, connects Timotheos with the eleven-stringed lyre: 'Laconian decree' (Hellenistic forgery) *ap.* Boeth. *Inst.* 1. 1, cf. 1. 20; Nicom. *Ench.* p. 274. 5; Paus. 3. 12. 10; *Suda* τ 620.

[6] *PMG* 802.

[7] There are at least three vases earlier than this with depictions of kitharas with ten or eleven strings: St. Petersburg 674 (*c.*480; eleven), Harvard 1925. 30. 42 (440–430; ten), Ferrara VT T617 (440–430; eleven). But numbers of strings in art cannot be trusted.

[8] Pl. *Rep.* 399d, Anaxilas fr. 15. 2, Arist. *Pol.* 1341a19, Aristox. fr. 102, Ptol. *Harm.* 1. 16, 2. 16, Paus. 5. 14. 8, Arist. Quint. pp. 85. 8/14, 91. 2/5, 92. 11.

[9] M. Maas–J. McI. Snyder, *Stringed Instruments of Ancient Greece* (New Haven–London 1989), 154.

contrast that Ion draws between the (new) eleven-stringed instrument and the former restriction to seven notes is relevant only to the lyre. Harps of up to least twenty strings had been around for generations.

l[25] Ion probably wrote *λύρη*, and in 2 *ἁρμονίης*, in 4 *σπανίην*.[10] The Atticisms of the tradition have of course no bearing on the authenticity of the fragment.

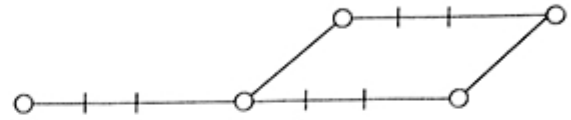
δεκαβάμονα τάξιν: the *τάξις* is the ordered arrangement of tuned strings. They yield a succession of ten intervals or steps. The compound adjectives in *-βάμων* listed by C. D. Buck–W. Petersen, *Reverse Index of Greek Nouns and Adjectives* (Chicago 1949), 217, cover quite a wide range of meanings but in general serve to express an idea of motion, of which the manner, means, or location is defined by the fore-element. So here the sense is 'an arrangement (of strings) affording motion through ten (spaces)'. For melody being conceived as movement up and down the scale see below (Chapter 15) on P. Hibeh 13. 34. Aristoxenus speaks of the voice in song crossing spaces: *Harm.* 1. 9 *ὅταν δὲ στῆναί που δόξασα εἶτα πάλιν διαβαίνειν τινὰ τόπον φανῆι ... διαστηματικὴν τὴν τοιαύτην κίνησιν λέγομεν.*

2. This is the most difficult line in the fragment.[11] Let us begin by elucidating the phrase *ἁρμονίας τριόδους*. *Ἁρμονία* is attunement, or the modal scale that results from a particular attunement. A *τρίοδος* is a place where a road forks. Here it continues the metaphor implicit in *-βάμονα*. It signifies points at which the musician has the choice between one scale-path and another. Those who have discussed the fragment have strangely failed to cite two passages of Aristoxenus which illuminate it:

Harm. 1. 5 *οἱ δὲ περὶ Ἐρατοκλέα τοσοῦτον εἰρήκασι μόνον, ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ διὰ τεττάρων ἐφ' ἑκάτερα δίχα σχίζεται τὸ μέλος.*

Harm. 3. 66 *ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ διτόνου <ὁδοὶ> δύο μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ ὀξύ, μία δ' ἐπὶ τὸ βαρύ· δέδεικται γὰρ ἐπὶ μὲν τὸ ὀξὺ πυκνὸν τεθειμένον καὶ τόνος, πλείους δὲ τούτων οὐκ ἔσονται ὁδοί ... 67 ... ἀπὸ πυκνοῦ δ' ἐναντίως ἐπὶ μὲν τὸ βαρὺ δύο ὁδοί, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ ὀξὺ μία* (and continuing repetitive discussion of these 'routes' into 69).

Both passages refer to the same thing, the meeting of one path with two at either end of a tetrachord. Within a given tetrachord the scale of a melody is limited to a single track, but when it goes higher or lower there are the alternatives of moving into a conjunct or a disjunct tetrachord:



l[26] The point where the *ὁδοί* bifurcate may aptly be called the *τρίοδος*.[12] The first Aristoxenus passage tells us that this concept of a *σχιστὴ ὁδός* was formulated by Eratocles and his circle. We do not know Eratocles' date, but it is quite possible that he was a contemporary of Ion.

The *ἁρμονίας τρίοδοι*, then, are located at the outer or 'standing' notes of a tetrachord. This interpretation is confirmed by the epithet *συμφωνούσας*, for such notes mark out concordant intervals of fourths or fifths. But how does the whole phrase relate syntactically to *δεκαβάμονα τάξιν ἔχουσα*? There is no grammatical difficulty in taking *τάξιν* and *τριόδους* as in apposition, or one of them as predicative, but the resulting sense is lacking in clarity.

It is natural to suspect that the article *τὰς* is intrusive, just as in the previous line the manuscripts have *τὴν* before *δεκαβάμονα*. So Wilamowitz, who proceeded to make the transmitted *ἔχοις ἀεὶ τὰς* into *ἔχουσα* (or *-οισα*) | *εἰ<ς>* {*τὰς*}, '"Elfsaitige Leier, die du für die symphonischen Dreiwege der Harmonie eine zehnstufige Ordnung hast". Die Anlage von 10 Intervallen ermöglicht drei Tetrachorde'. But we have established that *τριόδους* does not mean 'three tetrachords' but something much more precise. In any case *τάξιν*

[10] Cf. fr. 27. 2 *κρητῆρα*, 30. 1 *ἠνορέηι*, 3 *Πυθαγόρης*; *SGEI* 78 (and 80 for *συμφωνούσας* for *-εούσας*).

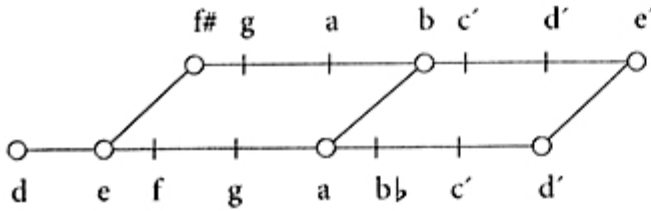
[11] See discussions by T. Reinach, *RÉG* 14 (1901), 8–19; Wilamowitz, *Hermes* 37 (1902), 305 f. = *Kl. Schr.* iv. 147 f.; F. Marx, *Rh. Mus.* 83 (1934), 376; O. J. Gombosi, *Tonarten und Stimmungen der antiken Musik* (Copenhagen 1939), 67 n. 1; E. R. Levin, *TAPA* 92 (1961), 295–307; G. Comotti, *QUCC* 13 (1972), 54–61; U. Duse, *QUCC* NS 4 (1980), 113–23.

[12] Arist. Quint. 3. 17 p. 116. 18–117. 17 takes it as a model of the division of two ways (types of life) that faces a man at the end of his childhood; in Prodicus' famous parable of Heracles this choice was presented concretely as a choice between two roads, and of course the image goes back to Hesiod. A fifth-century elegist expresses his own hesitation over which of two life-styles he should follow by the phrase *ἐν τριόδωι δ' ἕστηκα· δύ' εἰσὶ τὸ πρόσθεν ὁδοί μοι* (Anon. Thgn. 911).

ἔχουσα εἰς τριόδους involves an unnatural use of εἰς. Wilamowitz arrived at his εἰς by playing with letters, not by arguing from the sense.

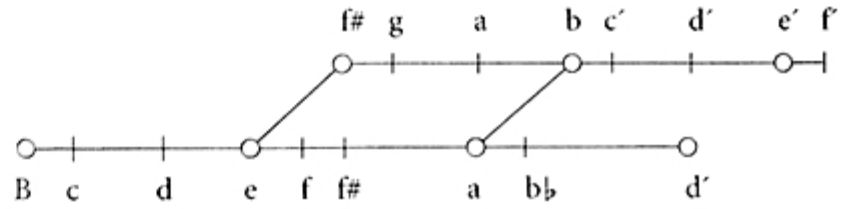
Marx, holding on to the idea of three tetrachords, sought to bring it out more clearly by writing τρεῖς. This too fails in the light of our understanding of what the τρίοδοι are. If there are three tetrachords, there cannot be three points of juncture. And the whole δεκαβάμων τάξις cannot be equated with a few particular nodal points within it.

That the eleven lyre-strings correspond to the notes of three successive tetrachords, two conjunct and one disjunct (for example, e f g a b c′d′e′f′g′a′) has been a fairly general assumption.[13] But this is a single-track scale with no τρίοδοι. We have seen that the τρίοδοι are places where the performer has the choice between conjunct and disjunct tetrachords. So we must look for a tuning scheme that provides such choices. For example, in the diatonic genus:



I[27] Such a tuning, with the συμφωνοῦσαι τρίοδοι at e and a (ascending), e′and b (descending), would allow modulation between various different octave structures made up of tetrachords with a disjunctive tone: d e—a—d′, e—a b—e′, e—a—d′ e′, e f#—b—e′. It would also allow some modulation into chromatic tetrachords, e f f# a, a b♭ b d′. These are just the kinds of modulation that we see in the Delphic Paeans, though their composers apparently had up to fourteen strings on their kitharas and made melodies with the wider compass of a twelfth. Limenius, for example, uses the system

[13] Comotti is an exception. He reduces the lyre's range to a seventh, two conjunct tetrachords, with the tuning e e↑ f g♭ g a a↑ b♭ b c′d′, enabling the player to switch between enharmonic, chromatic, and diatonic without retuning.



A simple and satisfactory solution to the textual problem is to write καὶ συμφωνούσας, as I suggested twenty years ago in *IEG*.

3. **πρὶν μέν**: the answering sentence is missing. Clearly the poem continued beyond line 4.

ἑπτάτονον: similarly in Ar. fr. 467 the new music is contrasted with the old kind that was limited to seven notes and lacking in harmonic variety:

> οὐχ οἷα πρῶτον ἦιδον ἑπτάχορδα, πάνθ' ὁμοῖα.

Multiplicity of χορδαί (strings or notes) is a prominent theme in Pherecrates' survey of the modern musical scene (fr. 155; see *ZPE* 92 (1992), 28 f.).

ψάλλον: musically distinguished from κιθαρίζειν (cf. below, p. 233, on P. Hibeh 13. 30–1). But plucking the strings with the left hand, besides striking them with the plectrum held in the right, was part of lyre-playing technique, as we see from many vase paintings[14] and from other literary evidence.[15]

διὰ τέσσαρα: *metri gratia* for the usual διὰ τεσσάρων. The meaning is presumably that from the middle note, which there is some reason to think was commonly the tonal centre in the classical period, the melody was restricted to the range of a fourth in each direction. Wilamowitz quoted Nicom. *Ench.* 5 p. 244. 14 J.: Pythagoras added the eighth string ἵνα μὴ κατὰ συναφὴν (i.e. with two conjunct tetrachords) ὁ μέσος φθόγγος πρὸς ἀμφότερα τὰ ἄκρα ὁ αὐτὸς συγκρινόμενος διαφορουμένην παρέχηι μόνην

[14] Maas–Snyder (as in n. 9), 64, 93, 122, 142, 146, 177.

[15] Ar. *Eq.* 522 (if the allusion is to Magnes' *Barbitistai*), Pl. *Lys.* 209b, Apul. *Flor.* 15, Philostr. *Imag.* 1. 10. 4, Philostr. Jun. *Imag.* 7. 3, ps.-Ascon. in Cic. *Verr.* 2. 1. 53 (ii. 237. 1 Stangl).

τὴν διὰ τεσσάρων συμφωνίαν πρός τε τὴν ὑπάτην καὶ πρὸς τὴν νήτην. Some heptachord tunings in fact spanned the octave.[16]

[28] ***πάντες***: '*πάντα* malim' I noted in *IEG*; cf. *ἑπτάχορδα, πάνθ' ὁμοῖα* in the Aristophanes fragment quoted above. *πάντα* is in fact found as a variant in the quotation of our fragment in Manuel Bryennios, *Harm.* p. 116 Jonker. But Bryennios is dependent on Cleonides, and the variant no doubt represents a mechanical assimilation.

4. *σπανίαν μοῦσαν*: cf. again the Aristophanes fragment.

[16] Philolaus DK 44 B 6 (quoted and explained by Nicom. *Ench.* 9 pp. 252 f.); ps.-Arist. *Probl.* 19. 7, 32; ps.-Plut. *De Musica* 1140f, cf. 1137bc.

15

Alcidamas(?), *Κατὰ τῶν ἁρμονικῶν*

One of the most important texts of classical date for the history of Greek music and musical theory is P. Hibeh 13, recovered from two early Ptolemaic mummies who were sharing it and published by Grenfell and Hunt in 1906 under the title 'Hippias (?), *Discourse on Music*'. The ascription to Hippias, proposed by Blass and supported by Ruelle, was immediately questioned[1] and since then has been generally rejected. More recently an attractive case has been made for identifying the author as Alcidamas.[2] I have supplied *κατὰ τῶν ἁρμονικῶν* as the appropriate title. I present a revised text, commentary, and bibliography.

Col. i *Πολλ]άκις ἐπῆλθέ μοι θαυμάσαι, ὦ ἄνδρες [Ἀθηναῖοι,*
εἰ ἀ]λλοτρίας τιν[ὲς] τὰς ἐπιδείξεις τῶν ῥ[ἰκείων τε-
χν]ῶν ποιούμεν[οι] λανθάνουσιν ὑμᾶς. λ[έγοντες γὰρ
ὅ]τι ἁρμονικοί εἰσι καὶ προχειρισάμενοι ὠ[ιδάς τινας
ταύτας συγκρίνουσιν, τῶν μὲν ὡς ἔτυχεν
κατηγοροῦντες, τὰς δὲ εἰκῇ ἐγκω[μάζ]οντες.
καὶ λέγουσι μὲν ὡς οὐ δεῖ αὐτοὺς οὔ[τε ψ]ᾴλτας
οὔτε ᾠδοὺς θεωρεῖν· περὶ μὲν γὰρ τ[αῦτ]α ἑτέροις
φασὶν παραχωρ[ε]ῖν, αὑτῶν δὲ ἴδιον [εἶ]ναι τὸ θε-
ωρητικὸν μέρος· φαίνονται δὲ περὶ μὲν ταῦτα
ὧν ἑτέροις παραχωροῦσιν οὐ μετρίως ἐσπουδακό-

From 'Analecta Musica', *ZPE* 92 (1992), 1–54, at pp. 16–23, with footnotes numbered 13–26. On p. 17 I provided a *diseguo* to illustrate the commensurability of supplements for column ii, and a photograph of the papyrus was reproduced as plate II at the end of the volume.

[1] K. Fuhr, *BPhW* 26 (1906), 1413; W. Crönert, *Hermes* 44 (1909), 512.

[2] A. Brancacci, in A. Brancacci *et al.*, *Aristoxenica, Menandrea, Fragmenta Philosophica* (Accad. Toscana, Studi 91, 1988), 78–84. Crönert, art. cit. 519 f., had already considered Alcidamas but rejected the idea. He suggested Drakon, a pupil of Damon's, said to have taught Plato.

τες, ἐν οἷς δέ φασιν ἰσχύειν, ἐν τούτοις σχ|εδιά-
ζοντες. λέγουσι δὲ ὡς τῶν μελῶν τ|ὰ| μὲν
ἐγκρατεῖς, τὰ δὲ φρονίμους, τὰ δὲ δικαίους,
τὰ δὲ ἀνδρείους, τὰ δὲ δειλοὺς ποιεῖ, κακῶς εἰδότες ὅτι
οὔτε χρῶμα δειλοὺς οὔτε ἁρμονία ἂν ἀνδρείους
ποιήσειεν τοὺς αὐτῇ χρωμένους. τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν
Col. ii *Λίτ|ωλοὺς καὶ Δόλοπας καὶ πάντας τοὺς θύ|οντας Θερμο-*
πύλ|ῃσι διατόνωι μὲν τῇι μουσικῇι χρω|μένους,
πολὺ| δὲ τῶν τραγωιδῶν ὄντας ἀνδρειο|τέρους τῶν διὰ
πα|ντὸς εἰωθότων ἐφ' ἁρμονίας ἄιδειν; |ὥστε δῆλον ὅτι
οὔτε| χρῶμα δειλοὺς οὔτε ἁρμονία ἂν |ἀνδρείους ποιήσειεν.
εἰς τοσ|οῦτο δὲ ἔρχονται τόλμης ὥστε χ|ρόνον πολὺ|ν κα|τα-
τρίβ|εἰν ἐν ταῖς χορδαῖς, ψάλλοντες μὲν |πολὺ χ|εῖ|ρον τῶ|ν
ψαλ|τῶν, ἄιδοντες δὲ τῶν ὠιδῶν, συγκρίνοντες δὲ καὶ
τοῦ τ|υχόντος ῥήτορος, πάντα πάντω|ν χεῖ|ρον ποιοῦντες·
καὶ π|ερὶ μὲν τῶν ἁρμ|ο|νικῶν καλουμ|ένω|ν, ἐν οἷς δή
φ|ασι|ν διακεῖσθαί πως, οὐθ' ἥντινα φων|ὴν| ἔχοντες λέγειν,
ἐν|θο|υσιῶντες δέ, καὶ παρὰ τὸν ῥυθμ|ὸν . . .|παίοντες
τὸ ὑποκείμενον σανίδιον αὐτοῖς [ἅμα τοῖς] ἀπ|ὸ| τ|οῦ
ψ|αλ|τηρίου ψόφοις· καὶ οὐδὲ αἰσχύν|ονται ἀξιο|ῦ|μ|ε|ν|οι
π|ερὶ
τῶ|ν| μελῶν, τὰ μὲν δάφνης ἔξειν |ἴδιόν| τ|ι, τὰ δὲ κιτ|τοῦ·
ἔτ|ι δὲ ἑπερω|τῶντες εἰ οὐ φαίνεται |ἡ μελ|ω(ι)δία ἐπὶ τῆ|ς
ἑ|λικος κι|νεῖσθαι, καὶ οἱ σάτυροι πρὸς |τὸν λην|ὸν χορεύον|τες

COMMENTARY

1. This is the beginning. The author starts with a rhetorical cliché of the period. Cf. Isoc. *Paneg.* 1 (*incipit*) *πολλάκις ἐθαύμασα τῶν τὰς πανηγύρεις συναγαγόντων . . . ὅτι . . .*; *Helen* 1–2; *Soph.* 12 *θαυμάζω δ' ὅταν ἴδω τούτους μαθητῶν ἀξιουμένους οἳ ποιητικοῦ πράγματος τεταγμένην τέχνην παράδειγμα φέροντες λελήθασι σφᾶς αὐτούς*; Xen. *Mem.* 1. 1. 1 (*incipit*) *πολλάκις ἐθαύμασα τίσι ποτὲ λόγοις Ἀθηναίους ἔπεισαν οἱ γραψάμενοι Σωκράτην*; Lys. 12. 41 *πολλάκις οὖν ἐθαύμασα τῆς τόλμης τῶν λεγόντων ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ.*

Crönert's suggested supplement [*Ἀθηναῖοι* seems likelier than the [Ἕλληνες of Grenfell and Hunt, which was probably conditioned by the idea of Hippias' authorship and of his attested discourses at Olympia.

2–3. Sophistic attacks on those who claimed to be specialists in some *τέχνη* became almost a minor genre. They are particularly associated with Protagoras; see Pl. *Soph.* 232d, *Prot.* 318d, Arist. *Metaph.* 997b32 ff.; also Hippocr. *π. τέχνης* 1, *εἰσί τινες οἳ τέχνην πεποίηνται τὸ τὰς τέχνας αἰσχροεπεῖν . . . ἱστορίης οἰκείης ἐπίδειξιν ποιεόμενοι.*

4. **ἁρμονικοί**: there are many references in fourth-century literature to self-appointed experts going under this name. But it covers more than one kind of creature, and not all writers apply it in the same way. For Aristotle (*Anal. Post.* 79a1, cf. 87a34, *Top.* 107a15, *Phys.* 194a8, *Metaph.* 997b21, 1077a5, 1078a14) it covered both those who calculated interval ratios mathematically and those who judged them by ear. But Theophrastus (fr. 716 Fortenbaugh) contrasts those who give a mathematical account of intervals with 'the *ἁρμονικοί* and those who judge by sense-perception'. Cf. Pl. *Rep.* 531ab, *Phaedr.* 268de, *Charm.* 170c. The Athenian citharist and wit Stratonikos is said to have been the first to teach *τὰ ἁρμονικά* and to construct a diagram in which modal scales were systematized (Phainias fr. 32 Wehrli). He will have been among the *ἁρμονικοί* mentioned in vague but critical terms by Aristoxenus as his own predecessors (*Harm.* 1. 2, 5, 7, 28; 2. 37, 40). Other references: Theophr. *Char.* 5. 10; Chamaileon fr. 25 Wehrli = 28 Giordano; Duris, *FGrHist* 76 F 23.

The *ἁρμονικοί* targeted in the present discourse are not mathematicians, but they are not of the Aristoxenian feather either. They are followers of the Damonian tendency, interested both in scale-intervals (as their chosen title of *ἁρμονικός* implies) and in rhythms, and in the ethical effects of different forms of music. The writer criticizes their dogmas as random and subjective (4–6).

7–10. In their expositions they present musical examples, for purposes of discussion, by singing and by plucking a stringed instrument (see below on 30–1); but they emphasize that they are theoreticians, not performers. Our author first accuses them of disingenuousness, as they have in fact devoted more effort to performing technique than to working out coherent theory (10–13), and later—not too consistently—he says scornfully that their technique falls far short of that of the professional performers (24 f.). A similar point is made in a passage of Iamblichus (*De Communi Mathematica Scientia*, p. 80. 13 ff. Festa) which has been included in some editions

of the fragments of Aristotle's *Protrepticus* (fr. 52 p. 59 Rose[3]; fr. 5 p. 31 Ross), though according l[19] to Ingemar Düring, 'We do not know from what source this is taken; the text does not fit at all into the framework of the *Protrepticus*'.[3] It says that those who make *ἀποδείξεις* and *συλλογισμοί* about *συμφωνία* and other such matters *σκοπεῖν εἰώθασιν, οὐδενὸς δὲ κοινωνοῦσι τῶν ἔργων, ἀλλὰ κἂν τυγχάνωσιν αὐτῶν δυνάμενοί τι χειρουργεῖν, ὅταν μάθωσι τὰς ἀποδείξεις ὥσπερ ἐπίτηδες εὐθὺς αὐτὰ χεῖρον ποιοῦσιν.*

7. *καὶ λέγουσι μὲν ὡς οὐ δεῖ*: cf. Isoc. *Soph.* 4 *καὶ λέγουσι μὲν ὡς οὐδὲν δέονται χρημάτων.*

10–13. Cf. ibid. 5 *παρὰ μὲν ὧν δεῖ λαβεῖν αὐτούς, τούτοις μὲν ἀπιστοῦσιν, . . . ὧν δ' οὐδεπώποτε διδάσκαλοι γεγόνασι, παρὰ τούτοις τὰ παρὰ τῶν μαθητῶν μεσεγγυοῦνται.* 9 *χεῖρον γράφοντες τοὺς λόγους ἢ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τινες αὐτοσχεδιάζουσιν, ὅμως ὑπισχνοῦνται τοιούτους ῥήτορας τοὺς συνόντας ποιήσειν ὥστε κτλ.*

13–17. Concern with the ethical effects of different kinds of music is a persistent theme in Greek theory from the fifth century on, beginning with the Pythagoreans. Damon seems to have been the first to give it literary expression in his *Areopagitikos*. His ideas were taken up by Plato, who is said to have been taught music by a pupil of Damon's—one Drakon—and who mentions Damon in the most commendatory terms.[4]

Our author's *ἁρμονικοί* claim that music can make men *ἐγκρατεῖς, φρόνιμοι, δίκαιοι, ἀνδρεῖοι,* or *δειλοί*. The list of qualities corresponds in part to those of which Damon spoke.[5] But so far as our information goes, Damon was particularly concerned with the effects of different modes (*ἁρμονίαι*) and rhythms, whereas our author's argument focuses on the role of genus, and specifically on the antithesis of enharmonic and chromatic. In discussion of musical ethos in Plato, Aristotle, and the Peripatos, genus remains out of sight, but it reappears in Diogenes of Seleucia, who maintained a

[3] *Aristotle's Protrepticus* (Göteborg 1961), 208.

[4] *Laches* 180d, cf. 197d; *Rep.* 400ab.

[5] Cf. Philod. *Mus.* p. 116 van Krevelen (DK 37 B 4): *ἀνδρε[ία], σω[φροσύνη], δι[καιοσύνη],* and p. 194 = p. 70 Neubecker; *ἀνδρεία* also implied in Arist. Quint. p. 80. 25 ff. W.-I. See also W. D. Anderson, *Ethos and Education in Greek Music* (Cambridge, Mass. 1966), 151.

view similar to that criticized here.[6] In later sources the diatonic genus is usually brought into the assessment, and each genus on the whole is assigned positive qualities.[7]

15–17. The structure is remarkably similar to Isoc. *De Pace* 31–2 *εἰς τοῦτο γάρ τινες ἀνοίας ἐληλύθασιν ὥσθ' ὑπειλήφασι (κτλ.) . . . κακῶς εἰδότες ὡς οὔτε πρὸς χρηματισμὸν οὔτε πρὸς δόξαν . . . οὐδὲν ἂν συμβάλοιτο τηλικαύτην δύναμιν ὅσην περ ἀρετὴ καὶ τὰ μέρη ταύτης.* The expression *κακῶς εἰδότες ὅτι* is especially Isocratean: *Panath.* 160, 187, 263, *Soph.* 10, *Platae.* 25, *Epist.* 7. 4; also Xen. *Cyr.* 2. 3. 13.

l[20] **17–19.** Archaic and fifth-century music in general, from Olympus and Polymnestus down to Pindar and tragedy, is reported to have been normally in the enharmonic genus, and the earlier theorists, according to Aristoxenus, concerned themselves with it alone.[8] The term *ἁρμονία/ἐναρμόνιος*, '(standard) tuning', presupposes its primary status, just as *χρῶμα/χρωματικός* designates a secondary phenomenon, a 'colouring'. Chromatic was associated especially with citharody after the mid fifth century. Euripides and Agathon are said to have made some use of it in tragedy, but it remained abnormal there. Some tragic enharmonic was judged to have an admixture of the diatonic.[9] But pure diatonic seems to have had no recognized place in 'classical' music. It is illuminating to learn from the present text that it was a regional phenomenon in the early fourth century, characteristic of northern and northwestern Greece. It may also have been current in Magna Graecia, considering the greater importance that it assumed in the Pythagorean line of musical theory.[10]

17. *τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν*: cf. Isoc. *Soph.* 12 (after *θαυμάζω δ' ὅταν ἴδω . . .*) *τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδε πλὴν τούτων, ὅτι κτλ.*

18–19. Grenfell and Hunt read *τοὺς Θε[ρ]μοπύλ]ηῳ,* but *θυ[* is palaeographically better, and the extra word is necessary to make the line up to its proper length. The line-break was certainly at

[6] Philod. *Mus.* iv pp. 39 f. Neubecker.

[7] See Adrastus(?) *ap.* Theon. Smyrn. p. 54. 12–56. 5 H.; Plut. *Non posse suaviter* 1096b; Sext. Emp. *adv. Mus.* 50; Arist. Quint. p. 92. 19 ff. (interp.); Anon. Bellerm. 26; Procl. in *Tim.* ii. 169. 1 ff. D.

[8] Aristox. *Harm.* 1. 2, 2. 35; ps.-Plut. *De Musica* 1137d–f, 1143e, 1145a; Psellus, *De Trag.* 5; cf. Plut. *De Aud.* 46b, Arist. Quint. p. 18. 5 ff., and line 21 below.

[9] Psellus, loc. cit.

[10] Philolaus, Archytas, Plato, Aristoxenus.

|πυλ-. The writer may mean that diatonic songs were to be heard at the Amphictionic League's gatherings at Anthela. This would account for the mention of the Dolopes, though probably not for the Aetolians. Anything that was 'common knowledge' about the Aetolians' songs may have been based on their appearances at the Olympian festivals.

20–1. Other sources, as mentioned above, speak of a diatonic ingredient in some tragic enharmonic, and of excursions into the chromatic by the younger tragedians. Our author's statement may therefore be a little too absolute. But it is valuable to have this early, yet presumably post-Euripidean, confirmation that enharmonic was the norm. It provides the strongest grounds for interpreting the *Orestes* fragment in enharmonic and not chromatic terms.[11]

Grenfell and Hunt's supplements *χρω|μένους, μᾶλλον| δὲ . . . ἀνδρείο|υς τῶν διὰ πα|ντός* involve a false syllabic division of *μᾶλλον* (they admit it to be 'not usual', but are fatally resolved to incorporate the word) and a letter too many at the beginning of 21.

21–2. Diatonic is curiously treated as if it were a kind of chromatic; unless the idea is that it diverges still further from the enharmonic in the same direction as chromatic, so that if diatonic does not impair manliness, chromatic certainly will not. Grenfell and Hunt's supplements *[ὥστε | οὔτε] χρῶμα . . . ἀν|δρείους ποιεῖ. εἰς τ|οῦτο δὲ* give rather short lines, especially in 21. For *ἄν . . . ποιήσειεν* cf. 16–17 above.

|[21] **23.** Cf. Isoc. *Soph.* 3 *οὗτοι τοίνυν εἰς τοῦτο τόλμης ἐληλύθασιν ὥστε . . . .*

χ|ρόνον πολὺ|ν Crönert, *Hermes* 44 (1909), 504: *|ὅλον τὸν βίο|ν* Grenfell–Hunt. The upper and lower tips of *χ|* are visible.

25. Traces of *καί* can, I think, be discerned on the photograph.

28. *οὐθ'* here is a spelling of *οὐδ'* reflecting a spirant pronunciation of the δ in the combination *οὐδ' ἥντινα*.[12] Cf. *οὐθείς* etc.; L. Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions*, i (Berlin–New York 1980), 472.

29. Grenfell–Hunt give *ῥυθμ|ὸν δὲ|*, which is unsatisfactory as Greek and hardly fills the three-letter space after *ῥυθμόν*. Perhaps *συμ|παίοντες*.[51]

[11] C. E. Ruelle, *Rev. Phil.* 31 (1907), 238.
[12] Fuhr (as in n. 1); Crönert (as in n. 1), 506.

30–1. *τὸ ὑποκείμενον σανίδιον αὐτοῖς* is clearly a device for beating time audibly. Although the author uses only a vague descriptive phrase, perhaps deliberately avoiding a technical name, we may suppose him to mean something analogous to the *κρούπεζα* sometimes worn by auletes, a shoe with a clapper attached to the sole.[13] The *κρούπεζα* is first mentioned by Cratinus fr. 77 (see Kassel–Austin ad loc.), and Pronomos is shown using it on the famous volute crater which is named after him, Naples H 3240. For a detailed treatment see A. Bélis, *BCH* 112 (1988), 323–39.

τοῦ ψ|αλ|τηρίου: this is the earliest occurrence of the word. In the later fourth century it emerged as the ordinary generic word for 'harp' (earlier *πηκτίς, τρίγωνος/-ον*, etc.). Our author has referred consistently to *ψάλλειν* and *ψάλται* (7, 24 f.), and it is clear that his *ἁρμονικοί* do not use the common stringed instrument, the lyre, which was played by a combination of *ψάλλειν* and *κρούειν* (striking with a plectrum), but a different one that is only plucked.[14] It may be a harp, or it may be a board zither, an instrument with its strings strung horizontally across the surface of a broad soundbox extending under their whole length. I shall argue in my book[52] that some *ἁρμονικοί* used such zithers for analysing and demonstrating intervals and scale-divisions. Our author is not referring to this sort of lecture, apparently, but it may be relevant to his naming the *ψαλτήριον* as the typical instrument of the *ἁρμονικός*.

31–4. Grenfell–Hunt print these lines as follows:

και ουδε αισχυν|ομενο|ι ἐξειπ|ειν
τω|ν| μελων τα μεν δαφνης εξειν [ιδιον] τι τα δε κιτ|του
ετ|ι δε ερω|τωντες ει ου φαινεται [. . . . .]α ιδια επιτη| . . .
ε|[. . . . .]γειεσθαι : και οι σατυροι προς [αυλο]ν χορευον|τες

|[22] Other proposals for the end of 33 and the beginning of 34 are:

[ταῦτα τ]ὰ ἴδια ἐπιτη[δὲ]ς [ἐπαι]ρεῖσθαι Ruelle.
[ἐνταῦθ]α ἰδία ἐπιτή[δευσις] ἐ[ὃ μι]μεῖσθαι· Crönert.

[13] H. Abert, *Zeitschrift der internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 8 (1906), 82. Anderson (as in n. 5), 148 f., 188 f., supposes the reference to be to a 'plank seat' in the theatre. But even if the *ἁρμονικός* had taken over the theatre for his lecture, he would not be on one of the seats.

[14] Herodotus 1. 155. 4 distinguishes *ψάλλειν* from *κιθαρίζειν* (cf. *SIG*[3] 578. 15 ff., 959. 10, both Hellenistic), and Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 50. 2, distinguishes *ψάλτριαι* from *κιθαρίστριαι*.

The last bits of the lines (|ιεξειπ| etc.) are on a detached scrap, whose exact position in longitude is conjectural. I think my readings fit the traces better than those quoted above, though the restoration of 31 is especially uncertain. I intend *ἀξιούμενοι* to mean 'making claims' or 'laying down principles' (*ἀξιώματα*, as they were later called).

οὐδὲ αἰσχύν|ονται: cf. Isoc. *Soph.* 3.

δάφνης ... κιτ|τοῦ: the Apolline and the Dionysiac. Pind. fr. 128c. 1–3 *ἔντι μὲν χρυσαλακάτου τεκέων Λατοῦς ἀοιδαί,* | *ὦ|ρ|ιαι παιανίδες· ἔντι [δὲ] καὶ θάλλοντος ἐκ κισσοῦ στέφανον Διο|νύ|σου κτλ.* Some have taken our author to be saying that the songs in question are claimed to evoke visual images of bay or ivy, but we should not think in such concrete terms. The point of reference is ethical as before. The *ἁρμονικοί* perform certain melodies and argue that each has a distinct, inherent ethos. Rhythm and mode would be important factors affecting the characterization. Pindar, in a Paean, acclaimed the 'Dorian melody' as being *σεμνότατον* and so, presumably, the most suitable for paeans; at any rate he must have been using it in that composition (fr. 67). Baccheia and dithyramb were associated with the Phrygian mode and unsuited to the Dorian (Arist. *Pol.* 1342b4–12). At a Dionysiac cabaret performance described by Xenophon (*Symp.* 9. 3) the auloi sound the *βακχεῖος ῥυθμός*, while the paeonic rhythm (Arist. *Rhet.* 1409a2 ff.) is associated with Apollo and his Cretan priests.

33. The uncompounded *ἐρω|τῶντες* is too short.

ἐπὶ τῆ|ς| | ἑ̣|λικος κι|νεῖσθαι: Aristoxenus often uses *κινεῖσθαι* of melody, *Harm.* I. 3, 8 ff., etc.

λην|ὸν: a song accompanied by plucked strings is unlikely to evoke a dance *πρὸς |αὐλ|ὸν*.

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SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

1. In a letter to me dated 9 June 1993 E. K. Borthwick suggested *ὑπο|παίοντες*, comparing Philip's sarcastic rendition of Demosthenes' decree (Plut. *Dem.* 20), *πρὸς πόδα διαιρῶν καὶ ὑποκρούων*, and 'Longinus' *π. ὕψους* 41. 2 of listeners stamping their feet in time with speakers (*ὑποκρούειν τοῖς λέγουσι*) at an expected cadence.
2. *AGM* 79.

16

The Christian Hymn from Oxyrhynchus

Greek Music or Syriac?

This hymn, P. Oxy. 1786 (*DAGM* no. 59), copied in the later third century, is perhaps the latest in date of the known texts recorded in the ancient Greek notation. At the same time it is by a considerable interval the oldest surviving example of music used in Christian worship. It is therefore a matter of some interest to determine, if possible, to what musical tradition it belongs.

Very different opinions have been held. H. Abert wrote of the music that

> Sie trägt durchaus den Stempel der altgriechischen Kunst, von der Melopöie bis zum äußeren Notenbilde ... Der christliche Komponist muß mit der antiken Musik eng vertraut gewesen sein.[1]

Egon Wellesz, on the other hand, denied that the music of the hymn was of genuinely Greek character and stated decisively that it represented a new ecclesiastical music modelled on patterns deriving from Jewish or Syriac hymnody. He thought that the hymn might even be a translation from a Jewish or Syriac original.[2]

I shall argue that Wellesz's position is mistaken, and that those who see the hymn as eminently a product of Greek tradition are on altogether stronger ground.

Let us consider first the poetic text.

From 'Analecta Musica', *ZPE* 92 (1992), 1–54, at pp. 47–54, with footnotes numbered 89–111.

[1] *Bursians Jahresbericht* 193 (1922), 7.

[2] *CQ* 39 (1945), 34–45; *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography*, 2nd edn. (Oxford 1961), 152–6.

∪ ∪ – ∪]ομου πᾶσαί τε θεοῦ
λόγιμοι δ̣ε̣[. |. |.]α̣ι̣ . . . ν̣|
| ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – |
]ῡτᾱνηω ⊼ σιγάτω,
μηδ' ἄστρα φαεσφόρα χ̣[. .]ζέ[σ]θ̣ων,
ἐ̣[κ]λ̣ε̣ι̣π̣[όντων] ῥ̣[ιπαὶ πνοιῶν,
πηγαὶ] ποταμῶν ῥοθίων πᾶσαι.
⊼ὑμνούντων δ' ἡμῶν [π]α̣τέρᾱ
χυἱὸν χἄγιον πν̣ε̣ῦμᾱ, ⊼̄
πᾶσ̣αι δυνάμεις ἐπιφωνούντων
"ἀμήν, ἀμήν". κράτος, αἶνος [ἀεὶ
καὶ δόξα θεῶι] δ̣[ωτ]ῆ[ρι] μ̣ό̣ν̣ῳ̣ι̣
πάντων ἀγαθῶν· ἀμήν, ἀμήν.

|[48] It is composed in anapaests. The metre appears to crumble in ruins when the formula *πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα* is used. But the rhythmic notation accompanying the note symbols, as well as the written crases *χυιον χαγιον*, makes it clear that the metrical scheme was maintained in the music and the words forced to fit it. Over the final vowel of *πατέρα* a diseme note is written, and over that of *πνεῦμα* a diseme followed by a diseme leimma.[3] The other doxological formula, 'power, praise, and glory', is accommodated to the metre by omitting the first copula and by using *αἶνος* instead of *εὐλογία* (*Apoc. Iohann.* 5: 13 *ἡ εὐλογία καὶ ἡ τιμὴ καὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος*). We see, therefore, that the hymnist was concerned to maintain the metre throughout, and that it is misleading to say, as Wellesz does, that 'when he came to insert the doxological formula ... he had to abandon the anapaestic metre and to introduce rhythmical prose'.[4]

Wellesz refers to the anapaestic metre, rather oddly, as 'the popular metre of the Hellenistic age'. It was certainly a popular metre in the first three centuries of our era.[5] We find it used for hymns in Lucian's *Podagra* (191–203), in two hymns to Apollo quoted by Porphyry (*Antr. Nymph.* 8 and *ap.* Eus. *PE* 3. 14. 4 f.), and—in the more solemn

[3] The leimma ought to have been tetraseme. The error has resulted in the arsis-stigmai being displaced from here onwards (R. P. Winnington-Ingram, *Symb. Osl.* 31 (1955), 81).

[4] *CQ* 39 (1945), 41.

[5] See my *Greek Metre* (Oxford 1982), 170–2. Add the dramatic recitatives with musical notation in P. Osl. 1413. 1–15 (*DAGM* no. 39) and P. Oxy. 3704 (*DAGM* no. 44), and (if you are not too fastidious) the fourth-century Christian hymn in *Kölner Papyri*, iv. 172.

spondaic tempo—in the Berlin Paean (*DAGM* no. 50). It is against this pagan background that we must view the anapaestic hymn to Christ the Saviour attributed to Clement of Alexandria,[6] and those two of Synesius' hymns which are in this metre.[7] These poems naturally incorporate some metaphors and images of biblical provenance, but in general they are imbued with Hellenic poetic diction and with the hues of Hellenic philosophy. This applies especially, of course, to the compositions of the humane Neoplatonist Synesius.

The Oxyrhynchus hymn, although it admits more direct links with liturgical doxology, stands much closer to these products of Hellenic (Alexandrian) education than to the *Odes of Solomon*, the hymns of Bardesanes and Harmonios, and other products of the Syriac tradition, which, when they were translated into Greek, were translated into rhythmical prose, not into classicizing metres.[8] The call for the powers of nature to be still, to suspend their activity while the hymn is sung, is closely paralleled in both of Synesius' anapaestic hymns:

I[49]			
1. 72–85	εὐφαμείτω αἰθὴρ καὶ γᾶ· στάτω πόντος, στάτω δ' ἀήρ· λήγετε πνοιαί βαλίων ἀνέμων· λήγετε ῥιπαί γυρῶν ῥοθίων, ποταμῶν προχοαί, κρανααὶ λιβάδες· ἐχέτω σιγά κόσμου λαγόνας ἱερευομένων ἁγίων ὕμνων.	2. 28–43	γᾶ σιγάτω ἐπὶ σοῖς ὕμνοις, ἐπὶ σαῖς εὐχαῖς· εὐφαμείτω ὅσα κόσμος ἔχει· σὰ γὰρ ἔργα, πάτερ. καππαυέσθω ἀνέμων ῥοῖζος, ἦχος δένδρων, θρόος ὀρνίθων· ἥσυχος αἰθήρ, ἥσυχος ἀήρ κλυέτω μολπᾶς· ὑδάτων δὲ χύσις ἄφοφος ἤδη στάτω κατὰ γᾶς.

[6] Clem. *Paedag.* 3. 12 pp. 291 f. St.; *GDK* no. 45. 1.

[7] Nos. 1–2 in the current numeration.

[8] Cf. Wilamowitz, *SPAW* 1907, 278 f. = *Kl. Schr.* ii. 170 f.; E. J. Goodspeed, *A History of Early Christian Literature*, rev. R. M. Grant (Chicago 1966), 84–7.

It is a motif of impeccably Hellenic credentials, originating probably in one of the esoteric cults of the fifth century BCE. Compare:

Ar. *Thesm.* 39 ff.

> εὔφημος πᾶς ἔστω λαὸς στόμα συγκλήισας . . .
> ἐχέτω δὲ πνοὰς νήνεμος αἰθήρ,
> κῦμα δὲ πόντου μὴ κελαδείτω . . .
> πτηνῶν τε γένη κατακοιμάσθω . . .
> μέλλει γὰρ ὁ καλλιέπης Ἀγάθων κτλ.[9]

Mesomedes 2. 1–6 Heitsch

> εὐφαμείτω πᾶς αἰθήρ,
> γῆ καὶ πόντος καὶ πνοιαί,
> οὔρεα, τέμπεα σιγάτω,
> ἦχοι φθόγγοί τ' ὀρνίθων·
> μέλλει γὰρ †πρὸς ἡμᾶς† βαίνειν
> Φοῖβος ἀκερσεκόμας εὐχαίτας.

Luc. *Podagra* 129 ff.

> σῖγα μὲν αἰθὴρ νήνεμος ἔστω
> καὶ πᾶς ποδαγρῶν εὐφημείτω·
> ἴδε πρὸς θυμέλας <ἡ> κλινοχαρὴς
> βαίνει δαίμων.

[49] Corp. Herm. 13. 17 (R. Merkelbach–M. Totti, *Abrasax* ii (Cologne 1991), 134)

πᾶσα φύσις κόσμου προσδεχέσθω τοῦ ὕμνου τὴν ἀκοήν. ἀνοίγηθι γῆ, ἀνοιγήτω μοι πᾶς μοχλὸς ὄμβρου, τὰ δένδρα μὴ σείεσθε . . . ἀνοίγητε οὐρανοί, ἄνεμοί τε στῆτε . . . μέλλω γὰρ ὑμνεῖν τὸν κτίσαντα τὰ πάντα κτλ.

P. Gr. Mag. 3. 198 ff. (Merkelbach–Totti, ii. 66)

> ἥσυχον ἐν στόμασιν πάντες κατερύκετε φ[ωνήν·
> αἰθέρος ἀμφίδρομοι σιγὴν ὄρνιθες ἔχοιτε,
> σκιρτῶντες δελφῖνες ὑπειράλιοι παύεσθε,
> μείνατέ μοι ποταμῶν τε ῥοαὶ καὶ νάματ' ἀν[αύρω]ν κτλ.

P. Gr. Mag. 7. 320 ff.

ἠρεμείτω γαῖα καὶ ἀὴρ ἠρεμείτω καὶ θάλασσα ἠρεμείτω, ἠρεμείτωσαν καὶ οἱ ἄνεμοι, καὶ μή μου ἐμποδίζεσθε εἰς τὴν μαντείαν μου ταύτην· μὴ φωνή, μὴ ὁλολυγμός, μὴ συριγμός.

[9] Cf. also Ar. *Av.* 778; Eur. *Bacch.* 1084–5 with Dodds.

So far as Synesius is concerned, the Mesomedes passage is especially relevant. For the musical tradition in which Synesius was trained, Mesomedes was the classic composer. His fame is attested by the cenotaph set up to him by Caracalla, by Eusebius' inclusion of him in his chronography, and by Dio Cassius' reference to him as 'the man who wrote the citharodic nomes'.[10] His songs, with their musical scoring, were probably the basic text used in teaching the lyre to the select few who still learned it; this was what enabled some of his music to survive into medieval manuscripts. Synesius quotes from Mesomedes' hymn to Nemesis as a piece that 'we sing to the lyre'.[11] The metres that Synesius uses for his nine hymns—anapaestic monometers, spondaic heptasyllables, ionics, anacreontics, short apokrota—largely overlap with those used by Mesomedes; he uses the same literary Doric dialect, a great rarity in the imperial age; and there are obvious verbal echoes.[12]

In substance as well as in metre, therefore, the Oxyrhynchus hymn draws on Greek heritage which finds representation also in the Mesomedes–Synesius line of tradition. The fact that the hymn is expertly recorded in the Greek notation itself suggests a composer with a Greek musical education, which had probably included the study of Mesomedes' works. He is a Christian, but his religious outlook may have been formed in a syncretistic atmosphere and enriched by pagan or gnostic concepts.

One further detail deserves remark. The poet attaches to God the title *δωτὴρ μόνος πάντων ἀγαθῶν*. This is not exactly an un-Christian idea; one may compare, for example, 1 Tim. 6: 17, *Θεῶι τῶι παρέχοντι ἡμῖν πάντα πλουσίως εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν*. But the expression derives rather from the Homeric *θεοὶ δωτῆρες ἐάων*. Callimachus had adapted the phrase to Zeus (*Hymn* 1. 91, following the hint of *Il.* 24. 528). Clement and Origen apply it to the Christian God, e.g. Clem. I[51] *Strom.* 7. 7. 43. 2 *τῶν ἀγαθῶν δοτήρ*.[13] It was this Alexandrian confluence of Christian doctrine with Hellenic culture that put the title at our hymnodist's disposal. The continuing influence of Greek poetic tradition betrays itself in his use of the exclusively epic form *δωτήρ*, which originated as an artificial substitute for *δοτήρ* under the influence of *δώτωρ*.[14]

I turn now to the music, and to Wellesz's claim that it does not belong to the Greek tradition but reflects oriental principles of composition. First, to detach it as much as possible from the Greek tradition, he plays down its anapaestic character:

> Its rhythm has no longer that intimate, if not rigid, connexion with the metre of the text which was characteristic of the Greek classical style of composition. Metrically short syllables are often set to lengthened notes; and, in an age when spoken Greek was becoming a stressed language, the accentuated syllables are not consistently related to the musical ictus. The notes which have to be lengthened are marked by vertical [read: horizontal] strokes, and notes which have to be accentuated are distinguished from others by a dot.[15]

He proceeds to deny that the longer notes are to be interpreted as twice the length of the shorter:

> We have to deal with rhythmical nuances which are too subtle to be expressed by doubling the time-value of the note to be lengthened. We must write all notes as quavers and indicate by an *episema* (a term known from Gregorian chant, i.e. a horizontal stroke), those notes which have to be lengthened.

There are several confusions and arbitrary assertions here. It is hardly the case that short syllables are 'often' set to long notes. The interpretation of 2]ῡτᾱ̆ηω as *πρ]υτανείωι* is quite uncertain (*οὐ τὰν δείλαν, ο|ὐ τὰν ἠῶ* Reinach). 4 *πατέρᾱ* and *πνεῦμᾱ* are in the doxological formula which the poet felt unable to modify; certainly his admission of these scansions shows lower standards than we should like to see, but he has contrived to make each of the vowels in question the last in a dimeter, and at this period writers of anapaests often treated this position as anceps.[16] A relation of

[10] Dio Cass. 77. 13. 7; Eus. *Chron.* Ol. 230. 4.

[11] *Epist.* 95 p. 695 Hercher.

[12] For example, in Synes. *H.* 3 compare 20–3 with Mesom. 2. 17–23 Heitsch; 31–5 with Mesom. 4. 21–4; 42 *γλήρας* with Mesom. 4. 18.

[13] Cf. 7. 7. 36. 4 *τῶι δοτῆρι τῶν ὅλων*; Origen *De Orat.* 2. 331. 8; *Martyr. S. Ignatii* 7. 3.

[14] Ernst Fraenkel, *Geschichte der griechischen Nomina agentis* (Strassburg 1910–12), i. 15; E. Benveniste, *Noms d'agent et noms d'action en indo-européen* (Paris 1948), 29.

[15] *CQ* 39 (1945), 41.

[16] For example, in the hymn in Porph. *ap.* Eus. *PE* 3. 14. 4 (*GDK* 51), line 9, *πάγνυτο νᾶσος, πάγνυτο κῦμα* (and 5, 11); Synes. *H.* 1. 149ff. *ἓν ἐνὸς πρότερον, ὄντων σπέρμα, πάντων κέντρον*. The technique of using rests in anapaestic music not only at the end of a bar (as after *πνεῦμα*) but also at the beginning (as before *σιγάτω, ὑμνούντων*), is paralleled in P. Oxy. 3704 verso (*DAGM* no. 44).

accented syllables to 'the musical ictus' is found nowhere in the Greek musical documents. And Wellesz is under the misapprehension that the ἄρσις marked by a dot over a note is the ictus or downbeat: on the contrary, it is the upbeat. As the whole notation is entirely conventional, there can be no question of taking the sign ¯ as anything other than the diseme symbol, indicating a note of double length.[17]

I[52] As regards the melody, Wellesz points to three features: (1) its 'florid' character, i.e. very frequent setting of a syllable to two or three notes; (2) the presence of melodic formulae as a structural feature; (3) the similarity of a couple of musical phrases with cadences found in some Byzantine church music.

(1) Wellesz considered that the hymn's floridity distinguished it from Greek music, in which 'with the exception of a few passages' a single note corresponded to a syllable of the text.[18] Since he wrote, however, our evidence has been augmented by a number of new texts from the Roman period such as the Oslo and Michigan papyri (*DAGM* nos. 39–40, 42–3) and the Oxyrhynchus papyri 2436 (*DAGM* no. 38) and 3161 (*DAGM* nos. 53–4), which show that Greek music in the second and third centuries was becoming increasingly florid. If this tendency is slightly more developed in the Christian hymn than in the other texts, it is no more so than might be expected in view of the hymn's date. Individually the melisms it contains are no more extravagant than those seen in the Michigan papyrus, which is dated to the second century. The technicalities match what we find in the other texts: occasional division of monosemes into , more frequent division of disemes into or .

(2) Wellesz states that the hymn

> is built up from a number of melodic formulae linked together by varying short passages in the manner of a recitative. This principle of composition is to be found everywhere in the Middle East, but is unknown in old Greek music; it is the same principle of composition which has been discovered in both Gregorian and Byzantine melodies.[19]

[17] Cf. Winnington-Ingram, *Symb. Osl.* 31 (1955), 80 n. 2.

[18] *History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography*, 156. The Berlin Paean is noted as showing some floridity.

[19] Op. cit., 156.

He does not define the term 'melodic formula', or explain whether it means something more precise than 'recurring phrase'. In default of such elucidation I can make no sense of the assertion that melodic formulae are unknown in old Greek music. They can be found in the Euripides fragments, the Delphic Paeans, and the songs of Mesomedes. And what is meant by 'everywhere in the Middle East'? Our knowledge of Middle Eastern melody in pre-Byzantine times is confined to some Hurrian fragments from about 1400 BCE, which were not known to Wellesz and are not relevant here,[20] and to Hebrew melodies reconstructed from agreements between the traditional music of widely separated Jewish communities in the modern era.[21]

(3) Wellesz draws comparisons between a couple of melodic patterns in the hymn and some found in the twelfth-century Athos *Heirmologion*.[22] His reasoning is: the music of the hymn is I[53] related to Byzantine church music; Byzantine church music can be traced back to Syro-Palestinian origins because (*a*) it is based on non-metrical or accentually scanned texts adapted from Syriac models, (*b*) it uses the supposedly Middle Eastern and un-Greek principle of composition from melodic formulae; and therefore the music of our hymn is to be assigned to this Syro-Palestinian tradition.

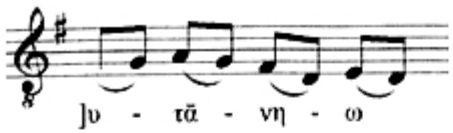
Against this it is to be observed firstly that whatever Byzantine ecclesiastical music may have owed to liturgical tradition going back to the Primitive Church (and ultimately to Jewish chant), there is nothing implausible in its also owing something to earlier Greek music. Secondly, if the hymn here and there shows similarities with later Byzantine hymns, it shows others at least as noteworthy with first- or second-century Greek fragments both religious and secular:

[20] Existing interpretations of the Babylonian notation used in these pieces are, I believe, all erroneous. For a new decipherment see my study in *Music and Letters* 75 (1993/4), 161–79.

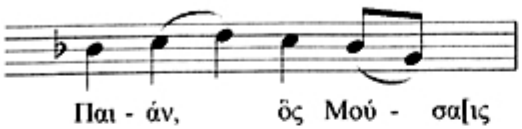
[21] A. Z. Idelsohn, *Jewish Music in its Historical Development* (New York 1929); A. Sendrey, *Music in Ancient Israel* (New York 1969).

[22] *CQ* 39 (1945), 44 f. R. Wagner had drawn some comparisons with antiphons in *Phil.* 79 (1924), 213–15.

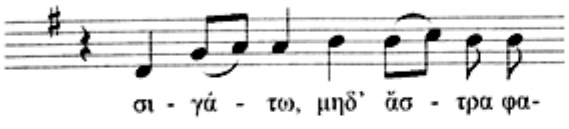
Christian hymn, line 1



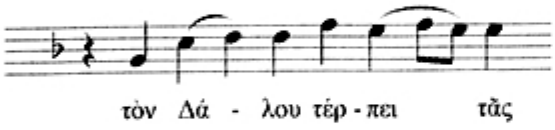
Berlin Paean, line 5



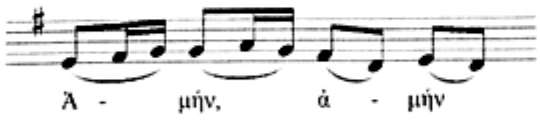
Christian hymn, line 1



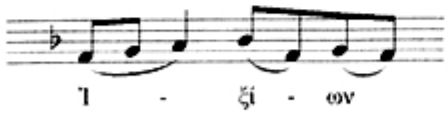
Berlin Paean, line 2



Christian hymn, line 5



P. Osl. 1413, line 4[23]



[54] I rest my case. I can discover no feature of the hymn that cannot be illustrated from the extant musical documents from Roman Egypt of the second and third centuries of our era. Musically speaking the hymn stands squarely in the Greek tradition. We have seen that the same is true to a significant extent of the poetic flesh that clothes the Christian bones.

[23] Reading the notes as in *DAGM* 124.

17

Music Therapy in Antiquity

The connection between music and medicine is very ancient. In all probability (though there is no direct proof) it goes back to palaeolithic times. It certainly has its roots in a primitive world-view, and before I speak of music therapy in the Graeco-Roman world, I want to say something about these primitive roots.

Ever since the beginning of human society men and women have had to contend with sicknesses and ailments, both physical and psychological. What did they see as the source of these ailments? In the case of a physical injury caused by a knife or an arrow or a falling stone, the answer was obvious. But for many kinds of ailment the answer was not obvious. Pre-scientific man had no conception of viruses or bacteria or the degeneration of cells. Illness was something of supernatural origin, caused probably by an enemy's evil magic, or by the angry spirits of the dead. The only way to counter it, therefore, was by using magical techniques of one's own. In most primitive societies this meant engaging the services of the specialist, the witch-doctor or shaman, the man who alone knew the requisite techniques and possessed the necessary equipment with which to deploy them. This was a man able to contact and command the spirits, able if need be to travel to the other world and negotiate with the spirits or actually to fight and overpower them.

The most primitive musical instruments had the potential to be used for magical purposes, and specifically for the purposes of conjuring spirits from the other world. The particular instruments I have in mind, which seem to be the most primitive at any rate in Europe and Asia, are the drum, the bow, the flute, and the horn. They

P. Horden (ed.), *Music as Medicine: The History of Music Therapy since Antiquity* (Aldershot 2000), 51–68.

go back into remote antiquity; a bone flute has recently been reported from a Neanderthal context in Slovenia dated between 43,000 and 67,000 years ago.[1]

I[52] The drum, made of skin stretched over a frame, produced a booming sound. The hunter's bow, when one end of it was put in the mouth to provide a resonator, became a musical bow, which made a twanging sound; it was from this that the harp eventually developed. The flute, made by drilling holes in a hollow bone, gave out a series of high whistling notes. And the horn of a cow made a simple sort of trumpet.

But where did these sounds come from? *We* know that all these instruments work by setting up vibrations and amplifying them, and that the pitch of the note depends on the frequency of the vibrations. But for the pre-scientific mind the only attainable explanation is that the mysterious sonorities are voices inherent in the things that produce them. If you bang a gong, what you hear is the voice of the metal, or of a spirit lodged in the metal.

Now consider the instruments I mentioned. They are all made from parts of dead animals: the skin of the drum, the bowstring of gut or sinew, the flute of bone, the cow-horn. Is it not an easy conclusion that the unearthly sounds they produce come direct from the other world? The drum is the shaman's typical instrument, which enables him to summon and captivate the spirits, or to fly to the centre of the world, where he can gain access to other worlds. There stands the World Tree, from a branch of which (according to some Altai shamans) the shell of their drum is fashioned.[2] When the drum is animated by being anointed with blood—or beer, another life-giving liquid—it comes alive and tells its story through the shaman's voice. The wooden shell tells how it grew as a tree and was cut; the animal from whose skin the drum has been made 'tells of its birth, its parents, its childhood, and its whole life to the moment when it was brought down by the hunter. It ends by promising the shaman that it will perform many services for him.'[3]

We can find traces of this idea, that the dead creature can speak through the musical instrument made from its body, in Greek and later literature, no longer as a serious doctrine but in the realm of the

[1] *The Times*, 5 April 1997.
[2] M. Eliade, *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy* (Princeton 1972), 168–9.
[3] Ibid. 170. For a different approach to the significance of the shaman's drumming see R. Needham, 'Percussion and Transition', *Man* 2.4 (1967), 606–13.

riddle, the metaphor, and the folk-tale. The Homeric *Hymn to Hermes* tells the amusing story of how the infant god Hermes, on the very first day of his life, slipped out of his cradle and stole Apollo's cattle. On the way he found a tortoise, and told it 'when you die, you will sing I[53] sweetly'.[4] Then he killed it and made its shell into a lyre, thus inventing the instrument. The same story was treated by Sophocles in his satyr-play *The Trackers*, which Tony Harrison adapted with some success a few years ago at the National Theatre. A satyr-play is nothing to do with satire; it is a kind of comedy with a mythological setting and a chorus of satyrs, who are semi-human creatures who live in the wild and have rather childlike characteristics, being cowardly, innocent, and inquisitive. On hearing the novel sound of the lyre they question Hermes' mother, the nymph Cyllene, about it. She has told them that it comes from a dead animal. 'But how am I to believe', asks their spokesman, 'that the dead one's utterance can make such a noise?' 'You must believe it,' she replies, 'for the creature acquired a voice when it died, though it had none while it was alive.'[5] We have an early elegiac couplet in which a symposiast explains to his fellows that it is time for him to leave:

> For I'm called home now by a carcass of the sea
> that e'en in death speaks through a living mouth.

Evidently he lives nearby, and his wife, or is it his father, is summoning him by means of a conch, a shell trumpet; this is the 'carcass of the sea that e'en in death speaks through a living mouth'.[6] Another verse riddle goes like this:

> A dead ass hits my ear with his horned leg.

The solution is a Phrygian pipe or hornpipe, made from an ass's shin-bone with a cow's horn attached to the end.[7] Let me further recall the medieval folk-tale motif of the musician who comes across the bone of a murdered man and makes a flute out of it: the bone, thus rendered vocal, is able to sing and denounce its owner's murderer. Lovers of Mahler will be familiar with this theme from *Das klagende Lied*.

[4] *Hymn. Herm.* 38; cf. 443, where Apollo describes the sound of the lyre as 'this wonderful voice of one newly slain'.
[5] Soph. *Ichn.* 299–300.
[6] Theognidea 1229–30.
[7] 'Cleobulina' fr. 3 West.

Here, then, is one potential source of the notion that music can be harnessed for the purpose of healing. By means of music the expert may conjure and control spirits, make them speak their secrets, compel them to do his will. They can speak not only in the notes of the instrument but also through the voice of the shaman: when he vociferates in strange tones, his audience recognizes that these are the voices of the spirits speaking through him.

[54] When we come to archaic Greece we are in a different world from that of the Siberian shaman. And yet sometimes we seem to be only a step away from it. There are legends of singers whose music gave them power over nature. Amphion with his lyre conjures the stones together to build the walls of Thebes. Orpheus by his song exercises control over the natural world, the birds and the animals; he travels to the other world to recover the soul of Eurydice, and it is by virtue of his music that he is able to prevail over the powers of the underworld and induce them to release her. He has often been seen as a shamanistic figure.[8]

There are no stories of his acting as a healer of the sick. There are, however, references in fifth-century Athens to incantations of which Orpheus was the author and which (so the contexts imply) might include some of a therapeutic nature.[9] We hear of healing incantations already in the *Odyssey* (though not there in association with Orpheus). When the story is told of how Odysseus acquired the scar on his thigh which becomes one of the proofs of his identity, we learn that he was on a hunting expedition in his youth and was gored by a wild boar even as he thrust it through with his spear. His companions bound up his wound and stopped his bleeding with an incantation.[10] There are several other references in classical Greek writers to the use of incantations in healing and to assist childbirth, as well as for various other purposes.[11] It is clear that they did not form any part of mainline medical practice but were resorted to by the superstitious.

It is doubtful whether incantations really deserve to be included under the heading of musical therapy, because—although the word

[8] M. L. West, *The Orphic Poems* (Oxford 1983), 4–5 with literature.

[9] Eur. *Alc.* 967; *Cycl.* 646.

[10] *Od.* 19. 456–7. Contrast the more thoroughly scientific treatment of Menelaus' thigh-wound by Machaon at *Il.* 4. 213 ff.: he removes the arrow, loosens the patient's armour, sucks blood from the wound, and applies healing drugs.

[11] *AGM* 32.

means literally a 'singing over' someone; *incantare* = ἐπαείδειν—they depend for their efficacy on their wording rather than on any musical qualities. They are basically magic spells, and for all we know they may have been intoned or muttered rather than sung. A more definitely musical measure against sickness was the paean. This was a form of communal holy song performed in various circumstances, but especially associated with the idea of purification from injurious elements. One situation in which it was appropriate was plague. It is said that in the seventh century BCE, when Sparta was suffering from a plague, an oracle recommended summoning Thaletas, who was a noted composer of paeans from Gortyn in Crete. This was [55] done, and Thaletas successfully delivered the city from the pestilence by means of his music.[12] On a later occasion, in the fourth century, the women of Locri and Rhegium in south Italy were afflicted by a strange madness: they would suddenly jump up in the middle of dinner, hearing the call of a voice, and rush off into the country. The two cities consulted the oracle and were advised to sing twelve paeans a day (probably one every hour, on the hour) for sixty days. This called for a total of 720 paeans, and led to a great increase in the number of paean-writers in the area.[13]

We are not yet quite in the sphere of musical therapy as we would ordinarily understand the term, because these paeans are not supposed to exercise a direct effect on the sufferers: they work by appeasing the god who is causing the affliction. But there is one context in which we do hear of paeans (indeed, paeans of Thaletas) being sung in order to put people in a calm state of mind. It is alleged that Pythagoras used to sing them to his disciples, accompanying himself on the lyre, so as to bring them into a serene mood, or that they all sang them together.[14]

Now Pythagoras is a figure of particular importance for this whole matter. Let me first say something about who and what he was. Many people perhaps think of him as a mathematician on account of the so-called Pythagoras' Theorem, the one about the square on the hypotenuse, which was in fact known to the Babylonians centuries before Pythagoras; there is no evidence that Pythagoras knew it or

[12] Pratinas (*PMG* 713 (iii)) *ap.* ps.-Plut., *De Musica* 1146bc.

[13] Aristox. fr. 117 Wehrli; cf. my 'Ringing Welkins', *CQ* 40 (1990), 286–7.

[14] Antonius Diogenes *ap.* Porph. *Vit. Pythag.* 32; Iambl. *De Vita Pythag.* 110.

was in a position to prove it.[15] Actually we know very little that is definite about Pythagoras, because he left no writings, and his followers in later centuries were in the habit of ascribing all sorts of their own ideas to him. But we can say that he lived in the latter part of the sixth century BCE, and that he seems to have been a sort of guru who beguiled his followers with exotic doctrines about the transmigration of the soul through a succession of animal bodies, punishment and purification, and a paradise in the sun and moon. He, or at any rate some of his early associates, had an interest in number which was probably more mystical than truly mathematical in character: number came to seem to them to be the key to the universe. They discovered that the basic musical concords, the octave, the fifth, and the fourth, corresponded to numerical ratios, 1:2, 2:3, and 3:4 respectively, and this [56] inaugurated a long tradition of calculating ratios for the various intervals in each type of scale. It seemed to provide a new basis for theorizing about the effects of music on the soul. On the other hand, the early Pythagoreans maintained a series of primitive-looking taboos and superstitions governing the conduct of daily life.

Several threads come together at this point. There are some shamanistic features about Pythagoras—stories of his associating with gods and spirits, of his having a special relationship with animals, of his performing typical shaman's feats such as visiting and returning from the underworld, or being seen in two places at once.[16] He was interested in Orpheus, and he—or at any rate early Pythagoreans—put out poems under Orpheus' name. We hear of one 'Orphic' poem, evidently of Pythagorean origin (though probably not early Pythagorean) called *The Lyre*, which was about the use of lyre music to assist the soul to pass between this world and the other: a late version of a primitive shamanistic theme.[17] Among the cryptic sayings which Aristotle attributes to the early Pythagoreans there is one that is worth quoting here. They said that the sound made when a bronze gong is struck was the voice of one of the demons imprisoned in the bronze.[18] This supplies another link with the primitive sphere of belief that I spoke of earlier.

[15] W. Burkert, *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism* (Cambridge, Mass. 1972), 428–9.
[16] Ibid. 141–3, 155–9, 162–3.
[17] West (as in n. 8), 29–30.
[18] Aristotle fr. 196 *ap.* Porph. *Vit. Pythag.* 41.

Now, it is precisely in Pythagorean circles that we hear of a systematic use of music for therapeutic purposes. Aristoxenus wrote that the Pythagoreans 'used medicine for purifying the body, music for purifying the soul'. Other authors tell us that it was the Pythagoreans' custom to use song and lyre music when they got up in the morning to make them bright and alert, and when they went to bed to purge them of all the day's cares and to prepare them for agreeable and prophetic dreams. Iamblichus says that they had particular melodies that were most helpful in countering despondency and vexation, others appropriate to passion and rage, and others again to subdue lust; they also made use of dancing for such purposes. He notes that in addition to songs they made some use of wordless melodies, that is, tunes played on the lyre.[19]

When ancient writers talk about 'the Pythagoreans', it is important to ask, though often difficult to discover, *which* Pythagoreans the information relates to, or to what period. As I have said, everything in [57] Pythagorean tradition, early or late, tended to be projected back onto Pythagoras himself. In the case of this musical psychotherapy there is no reliable basis for attributing it to Pythagoras. The earliest source is Aristoxenus in the fourth century BCE. He had personal connections with Pythagoreans of his own time, and his information no doubt relates to them. There is in fact one named Pythagorean of about 400 BCE, Kleinias of Tarentum, who is associated with this sort of practice. It is reported of him that whenever he found himself angry, he would play the lyre, and if anyone asked what he was doing, he would say 'I am calming myself'.[20]

The effect of different kinds of music on the emotions and on the character of the listener was much discussed by theorists from the second half of the fifth century on. The first we know of who wrote about this was Damon, an associate of Pericles and Socrates, considered the greatest Athenian intellect of his time. He published an essay (which does not survive, unfortunately) in which he argued that the various different modes and rhythms used in Greek music were intimately connected with different ethical qualities. He held that songs and dances set up particular commotions in the soul and laid down patterns in it which reflected their own qualities. These

[19] References listed in *AGM* 31 n. 90; add Iambl. *De Vita Pythag.* 114.
[20] Chamaileon fr. 4 Wehrli = 6 Giordano.

patterns would shape a boy's unformed character; or in the case of a grown man, they might bring out latent traits. It was therefore important for the state to regulate music and education (in which music played a major part), to ensure that the young received the right sort of influences. They should be taught to sing and play such melodies as were characterized by manliness, restraint, and even-handedness. Damon went into technical detail, describing six different modal scales, specifying the notes and intervals in each, and pronouncing on their ethical qualities. He did the same with rhythms and tempi, commending some and condemning others on the ground that they expressed aggression, frenzy, or other undesirable qualities. Damon addressed his essay to the Council of the Areopagus, a high body which had (nominally) a responsibility for supervising public morality. It sounds as if he was seriously proposing some sort of state control over music as a public-health measure.[21]

This is the sort of totalitarianism that we associate with Plato, and in fact Plato was much influenced by Damon's theories about music. I[58] In several of his dialogues he puts forward very similar views. He has much the same conception of modal scales and rhythms becoming imprinted on the souls of the young and, if they are of an orderly nature themselves, instilling order in those souls. He explains why it is that scales, rhythms, and dance movements have ethical qualities: it is because they are patterned on the voices and movements of people who have those qualities. So qualities already present in humanity get encoded in music and dance and are then transmitted through music and dance into the younger generation. Hence it is important, especially in education, to make sure that only the right kinds of music are used. In the *Republic* and again in the *Laws* he discusses the qualities of individual modes. Of Damon's six he gives his approval to only two, the Dorian and the Phrygian.

In one passage, in the *Timaeus*, Plato brings the theory into a more distinctly therapeutic context:

> Attunement (ἁρμονία), having motions akin to the circuits in our soul, has been given by the Muses to the intelligent user of the arts not for mindless pleasure, as it is fashionable to assume, but as an aid to bringing our soul-circuit, when it has got out of tune, into order and harmony with itself. And rhythm likewise, in view of the unmeasured and graceless condition that comes about in most of us, was bestowed by them for the same purpose.[22]

[21] For Damon see *AGM* 246–7.

Here, then, it is not just a matter of generally bringing people up in the right sort of musical environment for the sake of their characters, but of the intelligent man using music to heal himself when he recognizes that his soul-circuits are out of kilter. This corresponds very closely to the story about Kleinias the Pythagorean playing the lyre to calm himself when he was angry.

The modes which Plato approved, the Dorian and the Phrygian, were generally agreed to be markedly distinct in character. The Dorian was considered steady and dignified, stern, manly, and without frills; everyone speaks well of it. The Phrygian, on the other hand, was regarded as exciting and emotional. It is a little surprising that Plato accepted it in his ideal city-state, but he seems to have been impressed by its religious associations.

The idea that a person's mood might be directly affected by the mode of the music he was hearing finds its clearest expression in an I[59] anecdote about an intellectual—significantly, it is Pythagoras in some versions, Damon in others—who is out one evening and comes upon a drunken hooligan or hooligans indulging in wild behaviour and attended by a piper who is playing in the Phrygian mode. The sage persuades the piper to change to the Dorian mode—or according to others the Spondaic, which was even more solemn in character—and the disorderly conduct at once ceases.[23]

One at least of Plato's pupils is said to have practised musical therapy: Xenocrates of Chalcedon, who was head of the Academy from 339 to 314. According to Martianus Capella, *Xenocrates organicis modulis lymphaticos liberabat*, that is, he used instrumental music to cure hysterics.[24] The specific reference to instrumental music is of interest, because it confirms that the effect was ascribed to the music itself, with the modes and rhythms intrinsic to it, independently of any words. When Hesiod remarked on the power of epic song to make a grieving man forget his sorrows, he was no doubt referring to the absorbing narrative rather than the musical

[22] Pl. *Tim.* 47d.

[23] *AGM* 31 with references.

[24] Mart. Cap. 9. 926. G. Wille, *Musica Romana: Die Bedeutung der Musik im Leben der Römer* (Amsterdam 1967), 415 and 643, oddly renders *organicis modulis* as 'durch Orgelmusik'. The organ had not yet been invented in Xenocrates' time.

aspects of the performance.[25] It remained a matter of debate in antiquity whether music does in fact excercise any effect on the emotions apart from the words with which it is associated. The common view, following Damon and Plato, was that it does: the modes and rhythms were potent in themselves. But Damon's view was contested by a sophist of the early fourth century (perhaps Alcidamas), and later Epicurus, Philodemus, and Sextus Empiricus were to deny that music devoid of words was capable of exercising any moral effect on the hearer, though it could certainly give him pleasure.

The principal Greek musical instruments were the lyre and the aulos. The aulos was not a flute, as it is constantly mistranslated, but a reed instrument of the oboe type; it was almost always played in pairs, that is, the player had two of them in his mouth at once and played one with each hand. In terms of their psychological or therapeutic effects, the lyre and the aulos were sharply differentiated. The Dorian mode was more associated with the lyre, the Phrygian with the aulos. In the Pythagorean tradition it is the lyre that plays the major role. It is the lyre that Kleinias and other Pythagoreans are said to use in their freshening-up and calming exercises. Later writers say that Pythagoras considered the aulos loutish (*ὑβριστικόν*) and vulgar, and [60] even recommended his disciples to wash their ears out after hearing it, whereas the lyre was suitable for purifying their souls of irrational passions.[26] In the Neopythagorean poem which I mentioned earlier, *The Lyre*, it was this instrument that was supposed to assist the soul in its ascent from the lower to the upper world.

If the lyre is a power for good, the aulos is more ambivalent. It is notorious for inflaming the passions, which the Pythagoreans were against. The verb *κατ-αυλέω*, literally 'play the aulos over' someone, meant metaphorically to bewitch or put a spell on him. In some circumstances it was held to produce positively good effects. Plato refers to orgiastic frenzy being cured by means of religious dancing to the aulos. He compares the process to that by which a restless child is put to sleep by rocking and lullabies: the regular movement imposed from without by the rocking or the dancing overcomes the wild internal jerkings of the soul and creates order and calm.[27] Aristoxenus himself used the aulos to cure a man who could not

[25] Hes. *Th.* 98–103, cf. 55 with my note ad loc. (*Hesiod. Theogony* (Oxford 1966), 175).

[26] Iambl. *De Vita Pythag.* 111; Arist. Quint. 2. 19 (p. 91. 27 W.-I.).

[27] Pl. *Leg.* 790d–1a.

stand the sound of a trumpet and would scream and become frantic if he heard one. He cured him by accustoming him to listen to the aulos, which he gradually played louder until the man could tolerate the trumpet.[28]

I have spoken so far mainly about the use of music in treating psychic disorders, but there was some belief in its applicability to physical ailments too. I quoted Aristoxenus' statement that the Pythagoreans 'used medicine for purifying the body, music for purifying the soul'. But later writers mention Pythagorean musical therapy applied to bodily ills. 'With rhythms, melodies, and incantations', says Porphyry in his *Life of Pythagoras*, 'he charmed away psychic and somatic afflictions . . . He had healing songs also for illnesses of the body, which he would sing over the sick and cure them.' Iamblichus writes in similar terms in his book on *The Pythagorean Life*: 'Sometimes they also cured certain afflictions and ailments, it is said, by "incantation" in the true sense [i.e. singing over the patient]; something like this is probably the source of the general use of this word "incantation".'[29]

Otherwise we hear little of incantations after the fifth century BCE, but we do hear something of the use of aulos music. Ismenias, one of the many noted aulos-players who came from Thebes, around 400 BCE, is reputed to have applied his music successfully to the cure of [61] sciatica.[30] According to Theophrastus, sufferers from sciatica could be kept free of the complaint if someone played the aulos over the affected part in the Phrygian mode. He also mentioned fainting, panic, and epilepsy as conditions that could be alleviated by means of the aulos. Bolus of Mendes, in a book that went falsely under the name of Democritus, also listed a number of ailments that could be cured by aulos-playing, including snake-bites.[31] Another apparently Hellenistic medical writer described how an aulos-player had brought relief to what are vaguely called 'painful places': the performance had made them palpitate, as if dancing in response to the music, and then the pain had gone away.[32]

[28] Theophrastus fr. 726A Fortenbaugh.

[29] Porph. *Vit. Pythag.* 30, 33; Iambl. *De Vita Pythag.* 114, cf. 164, 244.

[30] Boeth. *Inst. Mus.* 1. 1 p. 185. 20 Friedlein.

[31] Theophrastus fr. 726A–C F.; ps.-Democritus (Bolus), DK 68 B 300. 7.

[32] 'The brother of Philistion' *ap.* Caelius Aurelianus, *Chronicae Passiones* 5. 1. 23 (from Soranus). Philistion was a famous doctor of the fourth century BCE, but nothing is known of his 'brother'.

When we turn to Rome, we find that the evidence is largely just a reflection of Greek theory and Greek anecdote. There was a native tradition of incantations against injury or disease; Cato quotes a couple—which look like complete gibberish—to be used in a magical ritual for curing dislocations, and Varro, with a patronizing smile, quotes a more intelligible one for pain in the feet. It had to be chanted twenty-seven times (*ter noviens*), and the sufferer had also to touch the earth, spit, and fast. Clearly this belongs in the realm of magic ritual and not music therapy. One or two more of these popular incantations are recorded in the works of Pelagonius and Marcellus.[33]

The greatest scholar Rome ever produced was M. Terentius Varro, an older contemporary of Cicero. The seventh book of Varro's lost *Disciplinae*, a survey of the liberal arts, was devoted to music. It drew largely on Greek sources, and reproduced most of the stock stories about Thaletas overcoming the plague in Sparta with his paeans, about the Pythagoreans and Damon, about Xenocrates, and about those who cured sciatica by means of the aulos. From Varro all these items became commonplaces of the Latin tradition down to Martianus Capella and Boethius.

For the rest, there is little in the way of new developments to record. Further reports of practical therapy by music remain largely within existing parameters. Cicero mentions that his old friend, the blind Stoic Diodotus, made use of lyre music in the Pythagorean manner to relax his mind.[34] Another friend of Cicero's, the physician Asclepiades of Bithynia, is said to have often cured phrenetics by means of *symphonia*, which probably means instrumental music, and [62] to have treated deafness with trumpet-blasts, which sounds a dubious procedure.[35] Cicero tells us that he had personally availed himself of Asclepiades' medical expertise, though he does not admit to those particular complaints or mention musical treatment. Maecenas had soft music played outside his bedroom to banish the cares of the day from his mind and lull him to sleep.[36]

[33] Cato, *De Agricultura* 160; Varro, *De Re Rustica* 1. 2. 27; Pelagonius p. 121. 58 Ihm; Marcellus *Med.* 8. 191; 21. 3; J. Blänsdorf, *Fragmenta Poetarum Latinorum epicorum et lyricorum* (Berlin–New York ⁴2011), 417–19.

[34] Cic. *Tusc.* 5. 113.

[35] Censorinus, *De Die Natali* 12. 4; Mart. Cap. 9. 926.

[36] Seneca, *De Providentia* 3. 10; perhaps reflected by Maecenas' protégé Horace, *Odes* 3. 1. 20.

The picture is extended a little by the one reference to musical therapy in Celsus' eight books on medicine, written in the time of Tiberius. Among the varieties of mental illness he mentions those who suffer from *tristes cogitationes*, which sounds like depression. In treating this, he says, *symphoniae et cymbala strepitusque* are beneficial.[37] The reference to cymbals and loud noise recalls the Bacchic and Corybantic cults known from Plato, in which the initiates danced themselves into a frenzy and out again to the accompaniment of drums, cymbals, and Phrygian aulos music. I mentioned earlier Plato's reference to the curing of orgiastic frenzy by dancing. But Celsus does not seem to have that kind of scene in mind, but rather the special provision of violent auditory stimuli for the benefit of the depressive patient.

A later instance of the use of instrumental music to calm a phrenetic is recorded by the sixth-century Syriac ecclesiastical historian John of Ephesus. The patient was the emperor Justin II (565–78). According to John he would rush about in a suicidal frenzy, scream and jabber, bite those who approached him, or hide under his bed. What soothed him most was being run about on a trolley as fast as possible, but his chamberlains also succeeded in keeping him quiet for long periods by playing an organ in an adjacent room.[38]

Medical writers of the imperial period occasionally acknowledge the power of music and song to calm the soul or raise the spirits. Rufus of Ephesus (*c.*100 CE) recommended music, together with other pleasant stimuli such as diluted wine, friendly converse, listening to poetry, and walking in gardens, for the relief of love-sickness. He cited a claim attributed to Orpheus, that he could turn men's spirits in whatever direction he chose by his music.[39] Galen notes that people's ethos, and thus their health, may be corrupted by a bad environment, including the words and music that they listen to, and that the healer must understand these effects: Asclepius himself often pre[63]scribed the composition of songs or mimes to calm the soul and thus cool the overheated mixture of humours in the body;

[37] Celsus, *De Medicina* 3. 18. 10.

[38] John of Ephesus, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 3. 2–3.

[39] Quoted by the Arabic physician Abū Ja'far ibn al-Jazzār; see C. Burnett, 'European Knowledge of Arabic Texts Referring to Music', *Early Music History* 12 (1993), 2–4. I owe this and the previous reference to Peregrine Horden.

nurses soothe infants by means of vocal melody.[40] Soranus of Ephesus referred to the effects of Phrygian or Dorian aulos music on the mood.[41]

With regard to the treatment of physical afflictions, on the other hand, the picture is somewhat different. The occasional references to the use of musical therapy by practising physicians should not mislead us into thinking that it was a regular and accepted recourse of ancient medicine. There was, after all, a powerful tradition of scientific medicine in antiquity, represented by a voluminous body of technical literature, from the Hippocratic corpus onwards. In all this literature music therapy of physical ills is almost wholly ignored, or it is mentioned only to be dismissed. The author of the Hippocratic treatise *On the Sacred Disease* (that is, epilepsy), whose view is that this ailment is in fact no more sacred or supernatural than any other, pours scorn on the charlatans who claim to treat it with incantations and ritual purifications.[42] He does not seem to know of more distinctly musical forms of therapy being applied to this disease. The great Alexandrian physician Herophilus worked out a theory of the pulse according to which the relation between the diastole and the systole was analysed in terms of musical or poetic rhythms, changing over the course of a lifetime from pyrrhic to trochaic, then to spondaic and finally iambic. Varro and others refer to the theory in the context of music therapy, but Herophilus had apparently said nothing about using rhythmic sounds to control the pulse. Soranus rejected as folly the belief that music and song could reduce the strength of a physical affliction.[43] Quintus Serenus (or Serenius), the author of a medical textbook in Latin hexameters, dismisses as an old wives' tale the idea that fever can be dispelled by modulated singing (*uario carmine*).[44] Mainline medicine relied on diet, exercise, baths, drugs, or, if necessary, surgery. Music therapy was fringe medicine, even if one or two regular doctors are recorded as having made some use of it.

Interest in the idea was sustained not so much by medical literature as by philosophical and musicological literature; more specifically, by those traditions of philosophical and musicological

[40] Galen, *De Tuenda Sanitate* 1. 8. 14, 20, 29 (*CMG* v 4(2). 19 f).
[41] Caelius Aurelianus, *Chronicae Passiones* 1. 5. 175.
[42] 'Hippocr.' *De Morbo Sacro* 1. 4, 12, 39.
[43] Caelius Aurelianus, loc. cit. (above, n. 32).
[44] Q. Serenus, *Liber Medicinalis* 930 f. (Baehrens, *Poetae Latini Minores*, iii. 150).

literature which reflected the influence of Pythagoreanism. The Pythagorean discovery of the mathematical basis of musical intervals led, as I have said, to [64] the conviction that number and number ratios were at the heart of everything. Sometime before Aristotle a Pythagorean cosmogony was invented (perhaps by Philolaus of Croton), according to which the world developed by the generation of numbers from an initial One, which 'breathed in' a piece of infinity and so divided itself into two. Things were understood to be numbers, and their relationships—justice, for example—could be expressed as mathematical relationships. In Plato's *Phaedo* the theory is discussed that the soul is a ἁρμονία, a tuning, the body being the physical instrument like the lyre which is tuned and put into order. There is no mention of music therapy here, but it is obvious that the upholders of the theory must have been very close to the idea that any disorder in the tuning of the soul might respond to the music of a correctly tuned instrument: the well-tempered lyre would produce the well-tempered man. Aristotle echoes this line of thought in his *Politics*:

> It is clear that music is capable of conferring a particular quality on the soul's character . . . And there seems to be (in the soul) some sort of kinship with the ἁρμονίαι and the rhythms, so that many of the sages say, some of them that the soul is a ἁρμονία, others that it possesses ἁρμονία.[45]

The Socrates of the *Phaedo* refutes the theory that the soul is a ἁρμονία, which had the undesirable consequence that it could not exist without the body. But Plato went on in other works to portray the universe as permeated by mathematical formulae and harmonic relationships. In the *Republic*, for example, there is the doctrine of the Harmony of the Spheres, according to which the planetary and stellar spheres make up a vast musical instrument, tuned to the notes of the diatonic octave. I have already quoted one of various passages where Plato speaks in terms of the soul having circuits or revolutions (περίοδοι), analogous to those of the heavenly bodies. Against such a theoretical background, the obvious fact that we do respond to music and that it can affect our moods could easily be given a rational explanation. Music, the soul, and the whole universe were governed by the same principles of mathematical order and proportion. The musical scale, above all, provided the paradigm of

[45] Pl. *Phaedo* 85e ff.; Arist. *Pol.* 1340b11–19.

an ordered set of proportional relationships, matched at the cosmic level by the ordered [65] set of seven planetary spheres and the stellar firmament beyond them, corresponding to the eight notes of the octave.

The influence of Platonic theory is conspicuous in the two major Greek writers on music in the Roman period, Ptolemy and Aristides Quintilianus. For Ptolemy the whole order of nature is characterized by proportional arrangements similar to those of musical tunings. He gives a detailed analysis of the soul into three parts, which correspond to the musical concords of octave, fifth, and fourth. Just as these concords, considered as scales or scale segments, have respectively seven, five, and four different possible species or modal structures, so the three parts of the soul have respectively seven, five, and four faculties or virtues. The tuning of the parts governs the condition of the soul. Hence, he writes,

> our souls are quite plainly affected in sympathy with the actual activities of a melody, recognizing the kinship, as it were, of the ratios belonging to its particular kind of constitution, and being moulded by the movements specific to the idiosyncrasies of the melodies, so that they are led sometimes into pleasures and relaxations, sometimes into griefs and contractions; they are sometimes stupefied and lulled to sleep, sometimes invigorated and aroused; and they are sometimes turned towards peacefulness and restraint, sometimes towards frenzy and ecstasy, as the melody itself modulates in different ways at different times, and draws our souls towards the conditions constituted from the likenesses of the ratios.[46]

Aristides Quintilianus has an even more elaborate theory of cosmic harmony. He holds that everything is based on number and proportion, and that our earthly music is but an imperfect imitation of the music of the spheres, the celestial attunement manifested in the revolutions of the heavens. The soul too is an attunement, based on the same set of ratios as a musical scale. It is because of this kinship that the soul is moved by music. Alternatively, it is moved because, in entering the body, it has become enmeshed in a structure of sinews and breath, and these, like the strings of a lyre or the air in an aulos, vibrate in sympathy when a stringed or wind instrument is sounded. Aristides holds that the effects produced by music on the soul are basically of three types: depressant, stimulant, and calming. Because

[46] Ptol. *Harm.* 3. 4–7; translation from A. Barker, *Greek Musical Writings*, ii (Cambridge 1989), 379.

[66] of its power, music is of importance both for educational and for therapeutic purposes.[47]

Such lofty theories as these, developed in a straight line from Plato and pre-Platonic Pythagoreanism, could be held to give philosophical respectability to the concept of music therapy, though they did not have an obvious bearing on such practices as treating sciatica or snake-bites with oboe music, and they do not appear to have inspired much therapeutic practice.

It is appropriate to end this survey by returning to Boethius, whose *De Institutione Musica*, written in the early years of the sixth century, became the main channel by which knowledge of ancient musical theory was perpetuated in the Middle Ages in the West. Imbued with the Platonist theory of the cosmic harmony to which we respond with our kindred organs, he retails the familiar stories and examples that demonstrate the power of music over mind and body: Pythagoras' calming of the drunken hooligan, Terpander's delivery of Lesbos from a plague (a variant of the tradition about Thaletas), Ismenias' treatment of sciatica, the Pythagoreans' morning and evening songs, the connection between musical rhythm and the human pulse, the soothing of babies with lullabies.[48] All this served to emphasize the profound importance of music for human life and education. The case was persuasive, and the authority of the writer made it influential.

[47] Arist. Quint. 2. 3–6, 17–18; 3. 7, 9 ff. Translations may be found in Barker, *Greek Musical Writings* ii, 459 ff.

[48] Boeth. *Inst. mus.* 1. 1 pp. 184–6 Friedlein; Wille (as in n. 24), 659–60.

18

Three Topics in Greek Metre

Catalexis, Anceps, Caesura

I. CATALEXIS

Catalexis was the subject of an important recent article by L. P. E. Parker.[1] There is one particular aspect of it that she does not touch, and that ought not to be left out of account: its presumable Indo-European origins. Consideration of this aspect leads to the drawing of distinctions which otherwise tend to escape notice.

In all the main categories of Greek metre it is possible to distinguish catalectic and acatalectic cola, so related that the last two positions in the acatalectic colon correspond to a single position in the catalectic:[2]

	acatalectic	catalectic
aeolic	. . . ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ –	. . . ⏑ ⏑ – –
iambic	. . . – ⏒ – ⏑ –	. . . – ⏑ – –
trochaic	. . . – ⏑ – ×	. . . – ⏑ –
cretic	. . . – ⏑ – – ⏑ –	. . . – ⏑ – – –
dactylic	. . . – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑	. . . – ⏑ ⏑ – –
anapaestic	. . . ⏒⏒ – ⏒⏒ –	. . . ⏑ ⏑ – –
ionic	. . . ⏑ ⏑ – –	. . . ⏑ ⏑ –
dochmiac	⏒ – – ⏒ –	⏒ – – –

'Three Topics in Greek Metre', *CQ* 32 (1982), 281–97.

[1] *CQ* 26 (1976), 14–28.

[2] I use the term 'position', which ought to be self-explanatory, for what Maas and others after him call 'element'. 'Elements' suggests στοιχεῖα, components of language or of particular verses.

In many cases the catalectic forms are associated with period- or strophe-end; in trochaics, dactyls, and anapaests the association is so regular that one may almost say that the acatalectic forms cannot end a period.[3] Catalectic cola are thus 'catalectic' in a double sense: they end before the measure of the full colon is reached, and they tend to end a larger metrical sequence.

The commonest verses in the Vedas are a twelve-syllable line ending . . . ⏑ – ⏑ –, an eleven-syllable line ending . . . ⏑ – –, and an eight-syllable line ending . . . ⏑ – ⏑ –; there is also a heptasyllable ending . . . ⏑ – –. The seven- and eleven-syllable lines are obviously 'catalectic' in relation to the eight- and twelve-syllable ones in the Greek sense, and students of Indian metre have long applied the term to them. The hendecasyllable is actually used to end certain songs composed in dodecasyllables, as well as in independent stanzas, so that there is a parallel with the clausular function of Greek catalectic cola. In other Indo-European poetries the original quantitative patterns have largely been obscured by accentual developments. I have argued, however, that the catalectic/acatalectic contrast has left recognizable traces in Slavic, Old Irish, Germanic, and early Latin verse-forms, the last three all showing some evidence of a tendency for the longer verse to precede the shorter.[4]

It seems reasonable to assume on the strength of the Indian evidence, whatever one thinks of the rest, that *one* of the Greek types of catalexis, namely . . . ⏑ – ⏑ – / . . . ⏑ – –, was inherited, both as a formal phenomenon and in its potentially clausular role. Catalexis in iambic and aeolic verse is, I suggest, to be understood in the light of this. I[282] Cola of acatalectic form (e.g. the iambic dimeter, the glyconic, or the telesillean) and those of catalectic form (pherecratean, reizianum, aristophanean, etc.) are both alike viable as independent verses. A poem or strophe may be constructed from either, or from a combination of both; if from both, the normal pattern will be a catalectic close contrasting with antecedent acatalectic verses or cola. The basic cola themselves are developments from inherited prototypes.[5]

When we turn to dactyls we find a different situation. Dactylic metre seems to be a specifically Greek development in which the inherited cola can no longer be recognized. A dactylic period, if it is

[3] 'Almost', because there are a handful of difficult cases.

[4] *Glotta* 51 (1973), 161–87. [5] See ibid. 165–70, and *CQ* 23 (1973), 184 f.

fully dactylic, must end either . . . – ∪ ∪ – – ‖ or . . . – ∪ ∪ – ‖. (I say 'if it is fully dactylic' because of course there are endings such as *οὐδεμίαν κατάκοιτος ὥραν*, where the period reveals itself as in essence a greatly expanded aeolic verse.) In Stesichorus' *Geryoneis* the ending . . . ∪ ∪ – ||| differentiates the close of the strophe from that of the other periods within the strophe, which end . . . ∪ ∪ – – ‖. It would be possible to call the latter acatalectic and the former the catalectic equivalent.[6] Ancient metricians, however, classified them both as catalectic, *εἰς συλλαβήν* or *εἰς δισύλλαβον* (Heph. *Ench.* 7. 1), reserving 'acatalectic' for verses in which the last 'foot' has the same form as the preceding ones, with the proviso that the final syllable is always anceps. An acatalectic dactylic tetrameter, therefore, according to them, has the form

– ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ×,

and they are able to find it, preceded by a disyllabic foot of any kind, in the metre of Sappho's second book (Heph. 7. 5–7). It is very doubtful, however, whether it can be found in anything that we would accept as dactylic.[7] The newest piece of evidence is provided by P. Oxy. 3213, published in 1977. Combined with P. Oxy. 2443 fr. 1, it gives a fragment of Alcman (*PMGF* S5(*b*), pp. 67 f.) in which a strophe begins

ταὶ δ' ὅτε δὴ ποταμῶι καλλιρρόωι
ἀράσαντ' ἐρατὸν τελέσαι γάμον
καὶ τὰ παθῆν ἃ γυναιξὶ καὶ ἀνδρά[σι(ν)
. . .]ατα κωριδίας τ' εὐνᾶς [τυ]χῆν.

The second and fourth lines have the scheme – ⏑⏑ – ∪ ∪ – | ⏑⏑ – ∪ –. The first and third may be the same, if period-end is assumed at *καλλιρρόωι*, or they may be – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ | in synapheia. In any case we would appear to have firm examples of the

[6] A. Dain and D. S. Raven have followed this course.

[7] See A. M. Dale, *Wien. St.* 77 (1964), 15–36 = *Collected Papers* (Cambridge 1969), 185–209; Parker 18 f. At Ibycus 282 (=S151), 24–5, the emendation of mine that Page cites in his apparatus in *SLG* was presented in *Phil.* 110 (1966), 152 f. I discuss Archil. 190 in *SGEI* 135. Parker seems to be suggesting that the dactylic tetrameter and the ithyphallic which make up that fragment might really have been separate verses, since the Cologne fragment has shown that another of Archilochus' so-called asynarteta, D | 2*ia*, was in fact D ‖ 2*ia*. But that has no bearing on the viability of 4*da* as an independent verse.

elusive entity – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ×; and another can be seen in Alcm. *PMGF* 57,

οἷα Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἔρσα τράφει
καὶ Σελάνας.

However, I have argued elsewhere that these verses are not to be considered as tetrameters, like the very common | – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ |, but as *D* | ⏑⏑ *e*.[8] That is not something that has a catalectic equivalent. I maintain that there is no such thing as an acatalectic tetrameter – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ × corresponding to the 'catalectic' |[283] – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – –. There is only the pure – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ |, and it exists only as a proclitic colon, so to speak: it cannot end a period,[9] it is merely the standard length in which dactyls are measured out in the course of a *πνεῖγος*. Iambics, trochaics, and anapaests likewise tend to be dispensed in tetrapodies when they occur in long runs. It is convenient and conventional to distinguish . . . – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ | and . . . – ∪ ∪ – – | as 'acatalectic' and 'catalectic', and it is also appropriate inasmuch as one is a non-stopping and the other a stopping rhythm. But the relationship is not the same as between acatalectic and catalectic iambic or aeolic cola. There is no contrast here of longer and shorter closing rhythms; that only exists between . . . ∪ ∪ – – ‖ and . . . ∪ ∪ – ‖.[10]

The case is similar with anapaests. What we call the catalectic cadence, . . . ∪ ∪ – – ‖, is in fact the only way of ending a period in normal circumstances.[11] . . . ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – | is non-final, and there

[8] See *ZPE* 26 (1977), 39.

[9] There is occasionally hiatus after it (Ar. *Pax* 116, S. *Ph.* 1205, E. *Or.* 1303, *Phaeth.* 111 (before exclamation *ὦ*), cf. *Supp.* 277 (hexameter), *Or.* 1302 (∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ |)), but like the hiatus sometimes found at the bucolic caesura in Homer, it cannot be interpreted as closing a period. Cf. E. Fraenkel, *Kleine Beiträge*, i. 190; D. Korzeniewski, *Griechische Metrik* (Darmstadt 1968), 74. Hephaestion says that Alcman composed entire strophes in acatalectic tetrameters, but the fragment he quotes (*PMGF* 27) is presumably only part of a strophe (despite Syrianus, *Comm. in Hermog.* i. 61 R.); I assume with Wilamowitz (quoted by Fraenkel 189) that it must have ended ∪ ∪ – –.

[10] Parker 19 regards the final position in . . . ∪ ∪ – – ‖ as a biceps with compulsory contraction. This does not seem to me meaningful. If double short is precluded, it is not a biceps. Besides, contraction (– for ∪ ∪) must be a secondary phenomenon, whereas – – as a close must be original. Anyway it may be more correct to write the pendant close as – × than as – –. This point will be discussed presently.

[11] Occasionally, and especially in emotionally charged contexts, we do find . . . ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – | with hiatus or *brevis in longo* (but not a short open vowel): *Alc.* 78, *Med.* 1396, *Ant.* 932, 936, *Nub.* 892, *Av.* 212, *OC* 139, 143, 170, 188, 1757.

is no question of such a cadence as . . . ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ‖. I presume that in the earliest Greek poetry, moulded by the Indo-European tradition, all verses ended either in – ∪ – ‖ or in – – ‖. Those in – ∪ – ‖ were capable of dactylic expansion, giving such verses as *ἠράμαν μὲν ἔγω σέθεν Ἄτθι πάλαι ποτά* or *ἦρι μὲν αἵ τε Κυδώνιαι*, but these remained associated with aeolic verse and did not develop as a separate genus. What we know as dactylic and anapaestic developed from verses in – – ‖, acquiring a distinctive character from their uniformity of rhythm. Their endings in ∪ ∪ – – are thus catalectic endings in a historical as well as a functional sense, whereas 'acatalectic' dactylic and anapaestic measures are acatalectic only in the functional sense.

We now turn to trochaic. Acatalectic dimeters and trimeters appear as independent verses among aeolic and dactylic cola in Alcman (*PMGF* 1 str. 9–12; 3 str. 3) and in dactylo-epitrites from Stesichorus on. In verse of regular trochaic or iambo-trochaic movement, however, acatalectic trochaic period-end can scarcely be found. There are plenty of ithyphallic endings, and a few of the type ∪ – ∪ – | – ∪ – – ‖.[12] But apart from one or two doubtful cases in Aristophanes,[13] acatalectic trochaic measures are proclitic and require something different to close the period, most often a lekythion. The pattern represented by the tetrameter,

– ∪ – × – ∪ – × | – ∪ – × – ∪ – ‖,

|[284] appears in more extended form in a song such as Anacreon's *πῶλε Θρηικίη* (*2tr* | *2tr* | *2tr* | *lek* ‖) and often in comedy, for example in the *πνίγη* which sometimes follow tetrameter passages. In tragic lyric, trochaic cola emerge as segments within strophes that begin and end with blunt cola, strophes that seen as a whole are iambic and are capable of analysis into iambic metra throughout if a series of trochaic word-divisions is disregarded. *Helen* 168–78, with

[12] Sim. *PMG* 541. 13 (=256. 13 Poltera)?, Pind. *Ol.* 2 str. l, ep. 2, 5?, Bacchyl. 17 ep. 7?; S. *Ant.* 364 ~ 374; E. *Supp.* 368 ~ 372, 376 ~ 380, *Or.* 966 f. ~ 977 f.

[13] *Vesp.* 407 *ἐντέταται' ὀξύ* (with irregular double short and unelidable vowel in hiatus); 1064 f. *οἴχεται, κύκνου τε πολιώτεραι δή ‖ αἴδ' ἐπανθοῦσαι τρίχες ‖* (but the lekythion is unlikely to be a separate period; MacDowell takes *δή* to be in correption, which would be highly abnormal); *Eccl.* 899 (where *ὥσπερ ξυνείην ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἕτερον ἄν πέτοιτο* may be an addition; cf. Wilamowitz, *Griechische Verskunst* (Berlin 1921), 476).

its trochaic *πνῖγος* ending in a lekythion, is the outstanding example. The lekythion in this category of lyric should not be considered as a catalectic trochaic dimeter. It is one of the basic constituents of all iambic verse, whether or not trochaic segmentation is present, and its acatalectic status is shown by its relationship to the ithyphallic, which functions as its catalectic counterpart. For example in *Cho.* 631–8, *κακῶν δὲ πρεσβεύεται τὸ Λήμνιον κτλ.*, the scheme of the strophe is: *ia lek* | *ia 2lek* | *ia lek* | *ia ˏia* | *ia lek* | *ia lek* | *ia˳ ith* ‖. Lekythion and ithyphallic are clearly an acatalectic/catalectic pair of the inherited type. But all so-called catalectic trochaic verses end with a lekythion or lekythion + iambic metron. What goes by the name of catalectic trochaic, therefore, is from a historical point of view acatalectic. As for what we call acatalectic trochaic, we should perhaps distinguish between the autonomous verses in the Dorian poets and the proclitic cola that occur in iambic and iambo-trochaic. The latter seem to be on a par with 'acatalectic' dactylic tetrameters, that is, they are extension-pieces. The word-divisions that mark them out help us to keep time as the rhythm flows on uninterrupted, and make it clear that there is to be no pause just yet. The former, on the other hand, can perhaps be derived from an Indo-European prototype, as they have an analogue in an octosyllabic verse of the form × × × × – ∪ – – used in a few early Vedic hymns. The cadence of this verse would suggest that it belongs to the catalectic category; but it has no acatalectic counterpart one syllable longer, and it may possibly represent a hypercatalectic type. A hypothetical Indo-European opposition between hypercatalectic . . . – ∪ – – and acatalectic . . . – ∪ – would provide a prototype for the opposition between 'acatalectic' and 'catalectic' trochaics in Greek.[14]

The Greek metre that has the greatest chance of being of foreign origin is the cretic. From at least the fifth century BCE it was considered to be characteristic of Crete, and the earliest poet known to have used it is Thaletas of Gortyn.[15] It is not easily related to other Greek metres, and is unique in having hemiolic rhythm. A Minoan

[14] On hypercatalexis in Greek see Parker 16. She points out that it functions in the same way as catalexis in that it produces a contrast between blunt and pendant clausulae.

[15] Cratinus 237, *PMG* 967, *al.*; Glaucus of Rhegium *ap.* ps.-Plut. *De musica* 1134de; Ephorus 70 F 149 §16.

legacy preserved in cultic dance? The catalectic close appears in Alcman's cretic hexameters (*PMGF* 58) and in *PMG* 967,

Κρησίοις ἐν ῥυθμοῖς παῖδα μέλψωμεν ‖,

whereas in drama (and the late Delphic Paeans) cretic periods and strophes end acatalectic. We cannot document an alternation of the two endings in any context. Formally they resemble the aeolic and iambic alternatives × – ∪ – / ∪ – –, but it is hard to say whether the cretic catalexis represents a congener of the Helladic type, an innovation under Helladic influence, or an independent growth.

In ionics we find several different forms that have a claim to be called catalectic, though they do not occur in the earliest evidence, the ionics of Alcman and the Lesbian poets.[16] In Anacreon too ionics are normally of equal length. But Hephaestion quotes I[285] from him the catalectic verse *Διονύσου σαῦλαι Βασσαρίδες* (*PMG* 411(*b*)); and 346. 1 shows us a strophe with hypermetric beginning and hypercatalectic end:

– ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ∪ – – |
∪ ∪ – ∪ – ∪ – – |
∪ ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – – |||

The third verse is paralleled in A. *Supp.* 867 (~ 877) *εἰ γὰρ δυσπαλάμως ὄλοιο* ‖ (in form like a hipponactean, but in the context ionic), *PV* 130 ~ 146, *Ba.* 536 ~ 555, Corinna *PMG* 654, and it has an anaclastic equivalent in Anacr. 413–14 (stichic trimeters) ∪ ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ∪ – ∪ – – and Bacchyl. fr. 19. 1–2 (refrain),

σὺ δὲ σὺν χιτῶνι μούνωι
παρὰ τὴν φίλην γυναῖκα φεύγεις.

The reduced metron ∪ ∪ – is quite common in drama; it sometimes serves as period-end, but it also occurs freely at the beginning of the verse or within it. The anaclastic dimeter ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ∪ – – gives rise to catalectic clausulae as follows:

∪ ∪ – ∪ – – –	*Cycl.* 502–10, *Ba.* 71 (taken up in 72 ff.).
∪ ∪ – ∪ ⏑⏑ ∪ –	in galliambics (Catull. 63, etc.; Diog. Laert. 8. 91); cf. *Pers.* 107 ~ 113.
∪ ∪ – ∪ – –	*PV* 134 ~ 151, *Vesp.* 302 ~ 316, *Ba.* 385 ~ 401, 536 ~ 555.

[16] Unless Lesb. inc. 23 *χρυσοφάην θεράπαιναν Ἀφροδίτας* represents the end of a catalectic followed by an anaclastic ionic.

Mention may also be made of the metrically unique Dictaean Hymn (*Coll. Alex.* 160) with its ionics *a maiore* – ⏑ ⊽ ∪ – ⏑ ⊽ ∪ | and catalectic – ∪ – ∪ – – – |||.

Part of the anaclastic series corresponds closely to part of the iambo-trochaic series, differing only in the initial syllable:

∪ ∪ – ⊽ – ∪ – –	– ∪ – × – ∪ – –	(*2tr*)
∪ ∪ – ∪ – ∪ –	– ∪ – ⊽ – ∪ –	(*lek*)
∪ ∪ – ∪ – –	– ∪ – ∪ – –	(*ith*)

As we have seen, these may represent Indo-European hypercatalectic, acatalectic, and catalectic respectively. If so, there has been a displacement of functions in the ionic genus, the first type becoming the standard and the others alternative catalectics to it. But we are hampered by not knowing whether ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ∪ – – and ∪ ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – – are of separate origin, and if not, which was primary.

The alternation . . . ∪ ∪ – – / . . . ∪ ∪ – is one that we met, but did not account for, in dactylic, where . . . – – seemed to be an original catalectic. The shorter clausula may have arisen by generalization of the principle of blunt/pendant contrast. Again a displacement would be involved. Originally the pendant close was the catalectic, but where it became the dominant form in a particular genus a vacancy might be created for a new catalectic, a shorter blunt form, to contrast with it. In ionics the alternation of ∪ ∪ – and ∪ ∪ – – within the verse (however that originated) provided especially favourable conditions.

In the dochmiac genus a catalectic counterpart of the basic form ⊽ – – ⊽ – may perhaps be recognized in the colon ⊽ – – –, which is an elusive entity but does seem to occur occasionally. N. C. Conomis in his valuable study of dochmiacs in *Hermes* 92 (1964), 23–50, discusses it on p. 34. From dochmiac contexts he cites only *HF* 1024 (*λυσσάδι συγκατειρ*)*γάσω μοίραι* ‖, and several examples of *ἰώ μοί μοι*, to which he is rightly reluctant to ascribe metrical status. I would add A. *Supp.* 117 (*ἰλέομαι μὲν Ἄ*)*πίαν βοῦνιν*; *Hypsip.* fr. 759a. 103 (1624) *δι' Αἰγαίου*; *Rhes.* 832 (*ζῶντα πόρευσον· οὐ*) *παραιτοῦμαι* ||| (~ †466); possibly *Hipp.* 814 *αἰαῖ τόλμας*; *Tro.* 260 I[286] (*τί δ' ὃ νεοχμὸν = cr, ἀπ' ἐμέθεν ἐλάβετε = δ*) *τέκος, ποῦ μοι*; ‖. I leave out of account a number of examples of | – – – – – |, which can always be interpreted as an anapaestic metron. Resolved forms ⊽ ∪ ∪ – – can be adduced from Aeschylus:

Sept. 152 ὦ πότνι' Ἥρα ‖ ~ 160 ὦ φίλ' Ἄπολλον ‖; *Cho.* 962 ψάλιον οἴκων.[17] The colon does not seem strongly associated with a clausular role, though it does end the strophe in *Rhesus*, a section of a strophe in *HF*, and a period in several places.

The genesis of the dochmiac is obscure, but formally the opposition . . . – ∪ – / . . . – – fits the inherited model. The corresponding hypercatalectic will be ∪ – – ∪ – –, and this actually occurs in A. fr. 204b. 3 πυρὸς ἀκάματον αὐγάν ‖ ~ 12 τ[∪ –] σπευσίδωρ[ος] ‖, where the resolutions in 3 preclude description as two bacchei. Possibly this measure should be recognized in some other places where alternative analyses are available, e.g. *Ag.* 1103 (~ 1110) ἄφερτον φίλοισιν, | δυσίατον· ἀλκὰ δ' (ἑκὰς ἀποστατεῖ ‖); 1123 (~ 1134) (ξυνανύτει = cr) βίου δύντος αὐγαῖς; 1136 (~ 1146) ἰὼ ἰὼ ταλαίνας. Aeschylus several times closes a dochmiac strophe with an aristophanean, – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – –, and although he does the same in his iambic lyrics, it is worth pointing out that – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – is one of his favourite forms of dochmiac, and the aristophanean is hypercatalectic in relation to it. In *Sept.* 692–4, for example, the relationship is clearly felt:

> ὠμοδακής σ' ἄγαν ἵμερος ἐξοτρύ-
> νει πικρόκαρπον ἀνδροκτασίαν τελεῖν
> αἵματος οὐ θεμιστοῦ.

II. ANCEPS

I am not concerned with anceps syllables (as in Ἄρης, πικρός) but with anceps positions. They have always been with us, yet there is no unanimity among metricians about their classification and notation. There are certainly different sorts of anceps to be distinguished. However, I will venture a general proposition that embraces them all:

Greek metre is based on the ordered contrast of long and short. Those positions are anceps which are not required to be long or short in order to make the chosen pattern clear.

[17] And perhaps *Cycl.* 661 (τόρνευ' ἔλκε μή) σ' ἐξοδυνηθείς. Among iambics: *Andr.* 467 ἔριδας οἴκων ~ 475 ἄχθος ἐπ' ἄχθει; *OC* 1079 Ζεύς τι κατ' ἆμαρ ~ 1090 Παλλὰς Ἀθάνα.

Indo-European verse can be seen as essentially syllable-counting, with an opposition of long and short syllables in the cadence: more precisely, with a long syllable in the antepenultimate or penultimate position, set in relief by a short preceding it and (when antepenultimate) following it.[18] The scheme of the acatalectic octosyllable, for example, was

× × × × ∪ – ∪ × ‖

Such quantitative regulation as there was served to emphasize a single point in the delivery of the verse, near the end. The final syllable was apparently not involved. In Vedic verse, as in Greek, the quantity of the final syllable is indifferent.

As Greek verse evolved, it became subject to more extensive regulation of quantities. The principle was established that there should be fixed long positions—I call them (*loci*) *principes*—not only in the cadence but in the earlier part of the verse too, and that they should be spaced, neither adjacent to one another nor separated by more [287] than two other positions. For the pattern of these longs to be recognizable, it was necessary for some of the other positions to be kept short. Two rules sufficed; I shall call them the rules of contrast:

1. Each long (princeps) position must have a short adjacent to it.
2. No short syllable might be adjacent to a long syllable *not* in a princeps position, as this would create ambiguity as to which long syllable was occupying the princeps.

From these rules it follows that if successive principes are separated by two positions, these must both be short;[19] if only by one, it may be anceps, provided that the principes have an adjacent short on their other side. If a verse begins with a princeps, therefore, it must continue either – ∪ ∪ – { × – ∪ / ∪ ∪ – } or – ∪ – { × – ∪ / ∪ ∪ – }

In Ionic and Doric poetry these principles do operate from the beginning of the verse, but in the Aeolic tradition relics of the

[18] See above, 263. For simplicity I here omit the hypercatalectic type in which there are two longs with a short between.

[19] The contraction of such a double short into a long (biceps) is generally agreed to be a secondary development. It often results in long syllables in the principes having no short syllables next to them. We may still say that there are two short *positions*.

original freedom of the pre-cadential part of the verse survive in the glyconic ××−∪∪−∪− (with its congeners and derivatives) and in the verses ○○−×−∪∪−[20] and ×−×−∪∪−(∪−).[21] The peculiarity of these forms is that, while they obey the principle of having a princeps in every second or third position, the first princeps is not supported by the two rules of contrast.

Where the principes were regularly spaced on every second position, giving the iambo-trochaic pattern . . . −∪−×−∪−. . ., it was natural to carry the rhythm through to the end of the verse, so that ×−∪−∪−∪×‖ (for example) came to be understood as ×−∪−×−∪−‖. In practice the quantity of the final syllable remained free, but a short syllable there came to be felt as standing for a notional long. Even in asymmetrical cola of the acatalectic type, such as the glyconic ××−∪∪−∪×‖, the sense of recurrent longs in every second or third position was enough to confer the status of a theoretical long on the final anceps. Wherever a glyconic occurs in synapheia with a following colon in archaic or classical lyric, its eighth position is long and (in those poets who admit resolution in aeolic cola) resolvable. This does not happen with 'pendant' cola such as ××−∪∪−∪−× or ××−∪∪−×; their final syllable is usually long in synapheia, but not invariably, and it is not resolvable.[22]

The ancient metricians teach that the final syllable in any metre is indifferent, *ἀδιάφορος*.[23] Some of them explain that a short syllable in that place is made equivalent to a long by the addition of the pause:

Quintil. 9. 4. 93 neque enim ignoro in fine pro longa accipi breuem, quia uidetur aliquid uacantis temporis ex eo quod insequitur accedere.

Aphthon. ('Mar. Vict.') vi. 62. 29 Keil nihil enim metri interest utrum illa longa sit an breuis, ea uidelicet ratione quia distinctionis mora breue tempus extendit. Cf. 71. 20.

[20] Attested in the Lesbians only in the form −∪−∪−∪∪−, but perhaps in principle ××−×−∪∪−.

[21] Not attested in the Lesbians.

[22] Not all cola ending ∪−− are pendant in this sense: in bacchiacs and ionics both long positions behave as principes. In tragic ionics either is resolvable (in synapheia), and in bacchiacs at least the second (the first being presumably a triseme).

[23] A collection of passages is quoted by L. E. Rossi, *Riv. Fil.* 91 (1963), 61–3. Add Arist. Quint. p. 44. 7 W.-I.

Anon. vi. 636. 17 K. nihil interest longa an breui syllaba uersus finiatur, cum finiti uersus mora, etiam si breuem sortita est syllabam, adiectione uacui temporis faciat illam longae parem.

[288] Choerob. in Heph. p. 225. 8 C. *ἰστέον ὅτι ἡ βραχεῖα ἀντὶ μακρᾶς εὑρίσκεται εὐλόγως κατὰ τὸ τέλος· βοηθεῖται γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς σιωπῆς.*

They are not saying that *all* short finals stand in lieu of a long, since they also believe in long finals standing in lieu of a short,[24] but they certainly consider that a long would be the rational quantity in many metres. From the time of Boeckh the concept of a 'short instead of a long' has been orthodox doctrine, formulated by Maas as '(syllaba) brevis in (elemento) longo'.[25] Maas argued that 'inner responsion' very often requires a long in the final position and practically never a short; he meant that in an iambic line, for instance, the rhythm leads us to expect that the sequence will be repeated in the last metron. L. E. Rossi rejects this as too theoretical, 'un resto, tenace a morire, dell'intellettualismo hermanniano'. In his view the scheme of the verse requires nothing more nor less than an indifferent element in final place; the quantity of the syllable is rendered indifferent by the pause.[26] A. M. Dale distinguishes between metres in which the pattern does point to a final long (all those in which the penultimate is short, and bacchiacs or ionics in series) and metres in which it does not (aeolics, paroemiacs, dactyls, with pendant close . . . ∪−×).[27]

There is logic in all these standpoints. The final position can be notated as long in all cases inasmuch as it can always accommodate a long syllable, and when it is occupied by a short syllable its length can always be regarded as being made up by the pause. But if we want our notation to express the nature of the syllables which actually occur in a given position, we should mark the final as an anceps, since in the rest of the metrical scheme a long-mark signifies that a position

[24] See Aphthonius and Choeroboscus, locc. citt.

[25] *Griechische Metrik*, 2nd edn. (Leipzig–Berlin 1929), 35; *Greek Metre* (Oxford 1962), 29, 33.

[26] Rossi (as in n. 23), 63. He approves Maas's suggestion of a special symbol ⌒ to denote the final element, noting that in music this indicates the prolongation of a final note *ad libitum* (ibid. 71).

[27] *Collected Papers*, 188, cf. *Gnomon* 28 (1956), 193; *Lyric Metres of Greek Drama*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge 1968), 26. Parker in *CQ* (1976), 27 criticizes Dale for inconsistency, on the ground that she uses the criterion of internal responsion for the first group but not for the second, there being no internal responsion pointing to final anceps. This seems unfair. Dale is surely entitled to regard the final as anceps in the absence of internal responsion or other factors calling for it to be long.

requires a long syllable. If on the other hand we want it to express our perception of the colon's φύσις, it is perfectly reasonable to distinguish between cola which, when not closing the period, end in a (resolvable) princeps—glyconics, ionics, acatalectic iambic cola, etc.—and those which do not, and to show the final as long or anceps accordingly. It might be a worthwhile subject of research to determine how far poets do in fact admit short final syllables in period-endings of the two categories.[28]

We have now accounted for the three common types of anceps: (i) anceps preceding the initial princeps, including the double anceps of the Aeolic base; (ii) mid-verse anceps in the sequence ∪ – × – ∪; (iii) final anceps. Now for the rarer type for which Dale uses the name 'drag'. In *CQ* 1 (1951), 23 (= *Collected Papers*, 67) she describes it as 'a short between two longs which has occasional licence to lengthen'. This is a regrettably loose definition, and her examples are not homogeneous. I[289] They include – '⏑' – ∪ ∪ – ∪ –, which is hardly on a par with – ∪ – ∪ ∪ – '⏑' –, and – ∪ – – – ∪ – '–' – ‖ in Pind. *Pyth.* 9. 2 (dactylo-epitrite), which should not be taken as standing for – ∪ – – – ∪ – ∪ – ‖ but as syncopated from – ∪ – – – ∪ – (∪) – (∪) – ‖.[29] I suggest that drag should be defined as the admission of a long syllable (whether systematically or not) in a position which by the rules of contrast ought to be short. We allow the aeolic cola their traditional exemption as regards their beginnings, so we will not count – – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – or – – – – – – ∪ ∪ – as dragged, but we will count ○ ○ – ∪ ∪ – – –. In the iambic category we count the choliambic × – ∪ – × – ∪ – × – – – ‖, and ‖ – – – for syncopated ‖ ∪ – –. In dochmiacs we count ∪ – – '–' –; there is a temptation to count '–' – – ∪ – likewise, but then we must be prepared to do the same with the very common form – ∪ ∪ – ∪ –. There seems an anomaly here, for drag in the penultimate practically never coexists with adjacent resolution. (The same holds for dragged aeolic cola.) Possibly it is a mistake to regard the second position of the pentasyllabic dochmius as a resolvable princeps, and the colon originated as ○ ○ – ∪ –, differentiating into the ordinary dochmius ⏑ ⏑̲⏑̲ – ∪ – and the hypodochmius – ∪ – ∪ –.[30] But this raises other problems: why are the types beginning ∪ – and – ∪ ∪ so frequent, when in aeolic cola – × is preferred to ∪ –, and – ∪ ∪ is exceptional?

In ionics ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ⏑ – – at *Cycl.* 499 (~ 507, 515) must be counted as drag if the text is sound. More common in drama (with perhaps an earlier instance in Anacreon, *PMG* 346 fr. 4. 3) is ∪ ∪ – ⏑ – ∪ – –. But this does not fall within my definition of drag; ∪ ∪ – × – ∪ – – is the form to be expected, according to the rules of princeps-spacing and contrast, for an octosyllable beginning ∪ ∪ and ending – ×. The general preference for short anceps may be of aesthetic origin. In a strict musical rhythm it allows exact equivalence with ∪ ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – –, with which the so-called anaclastic form is associated in Anacreon and may occasionally respond in drama. In general we see preferences for long or short anceps being exercised much more in sung than in spoken verse. In lyric iambics, for example, Aeschylus has a strong preference for short anceps, whereas Sophocles sometimes has a series of long ones (as in *El.* 482 ff. ~ 498 ff., *Ichn.* 243 ff. ~ 290 ff.).

It is an axiom of Greek metre that an anceps position cannot be adjacent to a short one; it follows from the second rule of contrast. However, there are a few exceptions.

(i) One kind arises when an acatalectic dactylic colon (usually a tetrameter) is followed by an iambic or enoplian colon, as in *OT* 171 f. ~ 182 f.,

– ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ | × – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ×

It is a favourite trick of Sophocles', though not confined to him.[31] It also involves a breach of the principle that successive princes

[28] Only a syllable ending in a short open vowel should be counted as short. W. S. Barrett has recently discovered that Pindar shows a marked aversion to such syllables in all final positions: in the Epinicians their frequency is 1 in 20 where the period ends – ∪ – ‖, 1 in 120 with other rhythms, whereas in Homer and the Lesbian poets they occur once every four or five verses. [See W. S. Barrett, *Greek Lyric, Tragedy, and Textual Criticism: Collected Papers* (Oxford 2007), 173–97.] I have been unable to find any definite example of a final short in ionics ending ∪ ∪ – – ‖; at Ar. *Vesp.* 314 ἄγαλμα may be elided into ἐέ, which is usually printed *extra metrum* but has no counterpart in the strophe. I suspect that ἐέ in dramatic texts represents sobbing.

[29] Cf. *Pyth.* 1 str. 2–3 – *D* – – ‖ – – *E* ‖; Sim. *PMG* 581. 4 (= 262. 5 Poltera) – ∪ – ∪ ∪ – | – – ‖; from earlier poetry Alcm. 89. 4 θῆρές τ' ὀρεσκῶιοι, 6 εὕδουσι δ' οἰωνῶν, 174; Hippon. 177 W.; Stes. *PMGF* 192. 2; Ibyc. 287. 4. In each case the substitution of an iambic metron for the period-ending – – ‖ would give a commonplace rhythm. The unit – ∪ – ∪ – occurs in dactylo-epitrite only at *Nem.* 8 ep. 4, in a poem whose metre shows a number of uncommon features.

[30] [Footnote withdrawn.]

[31] Also 'Terpander' *PMG* 697, E. *Alc.* 464 f. ~ 474 f., *El.* 456 ~ 468, 459 ~ 471, *IT* 395 ~ 410?, *Phoen.* 1581, *Or.* 1101, *IA* 1332, Ar. *Nub.* 289 f. ~ 312 f., Tim. *Pers.* 130 f., 139 f.

within the period are not separated by more than two positions. It seems to have been a fad of the latter part of the fifth century.

(ii) The strophe of Alcman's Louvre Partheneion sometimes ends – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ –, sometimes – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – –. The scheme could therefore be represented as – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ × –. But considering – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – – on its own, we would certainly take the long |[290] penultimate position to be a princeps and the final to be an anceps: it is an Alcaic decasyllable, or aristophanean with dactylic expansion. It makes better sense to say that Alcman vacillates between two alternative clausulae than that he uses a colon – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ × –. I am less sure about the responsion of × – ∪ ∪ – – ‖ with ∪ – ∪ – – – ‖ in Ar. *Nub.* 1304 ~ 1312 and 1350 ~ 1396. Taken as a syncopated iambic dimeter the latter seems too remote from the reizianum to be intelligible as an equipollent variant. I find a lax reizianum × – ∪ × – × more easily conceivable, particularly in the light of the phenomena about to be mentioned.

(iii) In several places Aristophanes treats paeons – ∪ ∪ ∪ and trochaic metra as interchangeable.[32] Elsewhere he makes – ∪ ∪ ∪ respond with ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ (and – ∪ – with ∪ ∪ –), ∪ ∪ ∪ – with × – ∪ –, ∪ ∪ – – (ionic) with ∪ ∪ – ∪ and – ∪ – –.[33] In Bacchylides and twice in tragedy we find the responsion '⏑' ∪ – × – ∪ – (–) in dactylo-epitrite.[34] E. *Phoen.* 796 has | ∪ ∪ ∪ | ∪ ∪ ∪ | in responsion with two dactyls (in a dactylic tetrameter), and there are several cases of the same sequence standing for an anapaestic metron.[35] These are puzzling phenomena. Many of them could be called *brevis in longo*, and certain Homeric licences might be brought into comparison with them. At the same time, if we wish to notate the metrical scheme in operation in such passages, we must show anceps next to short, in most cases between shorts: – ∪ × ∪, × ∪ ∪∪, × ∪ ∪ × ∪ ∪. We cannot explain the inconsistency of occasionally allowing this but normally excluding it. Can we find a formula to describe it when it is allowed? Dale calls it 'responsion by syllable-counting (the number

[32] *Vesp.* 1062–4 ~ 1093–5, *Pax* 350–1 ~ 389–90 ~ 588–9, *Lys.* 785–9 ~ 809–12, 1192 (1046, 1061) ~ 1206. In these places they are actually in responsion. In others he passes easily from one pattern to the other: *Ach.* 971–87, *Eq.* 617 ff., al.

[33] (i) *Vesp.* 339 ff. ~ 370 ff., *Av.* 333 ff. ~ 349 ff. (ii) *Vesp.* 342 ~ 374. (iii) *Vesp.* 273–6 ~ 281–4.

[34] Bacchyl. fr. 4. 70, *PV* 535 ~ 543, *Andr.* 1035 ~ 1045. In each case it is near the end of the strophe.

[35] *Pers.* 985 ~ 1000, *Tro.* 136, *IT* 213, 220, *Ion* 889, 900; cf. *IT* 1301 | ∪ ∪ ∪ | ∪ ∪ – |. The words are mostly proparoxytone, but this may be fortuitous.

of syllables corresponds though the quantities change)'.[36] This is misleading. Most of the quantities do *not* change; it is a matter of a single unexpected anceps per metron.

I recall my original proposition: 'those positions are anceps which are not required to be long or short in order to make the chosen pattern clear'. In the passages under consideration the poet contents himself with a sketchier indication of pattern than usual. Analogies from accentual verse may be helpful for once. The Byzantine *πολιτικὸς στίχος* has the notional form

× ×́ × ×́ × ×́ × ×́ | × ×́ × ×́ × ×́ ×.

But in practice there is only one of the fifteen positions that must be accented (the penultimate), whereas there are six that must be unaccented (the third, fifth, and seventh in each hemistich). That is enough to convey the rhythm. Similarly in English iambic verse: notionally, stressed and unstressed syllables alternate, but it is by no means necessary for every second position actually to be occupied by a stressed syllable. We accept

the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune

as a metrically perfect verse without having to put any stress on 'of'. I am suggesting a comparable relationship of notional and actual in the Greek texts, whereby not all |[291] the notional principes need to be realized by long syllables. Briefly and temporarily | × ∪ ∪ | × ∪ ∪ |, with the help of word division, may pass for dactyls, or | ∪ ∪ × | ∪ ∪ × | for anapaests. In the Aristophanic passages it seems to be a matter of (*a*) retaining only one effective princeps in each trochaic, iambic, or ionic metron, letting the other be anceps so long as the adjacent syllables remain short (normal – ∪ – × : free style – ∪ × ∪, not – ∪ × ×), and (*b*) relaxing the second rule of contrast as regards the consecutive non-princeps positions of the ionic and anapaest, so that the normal ∪ ∪ – becomes × ∪ –.[37]

Lastly I want to consider the question of 'resolvable anceps'. Maas, *Greek Metre*, 27 f., applies this term, together with 'resolvable breve',

[36] *CQ* 1 (1951), 121 = *Collected Papers*, 84; cf. *Lyric Metres*, 64–6, 89–91; K. J. Dover on *Clouds* 1312, '"syllable-counting" without regard for quantity'.

[37] Though irregular in Greek terms, this pattern of contrast has an analogy in the standard Lydian rhyming dodecasyllable, which seems to approximate to the scheme × ∪ ⏑ × ∪ ⏑ ⁞ ∪ ⁞ ∪ ⏑ ∪ ∪ ⏑, though we are ignorant about many details of prosody and the part played by stress. See *Kadmos* 11 (1972), 165–75 and 13 (1975), 133–6.

to the admission of the sequence ∪ ∪ – as an alternative to the normal × – or ∪ – in iambo-trochaic metre, to the reiziana and telesilleans of two subliterary poems (*PMG* 848, 935) which allow × – and ∪ ∪ – as alternative beginnings, and to resolution in the Aeolic base, i.e. the responsion ∪ ∪ ∪ ~ – × ~ ∪ – (for which he cites only Aristonoos and Corinna, though in drama too ∪ ∪ ∪ may respond either with – ∪ or with ∪ –, and – ∪ with ∪ –). Recently we have learned that Stesichorus used × *D* $\overset{\cup\cup}{\cup}$ *e* and *D* $\overset{\cup\cup}{\cup}$ *D* –.[38] This too has been called resolvable anceps.

'Resolution' implies division into constituent parts. The normal application of the term is to the splitting of a long position into two shorts. Fair enough: let the two shorts coalesce, and you have a long again. But what happens in *ὦ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, τὸ χρῆμα τῶν νυκτῶν ὅσον*? Is the short position in the first metron divided into half-shorts? That would be splitting the atom: a short is the smallest unit on the scale, it is not like a semiquaver that can be divided into demisemiquavers. I prefer to say that the metrical scheme is relaxed. A double short is substituted for a single. The essential contrast of short and long is preserved, and provided that the frequency of such substitutions is kept within bounds the overall rhythm is not overborne. As for the telesilleans and reiziana with initial double short, such forms are quite common in Pindar and drama, only never, I think, in responsion with × – ∪ ∪ – (∪) –. They occur in the Lesbian poets too, but there they function as glyconics and pherecrateans, the double short being still an accepted form of the base. I suggest that this is their origin. Because of their light-headedness, so to speak, they came to be dissociated from ○ ○ – ∪ ∪ . . . and treated as a variant of × – ∪ ∪ . . .. At the same time the base, now always containing at least one long, came to be treated as resolvable. We can always say that it is a long that is being resolved, even though the location of the long in the base is variable.

In the case of Stesichorus it seems eccentric to call – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – '∪ ∪' – . . . a resolution. It differs from an ordinary biceps only in that it alternates with a single short as well as with a long. It seems best to say that Stesichorus (like Alcman fluctuating between the endings – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – and – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – –) fluctuates between a biceps and an anceps at certain points of

[38] P. Lille 76, best studied with P. J. Parsons, *ZPE* 26 (1977), 7–36.

juncture between cola, and to speak in such instances not of a resolvable anceps but of a biceps/anceps. Let us hold fast to the principle that only a long can resolve.

[292]

III. CAESURA

The distinction made in nearly all modern metrical handbooks between caesura, which falls within a metron, and diaeresis, which falls between metra, has a precarious foundation in ancient doctrine. Aristides Quintilianus, listing the *εὐπρεπεῖς τομαί* of the hexameter, says *τετάρτη κατ' ἐνίους τέσσαρες δάκτυλοι, ἢ ὅπερ ἄμεινον τέταρτος τροχαῖος· ἡ γὰρ εἰς ὅμοια μέρη διαίρεσις μᾶλλον ἢ τομὴ καλεῖται* (1. 24, p. 47. 21 W.-I.). But it is the equality of segments—he is thinking of a division into three dimeters—not the coincidence of word-end with metron-end, that prompts the word *διαίρεσις*. It would not have been applied to the caesura in the trochaic tetrameter catalectic,

– ∪ – × – ∪ – × | – ∪ – × – ∪ – .

Aristides' point is made clearer by comparison of ps.-Hephaestion p. 353. 6 ff. C.:

παραιτεῖται δὲ (the hexameter) *τὴν κατὰ πόδα τομήν, ὡς ἐν τῶι*
ὕβριος | εἵνεκα | τῆσδε, σὺ | δ' ἴσχεο, | πείθεο | δ' ἡμῖν
(*Il.* 1. 214) . . . *καὶ τὴν δίχα τομήν, ὡς*
ἔνθ' οὔτ' Ὀδομενεὺς τλῆ | μίμνειν οὔτ' Ἀγαμέμνων
(*Il.* 8. 78) . . . *καὶ τὴν εἰς τριχῆ διαίρεσιν δέ, ὡς ἐν τῶι*
ἥρως, μή μοι | τούνεκ' ἀμύμονα | νείκεε κούρην
(*Od.* 7. 303). *ῥυθμικὰ γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα <μᾶλλον> ἢ μετρικά.*

All these word divisions are *τομαί*; *διαίρεσις* (*εἰς ὅμοια μέρη*) is the undesirable rhythmical effect they produce. To speak of the 'bucolic diaeresis', as modern writers now do almost invariably, is not only a pedantry unknown to the ancients, who said *βουκολικὴ τομή*, *caesura* or *incisio bucolica*,[39] but a misunderstanding of their use of *διαίρεσις*.

[39] Append. Dionys. p. 330. 11 Consbruch, ps.-Heph. p. 352. 21; [Sergius] iv. 523. 14 K., Aphthon. ('Mar. Vict.') vi. 65. 31, 114. 18, cf. 240. 8; Frag. Bobiense, vi. 623. 15.

It was Boeckh who was responsible for the extension of the term:

> Talem divisionem, si in aequalia versus dissecabatur membra, veteres grammatici vocabant *διαίρεσιν*: sed tantundem est, aequalia sint an inaequalia: communis enim huius divisionis in utrisque, et aequalibus et inaequalibus, est natura: quapropter totum hoc sectionis genus *distinctionem* sive *diaeresin* appellabimus. (*De metris Pindari* (*Pindari Opera* I. ii), 97)

Subsequent writers perpetuated this usage but attributed it to the ancients, which Boeckh did not do.

Wilhelm Christ was exceptional in rejecting the distinction drawn between diaeresis and caesura, though he repeated the error of asserting that it was the ancient doctrine:

> Wir haben diese Scheidung von *διαίρεσις* and *τομή* als unwesentlich and verwirrend aufgegeben und nennen jeden einen Vers in Kola theilenden Wortschluss Cäsur. (*Metrik der Griechen and Römer*, 2nd edn. (Leipzig 1879), 123)

Christ's practice is in line with that of ancient metricians. But is it a practice to be followed, or does Boeckh's signify a genuine advance over it? Is there some distinction to be drawn between different categories of *τομή*, or should we simply be content to note that word-end occurs at certain places in the verse, and to call it caesura in all cases?

I have so far spoken only of the hexameter. Let us now consider it in conjunction I[293] with its most obvious parallel, the iambic trimeter. Every hexameter has a caesura in one of these three places:

– ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – | ∪ | ∪ – | ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ×

Every iambic trimeter in the iambographers, and nearly every one in tragedy, has a caesura in one of these two places:

× – ∪ – × | – ∪ | – × – ∪ –

The explanations usually offered for these facts insult common sense. Otto Schroeder, for example, says that the caesura was required as a pause for breath, which enabled the reciter to avoid disturbing the flow of the verse by breathing at the ends of metra.[40] If one were to recite Homer on the summit of Mt. Everest I daresay it might be necessary to gasp for breath after every hemistich, but it is not necessary for a healthy man anywhere in Europe, and if Schroeder had ever tried it out he would have discovered that it sounds ridiculous. He does not say why a breath at the end of the second or third metron should be more disturbing to the flow of the verse than one at the end of the fourth, where a caesura is quite common. Another explanation quite often advanced is that the caesura was necessary to prevent the verse from falling into two equal halves. This point of view has some support in the ancient observations about *διαίρεσις*, but it is open to at least three objections: (i) Word-end after the third foot is not avoided; it is not hard to find verses such as *ἐννῆμαρ μὲν ἀνὰ στρατὸν ὤιχετο κῆλα θεοῖο* (*Il.* 1. 53), or *ὃς δ' ἔστι παῖς μοι μόνος, ὑπεκπέμπω λάθραι* (*Andr.* 47). (ii) Avoidance of medial division does not in any case entail caesura in an *adjacent* place. Why do we never find such a verse as *καὶ παρὰ θῖνα πολυφλοίσβοιο νέοντο θαλάσσης*? (iii) If division into equal parts is offensive in these metres, why is it sought in others, for instance in the elegiac pentameter and in anapaests?

The true answer is simply stated by Aphthonius (vi. 64. 31 K.):

> Incisiones etiam uersuum, quas Graeci *τομάς* uocant, ante omnia in hexametro heroo necessario obseruandae sunt: omnis enim uersus in duo cola formandus est.

The units *D* (– ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ –), *D* × , × *D* ×, are common as independent cola in lyric from Archilochus and Alcman on. The elegiac pentameter consists simply of two *D* cola. The hexameter with which it associates is in essence a combination of a 'falling' colon *D* (×) with a 'rising' one $\overset{\cup\cup}{\cup}$ D –; they are so matched that the rhythm at the join is smooth.[41] These, not dactylic feet, were the metrical units which meant most to the poet, in conformity with which he arranged his words, and to which most of his inherited language was already adapted: *τὸν δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα – πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς*. The normal caesura, whether penthemimeral or trochaic, is simply the place where the two cola meet. The secondary analysis of the verse into six feet or metra is irrelevant to it, as we see

[40] *Griechische Singverse* (Leipzig 1924), 8; *Nomenclator Metricus* (Heidelberg 1929), 20; similarly K. Rupprecht, *Einführung in die griechische Metrik*, 3rd edn. (Munich 1950), 13 f.

[41] There are a few cases in Homer where it is not, and I assume that in earlier times unequalized verses, especially of the form *D* | ∪ *D* × ‖, were more freely admitted. See *Hellenica* i. 14 with 21.

from the parallel of the ineptly named pentameter, where the caesura cannot be said either to cut into a foot or to coincide with the end of one. (Consequently metricians since Boeckh have never made up their minds whether to call it a caesura or a diaeresis.)

Similarly in the iambic trimeter. By the time of Sophocles and Euripides there were those who analysed it as three metra (Hdt. 1. 12. 2, 174. 5), but × – ∪ – × and |[291] – ∪ – × – ∪ – were surely the metrical units in the tragedians' minds, and in Archilochus', as they composed. The verse did not necessarily *originate* as a compound of these two cola (see below), but that is what it *was* in historical times. The less common hephthemimeral caesura, both in the trimeter and the hexameter, represents a displacement of the normal caesura. The two parts of the verse retain as nearly as possible their outer shape, though the first becomes longer and the second shorter: in

– ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – | ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ×

the contrast is preserved between a first colon beginning on the princeps and a second beginning off it, and in

× – ∪ – × – ∪ | – × – ∪ –

vice versa. The relation of the caesura to the 'foot' is significant only to this extent.

The bucolic caesura in the hexameter has an altogether different status. It is merely a place at which word-end is quite common: a regular caesura is necessary as well. I suspect that it is a by-product of the main caesura. The poets aimed to fit their words into the frame – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ⁞∪⁞ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – × ‖. For words and word-groups of the shape ∪ – ∪ ∪ or ⏑⏑ – ∪ ∪, of which there were many, the most convenient place was after the main caesura. That is where they are usually put, and that gives you a bucolic caesura.

In archaic lyric and the lyrics of drama, wherever standard cola (glyconics, dochmii, iambic dimeters, etc.) can be recognized, there is frequent correspondence of colon-end and word-end within the period. This is caesura of the same kind as that in the hexameter or pentameter, caesura which simply reflects the organization of the phrasing in close accord with the colon structure. Hephaestion, incidentally, uses *τομή* of the colon-division in Archilochus' 'asynartete' verse × *D* × | *ith, Ἐρασμονίδη Χαρίλαε, χρῆμά τοι γελοῖον* (p. 47. 12 C.). Something similar—perhaps not quite the same—can be seen where the composition is by metra rather than cola. For example, long dactylic runs are commonly divided into tetrameters by word-division. The acatalectic dactylic tetrameter is, as we have seen (p. 265), not an autonomous colon. Marching anapaests are divided after every metron except the last before the catalexis.[42] In long iambo-trochaic periods word division is used to mark out trochaic dimeters (see p. 266), indeed often single metra and single 'feet':

φόρμιγγας, | αἰλίνοισ<ι> |
τοῖς ἐμοῖσι | σύνοχα | δάκρυα, |
πάθεσι | πάθεα, | μέλεσι | μέλεα |
μουσεῖα | θρηνήμασι ξυνωιδὰ |
πέμψειε | Φερσέφασσα |
φόνια, | χάριτας | ἵν' ἐπὶ | δάκρυσι | . . .
(*Hel.* 171–6)

So sometimes with cretics, as in *Hec.* 1081 *ναῦς ὅπως | ποντίοις | πείσμασιν | λινόκροκον . . .* 1100 f. *ἀμπτάμενος | οὐράνιον | ὑψιπετὴς | ἐς μέλαθρον* |; with ionics, *Cho.* 790–3, 827–30. We can call all these caesurae if we like, but they are something a little different from the caesura in the hexameter.

The antithesis of the caesura is the bridge. In general, bridges within the colon may be accounted for by a single basic principle of versification that I have never seen formulated:

Polysyllabic words which are of the right shape for the beginning or end of the colon |[295] *tend to be placed there rather than in other possible positions. The tendency is stronger as regards colon-end.*

This gives rise to bridges because there are certain points in the verse at which word-end would only occur as a result of an abnormal word-placing. Thus in the hexameter words scanning | – – ∪ | are most often placed at the end of the first colon, and those scanning | (∪) ∪ – ∪ | at the end of either the first or the second. Hermann's Bridge is a way of expressing the fact that they are seldom placed

[42] Occasionally the division is postponed by one short syllable. This is perhaps analogous to the alternation of *D* | ⏑⏑ *D* – with *D* ∪ | ∪ *D* – in the hexameter; it cannot be compared with the postponement represented by the hephthemimeral caesura.

at the beginning of the second colon. In the trochaic tetrameter, composing within the frame

– ∪ – × – ∪ – × | – ∪ – × – ∪ – ‖,

the poet will instinctively use a sequence ∪ – – | to occupy the place against the caesura, and the more habitually he does that, the less his ears accept the patterns – ∪ – – | – ∪ – × | – ∪ – × – ∪ – ‖ and – ∪ – × – ∪ – × | – ∪ – – | – ∪ – ‖. Hence the bridges named after Havet and Porson.[43]

Where there is a bridge between cola—that is, where there is systematic and not just casual absence of word-end—we usually find caesura one position later. In other words there is an overlap of one syllable beyond the notional colon-end. This is the phenomenon which Maas aptly calls dovetailing, from the dovetail joint in carpentry (*Greek Metre*, 44). There are examples in archaic lyric, and it is quite common in tragedy, especially with aeolic cola. Sometimes cola are separated by caesura in the strophe and dovetailed in the antistrophe, or *vice versa*. This is not just a matter of alternative places for a caesura. The caesura has a different status in the two cases. Between cola it is a significant division, a boundary; but in the case of dovetailing what is significant is not the fact that there is a division in the second colon after the first syllable, but the fact that the first colon overruns. It is not so much a caesura displaced as a caesura replaced by an overlap-syllable. Instead of separation there is juncture. This is a different distinction from the conventional one between caesura and diaeresis, and a more useful one.

The occasional medial caesura in the tragic trimeter, where the word preceding the caesura is not an elided one (as it usually is), may possibly be considered as arising by overlap of the usual penthemimeral caesura. It is also possible, as Gregory Nagy has argued, that the penthemimeral caesura itself originated by the dovetailing of an iambic metron with a dimeter. The Vedic dodecasyllable mentioned on p. 263 has a fluctuating caesura, after the fourth or fifth syllable. The common forms are

× ⏑ × ⏑ | ⏒ ⏒ ⏑ ⏑ ∪ – ∪ –
and × – ⏒ – ⏑ | ∪ ∪ ⏑ ∪ – ∪ –

[43] Both in fact discovered by Porson, as pointed out by G. Torresin in *Riv. Fil.* 94 (1966), 184.

The part following the caesura in the first type resembles the octosyllable (× × × × ∪ – ∪ –) which is one of the other commonest Vedic verses. The octosyllable sometimes has an iambic metron (| ∪ – ∪ –) appended to it; the dodecasyllable may be accounted for from the prefixing of a similar tetrasyllabic unit (only less definite in form) to the same octosyllabic verse.[44] The caesura after the fourth syllable then marks the original point of juncture, and that after the fifth gives a dovetail effect. The line is not quite an iambic trimeter, but there is no difficulty about deriving the basic octosyllable and the Greek iambic dimeter (among other Greek octosyllabic cola) from a common prototype. Perhaps, then, the penthemimeral caesura in the Greek trimeter began as a dovetailing alternative which later became standard and understood as l[296] a colon-dividing caesura.[45] Something similar happens in Lesbian verse, where an iambic metron is sometimes prefixed to an aeolic colon but word-end is preferred after the fifth syllable. We see this in the Alcaic hendecasyllable × – ∪ – × ⁝ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ‖ (=iambus + telesillean), and in Alc. 70. 2 ff., 117. 26 ff., 354?, 384, 386, Lesb. inc. 21. 2 Voigt = 17 L.–P.[46] In tragedy we find an iambic metron prefixed to dactylic cola, and again dovetailed:

× – ∪ – – | ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – –	(*Ag.* 109 ~ 126, 116 ~ 135, frr. 132, 282; *OT* 175 ~ 186; *Hipp.* 1105 ~ 1113)
× – ∪ – – | ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – –	(A. fr. 238)
× – ∪ – – | ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ –	(*Trach.* 94–103; E. fr. 303. 4)

Cf. Dale, *Lyric Metres*, 45.

I have spoken hitherto of word-end without defining what constitutes word-end. The two complications are elision and appositives. In both matters Greek poets seem to want to have their cake and eat it. An elided vowel may always be disregarded and a valid caesura obtained between the remainder of the word and the following initial

[44] *Glotta* 51 (1973), 163.

[45] G. Nagy, *Comparative Studies in Greek and Indic Meter* (Cambridge, Mass. 1974), 280 ff. I was perhaps too sceptical in my review (*Phoenix* 28 (1974), 458).

[46] Cf. J. Irigoin, *Ant. Cl.* 25 (1956), 5–19.

vowel. On the other hand the great majority of tragic trimeters showing medial caesura (49 out of 69 in Aeschylus, 76 out of 87 in Sophocles, 163 out of 170 in Euripides) have elision there, as if the situation were legitimized by the fact that the unelided word would have reached the hephthemimeral caesura position.[47] And in three or four cases apparent breaches of Porson's Bridge seem to be excused by elision.[48] As regards appositives, they can always be treated as forming one word with the word which they precede (in the case of prepositives) or follow (in the case of postpositives); but both Homer and the tragedians occasionally treat them as separate words for purposes of caesura.[49] Presumably the poet while versifying may hear a word in isolation from other words (and unelided, if its unelided form is metrical), and place it in the verse on that basis, or he may hear it already embedded in a phrase. But this is not a complete explanation of the inconsistencies. We may say that a line like A. *Supp.* 931,

καὶ γὰρ πρέπει κήρυκ' ἀπαγγέλλειν τορῶς,

arises because the poet placed *κήρυκα* in an appropriate place for the unelided form, which would have given a normal caesura, and then allowed *ἀπαγγέλλειν* to supervene. Then to explain why he never by the same process produces a line such as

λόγον δ' ἅπαντ' ἀπαγγελεῖν μέλλω τορῶς,

|[297] we have to add the rider that the cancellation of the potential caesura at *ἅπαντα* demands the provision of an alternative one,

[47] The penthemimeral caesura, however, is never anticipated in this way; in other words there is no verse in which the only caesura to be found is one at the end of the first metron with elision.

[48] S. *Aj.* 1101, *Ph.* 22; E. *Hcld.* 529, perhaps *Ion* 1 (though see Page, *PCPS* 1961, 81).

[49] There are limits to the licence. Homer never has caesura after a monosyllabic preposition or *καί* or *ἀλλά*, or before *δέ*, *μέν*, *γάρ*, *κεν*, *ἄν*. The tragedians do not have it after a single monosyllabic prepositive (though they do after a pair, e.g. *πρὸς τὴν* I), except in *PV* 589 *πῶς δ' οὐ κλύω τῆς | οἰστροδινήτου κόρης*; In this instance it is possible that there is felt to be a quasi-caesura between the elements of the compound, *οἰστρο | δινήτου*. Such a licence would also account for the one trimeter with apparently no caesura at all in the second metron, *Pers.* 501 *στρατὸς περᾶι κρυσταλλοπῆγα διὰ πόρου*. Cf. the famous division of Aristogeiton's name between hexameter and pentameter in ' Sim.' epigr. 1 Page and the later imitations of it. A. M. Devine and L. Stephens, *CPh.* 73 (1978), 314–28, account for the inconsistency with which appositives are treated as a reflection of 'phonostylistic' differences, that is, of tempo variations associated with different stylistic levels. See also W. S. Allen, *Accent and Rhythm* (Cambridge 1973), 25 f.

ἅπαντ' × – ∪ |, whereas in the case of *κήρυκα* there is no such requirement because there is no further possibility of a caesura, unless after a short monosyllable. To look at it another way, where there is no penthemimeral caesura the poet exercises himself only to the extent of selecting a word shaped . . . × – ∪ | to lie across the third foot, not to the extent of ensuring that there is an actual word-break before the fourth princeps.

In a line such as *Cho.* 914,

οὗτοι σ' ἀπέρρψ(α) εἰς δόμους δορυξένους,

the word before the caesura could not be part of a trimeter if it were not elided or else its final syllable lengthened by position; the first alternative is the easier. So Aeschylus thinks of it as a word-shape ∪ – – | and places it accordingly. How is it, then, that in *Hcld.* 529,

καὶ στεμματοῦτε καὶ κατάρχεσθ' εἰ δοκεῖ,

the elided *κατάρχεσθ'* can be placed where an unelided word shaped | ∪ – – | could not? Why should *Ἄτλας ὁ χαλκέοισι νώτοισ' οὐρανόν*, if that is what Euripides wrote in *Ion* 1, be more acceptable than *νώτοις οὐρανόν*, which must have sounded identical? I suppose because *κατάρχεσθε* and *νώτοισι(ν)* *might* have stood unshortened at that place in the verse with suitable consonants following.

19

Grey Uniforms and Lopsided Disguises

Sicking's *Verslehre*

C. M. J. Sicking, *Griechische Verslehre* (*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, ii. 4, Munich 1993).

The *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* has not had a treatise on Greek metre to offer since Hugo Gleditsch's *Metrik der Griechen und Römer* (3rd edn., 1901), a work which scholars long ago ceased to cite or consult. Between then and now there have been many books and studies of importance, many changes of approach, many innovations and modifications of terminology. Our modern understanding of the subject, while based ultimately on the foundations laid in the early nineteenth century by such pioneers as August Boeckh and Gottfried Hermann, has developed largely from the work of Wilamowitz, whose *Griechische Verskunst* of 1921 distilled many of his earlier studies, and Paul Maas, whose laconic *Griechische Metrik* of 1923 became a classic. Scholars such as Bruno Snell and A. M. Dale followed in their path and widened it. My own *Greek Metre* of 1982 stands in the same tradition, and in general one may say that scholars writing on the subject nowadays, while often showing individual preferences in respect of certain details, nearly all agree on a common basic vocabulary and a common concept of the aims of metrical analysis. The primary aims are held to be to identify the cola or other constituent units used in a given text and to define them with reference to similar units found elsewhere.

The new work under review comes from the hand of C. M. J. Sicking, a professor at the University of Leiden, in long-standing

GGA 246 (1994), 183–97.

collaboration with his colleague Dr Marlein van Raalte, who published a large monograph I[184] on stichic verse a few years ago.[1] It has been many years in preparation. He tells us in the foreword that he accepted the invitation to write it some twenty years ago, and did so in the belief 'daß die Zeit reif sei, einen dank den bahnbrechenden Arbeiten von Wilamowitz, Maas, Snell und Dale wachsenden Konsensus systematisch zu durchdenken und festzulegen'. But in time he came to the conclusion that the conventional approach was inadequate, and that for the apprehension of the 'rhythmical form' of classical Greek verse new principles needed to be formulated. His book represents 'einen Versuch, über eine möglichst ökonomische, systematische Beschreibung des erhaltenen Materials hinauszugehen and den der rhythmischen Form griechischer Verse zugrundeliegenden Prinzipien auf die Spur zu kommen' (211).

The title *Griechische Verslehre* was no doubt carefully chosen, and it suits a work so consistently informed by a doctrine. Complete coverage is not attempted; the focus is on Homer, early elegy and iambus, lyric down to Pindar and Bacchylides, and drama, with some sporadic reference to Hellenistic poets. The arrangement is as follows. Chapter I, 'Einleitendes' (9–39), is largely devoted to a critical survey of the main currents of metrical scholarship since 1900, that is, from Gleditsch to the present. Besides authors mentioned above, notice is taken of A. Meillet's and E. Leumann's connection of Greek with Vedic metres, and of the work of O. Schroeder, W. Kraus, Th. Georgiades, and that indissoluble pair, A. M. Devine and L. D. Stephens. In the remainder of the chapter S. explains his reasons for arranging the material as he does, and for concentrating on the archaic and classical periods: this was the time when versification was still governed by the rhythmical principles which he will expound to us, the old quantitative system not yet threatened by the rise of a stress accent and not yet distorted by decadent musicians who, for example, extended some long syllables to the value of three shorts. Chapter II, 'Grundlegendes' (43–65), explains the principles of S.'s analysis, the terminology he will use, and the basics of prosody. Chapter III (69–132) deals with stichic metres of every kind and the elegiac couplet. Chapter IV (135–78) is devoted to strophic poetry outside drama; it is arranged by poets, so that from here on there is a diachronic perspective. Chapter V

[1] M. van Raalte, *Rhythm and Metre. Towards a Systematic Description of Greek Stichic Verse* (Studies in Greek and Latin Linguistics, 3, Assen 1986).

(181–210) then deals with dramatic lyric and with anapaestic and other open-ended systems in drama. These last two chapters include detailed analyses of various poems of Alcman, Stesichorus, Ibycus, and Pindar, and of a number of tragic choruses, including all the lyrics of *Oedipus Tyrannus*. A five-page *Nachwort* provides a lucid recapitulation of S.'s position. The volume is concluded by a bibliography, *index nominum*, *index locorum*, and 'Sachregister'.

I[185] What, then, is the essence of S.'s approach? Firstly, he believes in taking the observed patterns of long and short as the only object of discourse, not to be assigned time-values or allocated to musical 'bars'. The scheme of a verse is made up of a particular sequence of 'marked' and 'unmarked' 'elements'. A marked element (which corresponds to what I have called a princeps position) is realized by a long syllable, or in the case of resolution by two shorts; an unmarked element is realized sometimes by a short syllable (which, however, may occasionally become a long by 'cholosis'), sometimes by two shorts (which may in places be replaced by one long, by 'contraction'), sometimes by an anceps. Not more than two marked or one unmarked element may occur consecutively. The individual profile of a verse is characterized by four variables:

1. Rising or falling start, that is, initial progression from unmarked to marked or *vice versa*.
2. 'Prolongation' of the sequence – ∪ (∪) – by a further alternation of unmarked and marked, or 'juxtaposition' of another initial-marked sequence.
3. 'Homogeneity', that is, the unmarked elements are either all realized by a single syllable or all by double short, or 'heterogeneity', where some are single-short, some double.
4. Blunt or pendant close ('stumpf': 'klingend'), that is, with a final progression from unmarked to marked or *vice versa*.

S. holds that it is more meaningful to describe a verse in terms of these variables than to identify it by a conventional label. He admits that it may be more economical to call – ∪ – ∪ – ∪ – a lekythion than 'falling: homogeneous single-short: two prolongations: blunt', but will only allow us such comfortable brachylogies on condition that we use terms with strict consistency, and that the sequence in question actually functions in the context as a metrical group (delimited by caesura).

His own bid for economy consists in the adoption of the 'sd' notation for metrical schemes, which Dale invented in 1951 and made some use of in her later publications, but which has found little favour with other metricians.[2] This notation takes the 'marked' elements for granted and simply indicates whether the intervening unmarked ones are characterized by single or double short. Thus dds represents the sequence – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ –. Certain accessory symbols are needed in the case of a rising start (e.g. × s = × – ∪ –, ˄d = ∪ ∪ –), pendant close (e.g. . . . d –), juxtaposed marked elements (e. g. s˥s = – ∪ – – ∪ –), and cholosis (s̄ = – – – for – ∪ –).

This is a very concise system; for instance, the whole metrical scheme of the Sapphic stanza may be rendered as s × ds – ‖ s × ds – ‖ s × ds × d – ‖‖. It is also well suited to S.'s purpose, because the notation throws into relief the I[186] features which he deems distinctive: one can see at once whether the verse begins or ends with an unmarked element, whether it contains both s and d or only one of these, and whether there is any 'juxtaposition'. On the other hand, it tends to make old friends unrecognizable under grey uniforms and lopsided disguises. For example, the analysis of Pindar, *Pyth.* 8. 1–3, appears (p. 176) as ‴sds (*vel* ×× ds) ‖ sd ‴s (*vel* s˥ ‴s‴ –) ‖ × sd ‖, where the main-line metrician would be wagging his tail in pleasure at the sight of such familiars as two glyconics and an anaclastic telesillean. Perhaps we can learn to respond to sds with the same spontaneous happiness. But it is worse with some other metres. A sequence such as ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – | ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – | ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – | ∪ ∪ – – ‖, an anapaestic tetrameter catalectic, has to be notated as ˄ddddddd –, where the simple units into which the verse falls are not reflected in the symbols, and three of the d's actually cut across the clear metron-divisions. Or take ionics. Not only is the anaclastic relationship between the common cola ∪ ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – – and ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ∪ – – obscured by encoding them as ˄d˥d and ˄dss –, but when an ionic tetrameter, that is, ∪ ∪ – – | ∪ ∪ – – | ∪ ∪ – – | ∪ ∪ – – |, appears as ˄ d˥d˥d˥d –, we are again being offered a division into entities that do not correspond to the observable reality: instead of four identical ∪ ∪ – – metra, we are shown four – ∪ ∪ – units,

[2] A. M. Dale, 'The Metrical Units of Greek Lyric Verse. II', *CQ* 1 (1951), 21–2 = her *Collected Papers* (Cambridge 1969), 63–5; *The Lyric Metres of Greek Drama*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge 1968), 177.

one of which is beheaded and another girt with an appendage. S. has to acknowledge the conflict, and the anomaly that 'die Juxtaposition befindet sich dann nicht—wie gewöhnlich—an der Grenze zweier metrischer Gruppen, sondern *innerhalb* einer metrischen Gruppe (∪ ∪ – ˈ –, ∪ ∪ – ˈ – . . . ∪ ∪ – – ‖)' (192). But that is not the last of his problems. The notation . . . d ˈd . . . implies that the two longs of the ionic metron are both 'marked elements'. But . . . d – at the end implies that the final long is unmarked, and he confirms that this is his interpretation by classifying the verse as one with 'klingender Schluß'. There is a fatal contradiction here. It cannot be avoided by notating the close as d ˈd ,, for that would mean using five d's for what is unequivocally a tetrameter. The fact is that there are some metres to which the ds notation cannot be applied without great artificiality.

This is not merely a question of what (if any) notation to use instead of an array of longs and shorts. It strikes at the vitals of S.'s system. For he appears, at least in some passages, to conceive of – ∪ – and – ∪ ∪ –, prolonged or juxtaposed, as the very cells from which Greek verses are formed, so that the symbols s and d are the direct expressions of compositional realities. He invites us to imagine ('bequemlichkeitshalber') the poet creating a verse scheme by making a series of choices (47 f., cf. 137). Shall it start rising, or falling? Shall the first cell be s or d? Shall it be prolonged, and if so, homogeneously or heterogeneously? Or shall a separate s or d be juxtaposed? And so on, until the culminating decision: *klingend* or *stumpf*? One could, I suppose, apply the same kind of analysis to any musical composition. How many beats shall I have to the bar? Mozart asks himself. Shall I begin on a down-beat? How shall I fill my first bar? How shall I make a suitable continuation into the second bar? But I am not sure I[187] that it is very *bequem* to picture Mozart, or Pindar, proceeding in this manner rather than instinctively employing and varying rhythmic figures lodged in his brain from the mass of music he has heard or composed in the past.

It is true that in the case of Greek metre there are certain universal principles that limit the ways in which a verse sequence may develop. Most of them are covered by S.'s formulations. But he has difficulty in accommodating the principle of the metron as it obtains in some categories of verse. He acknowledges, naturally, that some kinds of composition are characterized by repetition of identical sequences such as – ∪ ∪ (dactyl) or × – ∪ – (iambic metron), and he does

not object to our calling these 'metra', provided that they are functioning as 'metrische Gruppen', 'und zwar in dem Sinne, daß sich irgendwie (jedoch meistens durch Wiederholung) dem Hörer die Existenz von Gruppen mit identischen rhythmischen Merkmalen aufdrängt' (59, cf. 49). Thus – ∪ – × – ∪ – – ‖ may be called a trochaic dimeter, but – ∪ – ∪ – ∪ – ∪ may not, 'weil bei ausschließlich kurzer Realisierung des vierten Elements nichts auf die Existenz *zweier* Gruppen deutet'. But it is an empirical fact that trochaic sequences (he does allow this description) normally are divisible into measures of four elements, whether the fourth is treated as anceps or kept short. It seems justified, therefore, to analyse them in terms of metra in either case.

Again, there is a common type of verse which we are accustomed to call lyric iambic and to analyse into full or syncopated iambic metra (× – ∪ –, ∧ – ∪ –, ∪ – ∧ –, ∧ – ∧ –). A verse such as *πνοαὶ δ' ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος μολοῦσαι* is commonly described as a lyric trimeter. S. (48, cf. 147 n. 16) will have none of this. He denies the equivalence of – ∪ – or ∪ – – with × – ∪ –, and rejects the notion that the line contains three 'metrical groups' or metra. In his view the essence of the matter is that we have a rising start, juxtaposition alternating with prolongation, and pendant close. *A fortiori*, he maintains, a sequence such as × – ∪ – – ∪ – – – cannot be a trimeter: it is a verse with cholosis and blunt close, × sˈsš. But firstly it is a matter of experience that this kind of lyric does regularly allow itself to be divided into the units × – ∪ –, – ∪ –, ∪ – –, – –, which clearly do have some kind of equivalence. Apart from the way in which they are combined as if equipollent units, there is the fact that we find occasional instances of – ∪ – or – – in responsion with ∪ – ∪ – (174: 'Abwechselung von Prolongation und Juxtaposition', 185). This lyric does not admit such measures as × – ∪ – – ∪ – ∪ – ‖, so that it is inadmissible to diagnose × – ∪ – ⏑ ∪ – – – as a dragged variant thereof, or to say that this has a blunt close whereas . . . – ∪ – ∪ – – has a pendant close.

The question comes up again in connection with Pindar's Second Olympian and with certain other poems and fragments of Simonides, Bacchylides, and Pindar which seem to be composed on similar principles (173). S. denies that they are to be assigned to a special 'iambic' category. He rejects analysis of them in terms of the known lyric iambic metra, on the ground that this 'kein verständliches künstlerisches Konzept zutage l[188] bringt'—unless (he adds in a

footnote) one were to see such a concept in the rules which I worked out for the metre of these poems in *ZPE* 37 (1980). His own explanation is simply that 'die Einzigartigkeit dieses Gedichts [Pind. *Ol.* 2] im wesentlichen auf die Beschränkung auf s-Gruppen zurückzuführen ist'. So far as I can see, this differs from the iambic theory only in giving a much less precise description of the principles of versification. Is this the way to bring 'ein verständliches künstlerisches Konzept' to light?

S.'s denial of the equivalence of the four units mentioned above is bound up with his denial that the idea of the musical bar (*Takt*) has any applicability to classical Greek rhythm, and more specifically his denial (32–7) that a triseme value may ever be postulated for any long element (*sc.* × – ∪ – = ⏑ ∪ – = ∪ – ⏑ = ⏑ ⏑). What is the basis of this denial? Trisemes are recognized in Greek theory which in all probability goes back to Aristoxenus.[3] They are marked in some musical texts—not only post-Hellenistic ones, as S. supposes (33), but already in one of the Vienna fragments from about 200 BCE.[4] We cannot expect to find earlier direct attestation than that. But it is not only that the assumption of trisemes makes sense of lyric iambics as no other assumption does. In the Seikilos inscription, late though it is (first century CE), we have a poem composed on just the same metrical principles as a lyric iambic chorus of Aeschylus, and it is provided with the musical symbols which prove that bars of equal time value were filled by text scanning – ∪∪ ∪ ∪∪, – ∪ ∪ –, ∪ – – (∪ – ⏑), and – – (⏑ ⏑). S. himself cites this but will not allow that it is relevant to classical metre. I maintain, on the contrary, that it is the best possible confirmation of what would naturally be assumed anyway, and was assumed before the inscription was discovered.

Admittedly, when we label × – ∪ – – ∪ – ∪ – – a lyric iambic trimeter, we conventional metricians are tending to gloss over the particular rhythmic effect produced by the use of metra of three different forms, and S. is justified in highlighting it. At the same time it should be remembered that in the case of dramatic lyric we are dealing with text composed to be sung in time with dance movements, which must have imposed a certain discipline on the rhythm. It is this physical, musical-choric rhythm that we have to try to recover from the words.

[3] P. Oxy. 2687; see L. Pearson, *Aristoxenus. Elementa Rhythmica* (Oxford 1990), xxf., 37–9, 77–86; Anon. Bellerm. 1, 3, 83.

[4] *DAGM* no. 11 line 2.

In metres where he admits the analysis into metra, such as the common 'Sprechverse', the epic hexameter, iambic trimeter, and trochaic tetrameter, S. distinguishes between metrical and rhythmical groups or cola I[189] (49/52, 57). Metrical cola are defined by repetition, rhythmical cola by caesurae. For example, in a tragic trimeter,

× – ∪ –, × ⁝ – ∪ ⁝ –, × – ∪ – ‖,

the three similar metra are metrical groups, while the rhythmical cola are the two segments divided by the penthemimeral or hephthemimeral caesura. The dichotomies rising/falling and pendant/blunt are then applied to the individual cola as well as to the verse as a whole. It is observed that the first colon begins rising and ends pendant, the second begins falling and ends blunt, and this double contrast is taken to be an essential feature of the verse profile. In the hexameter and trochaic tetrameter too we find a contrast between hemistichs, though a less pronounced one. In the hexameter the first hemistich starts falling, the second rising; the second ends pendant, but the first may end indifferently blunt or pendant, the latter being the more frequent. In the trochaic tetrameter both hemistichs begin falling, but the first ends pendant, the second blunt. S. tries to formulate a general explanatory principle (53):

> Die Zäsur wird vorzugsweise so gelegt, daß der Hörer nicht den Eindruck bekommt, der Vers sei an der Zäsurstelle zu Ende. Demgemäß wird namentlich in *κατὰ μέτρον* gebauten Versen mit vollem letzten Metron das Zusammenfallen der Zäsur mit einer Metrongrenze vermieden. In Versen, in denen Zäsur and Metrongrenze koinzidieren, zeigt das zweite Verskolon vorzugsweise Katalexis, wie z.B. im trochäischen Tetrameter.

It might have been better to abide by the simple idea of contrast or complementarity than to bring in the imaginary danger of the hearer's prematurely thinking the end of the verse to have arrived (as if he had no sense of its length). After all, the predominant trochaic caesura in the hexameter gives a rhythm indistinguishable from many verse-ends:

ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε Μοῦσα πολύτροπον, ὃς μάλα πολλά.

In the elegiac pentameter the two halves may be completely alike:

ξείνια δυσμενέσιν λυγρὰ χαριζόμενοι.
ὧδε δὲ πᾶς τις ἐρεῖ· Θεύγνιδός ἐστιν ἔπη.

And there is no restriction at all on coincidence of word-end and metron-end in the iambic trimeter:

> *ὦ τέκνα, Κάδμου τοῦ πάλαι | νέα τροφή,*
> *τίνας ποθ' ἕδρας τάσδε μοι | θοάζετε,*
> *ἱκτηρίοις | κλάδοισιν ἐξεστεμμένοι;*

S. himself (55) quotes Eur. *Med.* 724, *πειράσομαί σου προξενεῖν δίκαιος ὤν*, and criticizes it for its departure from a general principle of Greek verse that 'wiederholtes Koinzidieren einer Wortgrenze mit einer Grenze zwischen metrischen Gruppen wird im allgemeinen vermieden. Unzuläng[190]liche Integration der innerhalb des Verses respondierenden Gruppen von Elementen würde den Fortgang des Rhythmus hemmen and den Eindruck hervorrufen, der Vers fange sozusagen mit jedem Wort von neuem an.' In making this pronouncement he has temporarily forgotten that there are some metres, such as marching anapaests and in certain passages trochaics, cretics, and ionics, in which repeated coincidence of word- and metron-boundary is not only not avoided but is positively sought. When he comes to mention this (187 f., 208–10), we hear nothing further of the progress of the rhythm being *gehemmt*, or of the unfortunate hearers being constantly jolted by the impression of a re-start.

Word-divisions within the colon too are seen by S.—or perhaps we should say 'the Leiden school', since we find similar doctrines in van Raalte's book—as rhythmically significant, because of the contribution they make to the hearer's perception of falling or rising movement. Thus the common bucolic caesura in the hexameter[5] is explained as serving to mark or reinforce the falling rhythm that characterizes the ending of the verse after the rising start of the second colon: 'diese Rückkehr zu der im Verlauf des Verses modifizierten fallenden Bewegung markiert die bevorstehende Abrundung des Verses' (54, cf. 77 f., where read 'fallenden' for 'steigenden'). This might be more convincing if lines such as

> *μῆνιν ἄειδε θεὰ Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος*

or

> *ἐξ οὗ δὴ τὰ πρῶτα διαστήτην ἐρίσαντε,*

[5] I have given my reasons for using the ancient term 'bucolic caesura' (*βουκολικὴ τομή*) rather than the modern coinage 'bucolic diaeresis' in *CQ* 32 (1982), 292 (=above, p. 279).

in which the word-end after the first element of the fifth foot has exactly the opposite effect, were not perfectly common.

In the iambic trimeter S. finds (and commends) an analogous tendency to modulate, by means of word-end at position 8 or 10, from the falling rhythm immediately after the caesura to a rising rhythm in anticipation of the clausula (54, 98). But here he seems to have landed in contradiction with himself, for word-end at 8 is that word-end at *Metrongrenze* which he told us was avoided precisely because it was a potentially confusing anticipation of the verse-end. He explains the tendency of the early iambographers to avoid simultaneous word-end at 8 and 10 by the suggestion 'daß das Auseinanderfallen des Versrhythmus in zwei "Füße" unerwünscht ist' (99). But surely that would reinforce the 'rising' effect even more persuasively. And why should it be 'unerwünscht' to the iambographers, yet increasingly acceptable to the tragedians? It is to be feared that too many of S.'s explanations for metrical and rhythmical phenomena are subjective, *ad hoc*, and consequently inconsistent.

I[191] For another example, let us see what he has to say about the Bridges discovered by Porson at the start of the trochaic tetrameter, – ∪ – – ⏜ – ∪ . . ., and the end of the iambic trimeter, . . . ∪ – – ⏜ – ∪ –. They both signify avoidance of word-end after – ∪ – – within the colon, and we should expect a common explanation for both. S.'s explanations, however, are quite different in the two cases. As to the tetrameter, he says (109):

> Insofern die Erscheinung nicht mit der Bevorzugung einer Wortgrenze nach den Positionen 3 and 5 (oder nach beiden) zusammenhängt, dürfte sie ihren Grund darin haben, daß die (für die Zäsur bezeichnende) Metrondihäresis *innerhalb* der Kola—wo eine mit der durch die Zäsur erfolgende kontrastierende Bewegung erwünscht ist—eher vermieden wird.

Of the trimeter bridge, on the other hand, he writes (98, cf. 109):

> Die Erklärung für diesen Befund dürfte darin liegen, daß im Fall einer Wortgrenze an dieser Stelle *beide* Klauselindizien gleichzeitig fehlen würden, weil das Versende dann weder die erwünschte Rückkehr zur steigenden Bewegung noch die bevorzugte kurze Realisierung des letzten Anceps aufweisen würde.

This preference for short realization of the third anceps, incidentally, is statistically weak; in Aeschylus, for example, some 43% of lines have it long. So a short anceps cannot be considered much of a

'Klauselindiz'. And if it is so undesirable to have a falling word-end that contrasts with the rising verse-end, why is it so desirable in the first half of the tetrameter to have a rising word-end that contrasts with the falling movement at caesura?

This aesthetic-aprioristic theory does not hang together. It collapses at a prod. As I remarked in reviewing van Raalte's book,[6] it makes the mistake of elevating the abstract, the word-boundary, above the concrete, the word. The poet of stichic verse operates within a frame imposed by the conventional verse-scheme, with required word-boundary at verse-end and at one of two or three alternative caesura positions. For the rest, he does not ask himself 'where else shall I make word-boundaries?' but rather, 'how shall I arrange in this frame the words that I want to use, or alternative words of equivalent meaning?' Poets quickly learned to associate particular word-shapes with particular places in the line. Such phenomena as the bucolic caesura and Hermann's Bridge in the hexameter, and Porson's Bridges in the trimeter and tetrameter, are all explicable as consequences of this principle.[7]

I[192] Since the concepts of falling and rising rhythm play such an important role in S.'s theories, it is disturbing to find that he is not even consistent about what they are and how they are to be identified. The initial definition reads (46): 'Das Schema beginnt entweder *fallend*, d.h. mit einem Longum, dem ein Breve oder Doppelbreve folgt, oder *steigend*, d.h. mit einem nicht markierten Element, dem ein Longum folgt.' Here 'Longum' is evidently synonymous with 'marked element', and 'Breve oder Doppelbreve' with 'unmarked element'. But elsewhere he treats segments with unmarked element in initial place as falling, where the unmarked position is an anceps realized by a long and the following marked element (or Longum) is resolved into two shorts. This is explicit on p. 120, where he states that an anapaestic verse with – ∪ ∪ – – | in the first metron begins falling and shows 'eine Umkehrung der Bewegung' (similarly p. 209); and on p. 93 he suggests that resolution of the second element in the iambic trimeter, especially following a long anceps in

[6] *CR* 38 (1988), 78.

[7] See *CQ* 32 (1982), 294 f. (=above, p. 283 f.); my *Greek Metre* (Oxford 1982), 37 f., 42 f. S. (29 f.) actually quotes *CQ* 32, 294, but only as evidence 'daß West die einleuchtende Behandlung der bukolischen Dihäresis bei Kirk [*YCS* 20 (1966), 73–152] offenbar nicht zur Kenntnis genommen hat'. Perhaps I knew it but did not find it as *einleuchtend* as he does.

position 1, 'den steigenden Charakter des Rhythmus verdeckt—was eine Wortgrenze *vor* dem (nichtmarkierten) dritten Element erwünscht macht, wie z. B. in Aisch., *Ag.* 7: *ἀστέρας, ὅταν φθίνωσιν ἀντολαῖς τε τῶν.*'[8]

He is even inconsistent in his use of 'Element'. On pp. 43 f. it is clear that he means to use the term as its inventor Maas used it, a double short between longa being counted as a single element. But on p. 210 we read that when the final dimeter of an anapaestic system has no diaeresis between the metra, it often shows 'eine Wortgrenze, die um ein Element später (. . . ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ | ∪ – ∪ ∪ – . . .) gelegt ist'. The acute reader who spots the discrepancy may be disposed to assume a misprint in the metrical scheme (which is anyway wrong; it should have been . . . ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ | ∪ – – ‖); but the error is 'um ein Element'. There are other technical terms which are introduced without any definition or explanation at all: *Dihärese* (19, not defined until 54); *Synaphie* (124); the symbol ○ ○ (132, 135); *Syzygie* (148); *triadisch* (150). The work is clearly not oriented towards the novitiate.

A term used throughout in a more or less technical sense is 'Vers', meaning what is often called a 'period', that is, a segment of composition throughout which synapheia obtains and at the end of which synapheia is broken. S. gives a rather elliptical formulation of this as part of Maas's system (18), but elsewhere he displays a certain vagueness about it. He speaks of 'die an der Versgrenze zugelassene Unterbrechung des phonetischen Kontinuums' (52, cf. 65, 'am Versende, wo die phonetische Kontinuität unterbrochen werden kann'; 'an der Versgrenze ist Hiat ohne I[193] weiteres zugelassen'). Interruption of the phonetic continuum, as manifested regularly by word-end and intermittently by hiatus or *brevis in longo*, is not just something permitted at the verse-end, it is what defines the verse-end. Phenomena such as elision at the end of an iambic trimeter, which is normally a verse-end, are exceptional and do not necessitate a modification of our definitions. We should also hold fast to the axiom that the final position in a verse is long, in the sense that it can

[8] This rhythm is in fact *avoided* by Aeschylus, and *Ag.* 7 is held to be corrupt on other grounds; see Fraenkel ad loc., and my *Studies in Aeschylus* (Stuttgart 1990), 173 and 262 f. There are other places where S. quotes tragic lines in their transmitted or an emended form while ignoring relevant text-critical questions: 108 n. 15 (Aesch. *Pers.* 165, Eur. *IA* 1391), 118 n. 41 (Soph. *Phil.* 827), 119 (Eur. *Supp.* 274).

always accommodate a long syllable.[9] Hence an acatalectic dactylic tetrameter, – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ |, cannot be a complete verse and should not be followed by the verse-end symbol ‖, as it is in S. 118 f., 144, 155. A biceps element (∪∪) converts *in toto* to a long and cannot therefore become ∪ –. At a verse-end it can only be realized as a single long, if it makes sense to speak of a biceps at verse-end at all. In his analysis of the parodos of Soph. *OT* (200 f.), S. fails to see that 156 χρέος (~ 165 πόλει) is in synapheia with the following line, and it is this that leads him to find a hexameter variant 'die mit einer unerwarteten s-Komponente stumpf schließt'.

His account of the caesura in the hexameter and iambic trimeter also suffers from vagueness, not as to the concept but as to certain basic facts. In the hexameter he recognizes only third-foot caesurae (penthemimeral or trochaic), and lines without one of these are branded as 'zäsurlos' (52 f., 77). He notes that such lines 'verhältnismäßig oft' have a word-end after both the second and the fourth long. What he fails to say is that the word-end after the fourth long is invariable in such verses, which means that this hephthemimeral caesura must be given 'Wechselschnitt' status. Similarly, in the case of the iambic trimeter, he writes (96) that of lines that have neither penthemimeral nor hephthemimeral caesura, 'die Mehrheit . . . mehr als 75% in der Tragödie' have *caesura media*. The fact is that in tragedy, if we set aside a couple of lines that are textually suspect, all do, 100%. A page later it becomes apparent that he counts as 'zäsurlos' verses such as Aesch. *Ag.* 326,

οἳ μὲν γὰρ ἀμφὶ | σώμασιν πεπτωκότες,

where there is 'eine sehr schwache Wortgrenze'. But 'schwach' is a subjective term; we can only measure the strength or weakness of a word boundary by observing whether the poets do or do not allow it to count as a caesura. In other words we have to establish empirically the circumstances in which caesura is allowed after proclitics or before enclitics. S. (53) gives three or four random examples and says

[9] My statement of this in *CQ* 32 (1982), 288 (=above, p. 273) is quoted by S. (29) as evidence 'daß von Maas sorgfältig eingehaltene Unterschiede, wie der Unterschied zwischen Vers and Versschema and der zwischen Verselementen and den diese Elemente vertretenden Silben, dem Verfasser gewissermaßen fremd geblieben sind.' I believe I have kept these distinctions perfectly clear (cf. *Greek Metre*, 18), and I do not understand his cavil.

it is impossible to lay down l[194] rules. In fact one can go a good deal further in laying down rules than he attempts to do.[10]

He is generous in offering statistics relating to caesurae and other word boundaries; many of them are drawn from van Raalte's work, and they are often calculated to two decimal places. Presumably most of them are reliable, but one's confidence is somewhat shaken by the figures he gives on p. 95 for caesurae in Euripides, which seem to be hopelessly self-contradictory:

> Die P[enthemimeres]-Zäsur . . . ist im allgemeinen häufiger als die H[ephthemimeres]-Zäsur, namentlich bei Euripides, der in mehr als 70% seiner Verse eine P-Zäsur hat (in etwa 55% dieser Falle ohne gleichzeitiges Wortende nach Position 7, weiter unten notiert als 'P—7', d. h. 'P minus 7'). Nur etwa 24% seiner Trimeter zeigen eine H-Zäsur (in etwa 15% dieser Fälle ohne gleichzeitiges Wortende nach Position 5: 'H—5').

If P—7 occurs in 55% of (more than) 70%, then about 45% of (more than) 70%, i. e. (more than) 31.5% of the whole, have P + 7, i. e. H as well as P. When he says that only 24% have H, then, he must mean H without P; but then he indicates that about 85% of this 24% do have word-end after position 5. I cannot make any sense of this.

When he comes to aeolic metres, lack of definition appears in another form. The 'Aeolic base', and the sequences of variable elements that may appear before the characteristic – ∪ ∪ – figure, do not lend themselves to sd notation. Historically they may all originally have been positions of undetermined quantity, as the disyllabic base still is in Sappho and Alcaeus. Subsequently, however, the freedom is curtailed, so that the anaclastic glyconic, for example, is ○ ○ – × – ∪ ∪ –. S., however, represents all these positions as ancipitia. Thus the eupolidean, ○ ○ – × – ∪ ∪ – ⋮ ○ ○ – × – ∪ –, he presents as × × × × d × × × × s, as if there were eight positions in it which might be all long or all short, though he then observes that some restrictions apply; for example, 'an der Stelle des dritten Anceps findet sich nie eine kurze Silbe'. Then in what sense is it anceps? Why call it one? No historical Greek verse contains more than two successive anceps positions. Yet in the last line of the epode of Pindar's Eighth Pythian, empirically – – × – × – ∪ ∪ –

[10] See, for example, my *Greek Metre*, 26, 36, 40, 83, 91, 94. I made all the above points in my review of van Raalte, whose treatment of caesura suffers from much the same defects. But it seems that the Leiden school is set in its ways.

∪ – ∪ – –, S. manages to count no less than five: × × × × × dss – (177). I do not find this illuminating.

In the course of the book we light on some surprising items of misinformation. Agreement of melody and word-accent in musical texts does not appear first in the second century CE (34) but at least from the second BCE, and was probably normal in astrophic song from the beginning. Nonnus did not reduce the number of spondees in the hexameter 'auf das l[195] mögliche Minimum' (73): several of his successors went considerably further in this direction. Nor is it quite true that lines with more than two spondees occur in his work 'überhaupt nicht'.[11] It is not true that the iambic trimeter cannot begin with two resolutions (90, 'weil das den Rhythmus des Versanfangs zu sehr beeinträchtigen würde'): see e.g. Eur. *Or.* 643, *Bacch.* 57, 494, 1110, not to mention comedy. Nor is it true that in the iambographers two shorts occupying a resolved longum are 'ausnahmslos' word-initial (93, 100): see Archil. 48. 25, 60. 6, and if choliambics are included, Hipponax 1, 26. 3, 4, 77. 4, 92. 13. Nor is it true that the dialogue portions of Aeschylus' *Persai* are written predominantly in tetrameters (106). The sequence of strophic pairs, S. states (181), 'zählt bei Sophokles and Euripides zwei, bei Aischylos manchmal mehr als zwei Strophenpaare'; but there are many examples of sequences of three strophic pairs in Sophocles and Euripides. 'Unverkennbar ionische Partien von gewissem Umfang gibt es in der Tragödie nur bei Aischylos' (191): surely Soph. *OT* 483–512 should be so classified.

There are other places where he omits to add an essential qualification. When he speaks of elision at verse-end (51), it should be pointed out that it occurs only between long syllables. In the iambic trimeter 'in allen Gattungen [iambus, tragedy, comedy] können die markierten Elemente durch zwei kurze Silben realisiert werden' (90): but not the last one, and in the iambographers not the penultimate one either. The statement that Bacchylides' dactylo-epitrite poems differ from Pindar's in having caesurae (166) is far too sweeping. It is true that Bacchylides has word-break between cola more often, but many examples can be found in Pindar. In treating of anapaestic systems (208–10), S. completely fails to distinguish between the marching and lyric types, which differ in many points of technique.

[11] On both points see my *Greek Metre*, 178 with n. 48.

[Two paragraphs listing errors and omissions of detail are here omitted.]

l[196] . . . It will be apparent by now that the book suffers from many defects of one sort and another. What is to be said in its favour?

It deserves respect as a serious and conscientious attempt to expound the important facts about Greek metrical practice down to the fifth century and at the same time to interpret them in terms of a unified theoretical framework, by focusing attention on certain aspects of versification that do not generally receive much emphasis. It seeks to effect a scientific simplification of our thinking, to reduce the clutter of colon-analytical jargon and substitute an austere calculus based on four pairs of antithetical terms. This is no ignoble aspiration.

As a descriptive survey of metres used in archaic and classical Greek verse, the book is rich in material and leaves no area of importance uncovered, even if the reader is quite often referred to other sources for details of some particular usage. Some topics, such as prosody, are sketchily treated. For example, after stating that the first consonant of an intervocalic cluster goes with the preceding syllable, S. adds (62 f.), 'eine Ausnahme bilden die Konsonantenfolgen *muta cum liquida* und *muta cum nasali*, die verschieden behandelt werden können'. For any practical engagement with metre one needs to know rather more than that about the treatment of mute and liquid combinations. Other omissions of essential detail and misstatements of fact have been noted above.

As for the reductionist theory and analysis, it has the merit of basing itself on oppositions that are real and that do to some extent have a recognizable part to play in the architecture of Greek verse. The blunt/pendant contrast, in particular, is pervasive, often serving to differentiate final from non-final sections of the verse or strophe; it largely corresponds to the antithesis of acatalectic and catalectic (or occasionally acatalectic and hypercatalectic). The rising/falling opposition has a more limited role. It is clearly operative, for instance, between the two halves of the hexameter, and in the dactylic poems of Stesichorus some periods are differentiated from others by rising or falling starts. The distinction between homogeneous and heterogeneous is at least useful in classifying metres in broad categories. Alternation between the two, for example in Alcman's Louvre Partheneion, seems sometimes to have been compositionally

significant, though so long as we are not sure how these rhythms were realized in performance, it is difficult to gauge the effect. The opposition of prol[197]longation and juxtaposition is more problematic. For purposes of sd analysis it is fairly straightforward, but in reality it covers more than one kind of phenomenon; 'juxtaposition' is something different in ionics from what it is in lyric iambics.

In drawing attention to these parameters S. has performed a service. But the attempt to base a whole theory of Greek metre on them and to interpret metrical structures with exclusive reference to them must be pronounced a failure. S. is soulfully aware that his analyses may strike the reader as 'gleichförmig and bisweilen trivial', 'spröde and monoton' (211, 215). They do. But that is not what condemns them. What condemns them is that on the one hand they cannot take the place of other essential forms of analysis such as the counting of metra, the recognition of standard cola, and the study of word-shape distributions; and that on the other hand the sere sd transcriptions can only be given life and meaning by means of a subjectively aesthetic exegesis which breaks down in a morass of contradictions.

20

W. S. Allen's Theory of Stress in Classical Greek

More than half of the discussion of Greek is taken up by the chapter on Stress. Rejecting suggestions that the pitch accent was associated with an element of stress before the Roman period, Allen nevertheless maintains, here as in previous publications, that the classical language had a perceptible and discoverable stress accent. The evidence adduced is exclusively metrical. From the fact that words of a given prosodic shape have, in such metres as the hexameter and the trimeter, certain preferred locations among those theoretically possible, he infers that some other factor besides quantity is involved, and he conjectures that this is a stress which was contrived to coincide as far as possible with the arsis. He proceeds to devise a rather complex set of rules for stress (summarized on 333f.). Their application would in general give results in accord with the hypothesis of a correlation with the metrical arsis: not surprisingly, because they are designed solely with this end in view. Here is one example of the method. After an argument to the effect that heavy final syllables are l^6 stressed, the next step is: 'Word endings $\underline{\Sigma}\underline{\Sigma}$ and $\underline{\Sigma}\underline{\Sigma}\underline{\Sigma}$ regularly show the metrical placement patterns $\underline{\grave{\Sigma}}\underline{\Sigma}$ and $\underline{\grave{\Sigma}}\underline{\Sigma}\underline{\Sigma}$ (as they must if they are to be admitted to the hexameter line at all); and if we accept that this reflects their normal stressing, we may state a more general rule that the last heavy syllable in the word was stressed' (292 f). Or again in the trimeter 'words of the more extended form $\underline{\Sigma}\underline{\Sigma}\underline{\Sigma}\underline{\Sigma}\underline{\Sigma}$ are similarly located as $\underline{\Sigma}\underline{\Sigma}/\underline{\Sigma}\underline{\Sigma}/\underline{\Sigma}$, supporting a predicted stress pattern $[\underline{\acute{\Sigma}}\underline{\grave{\Sigma}}\underline{\Sigma}\underline{\Sigma}\underline{\hat{\Sigma}}\underline{\Sigma}]$' (321). How else could they be

Excerpt from a review of W. S. Allen, *Accent and Rhythm: Prosodic Features of Latin and Greek* (Cambridge 1973), in *Gnomon* 48 (1976), 1–8, at pp. 5–7.

located? The whole operation is a *petitio principii*, and by no means an elegant one.

The system is primarily based on word-shapes. But we are to believe (297 ff.) that when a word stands before a pause—not a syntactic pause, if it is verse, but a metrical pause—this principle is abandoned, and its stress is determined by that of the preceding word. There is no linguistic plausibility in this; but once Allen has decided that heavy final syllables are stressed, he needs this bizarre escape-clause in order that the assumption of regular stress-placing shall not founder on the quantitative indifference of the last syllable of the verse. Another odd doctrine (295 f.) is that the same word may be differently stressed according to whether the next word begins with a vowel or a consonant; thus *ἄνθρωπος*, or (in epic) *κοῦροι*, would be stressed on the penultimate before a vowel but on the last before a consonant. This is dangerously near to saying 'the stress shifts to suit the metre'.—Presumably a word like *ἐφαίνεο* is stressed on the *φαί* when uncontracted but on the *νεο* when contracted; but it is paradoxical that a reduction of quantity should attract stress.

The assumption that serious poets[1] would seek agreement between stress and arsis is dubious from the start, for this is not what happens in Byzantine verse in classical metres, or in non-dramatic Latin poetry. If one tried to deduce the rules for the Latin accent from Virgil, one would surely be misled by the constant occurrence of spondaic words in just those positions of the hexameter from which Allen infers them to be end-stressed in Greek. One may ask why, if there was a metre/stress pattern in Greek hexameters, the Romans failed to copy it.

There is much special pleading to circumvent awkward facts. For example, spondaic words often occur at the beginning of the hexameter, with the heavy final syllable in thesis, but 'at the beginnings of lines ... we should not in any case look for very regular coincidence between speech and metrical patterns' (292: yet the common initial location of molossic words is accepted as part of the evidence for their stress). Trimeter-endings such as *ἡμῖν αὖ χάριν, σήμαιν' εἴτ' ἔχει, νοῦν οὐδ' ἕνα*, call forth improbable

[1] But not the comedians (311 f.), despite their being in many respects more faithful to spoken Attic than the tragedians.

hypotheses about word-groups stressed as a single unit (310 f.).[2] In Eur. *IT* 1284 *ὦ ναοφύλακες βώμιοί τ' ἐπιστάται* it is proposed to stress *νάοφύλακες* in spite of its heavy final syllable, 'perhaps by the indifference principle' (322), meaning that before caesura, as at line-end, the stress is not affected by the quantity of the last syllable (313). But this was supposed to be because the pre-pausal stress rule operates; and that, if it is possible to apply it in the present case, would not give the required effect. After all the ingenuity we are left with a horribly heterodyne rhythm in a line-ending like *Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων*, where Allen's stress would fall on *ῶν ... κοχι ... νων*.

That ancient Greek had some system of mild stress-variation is likely enough. But if the grammarians say nothing about it, if it has no discoverable phonological effect, and if versification suggests no simple and coherent principles, there is little hope of finding out how it operated. If Some of the details of verse technique to which Allen refers do need explaining, and his explanation was worth trying, but it is open to too many objections to be acceptable.

The fact that molossic words are usually placed in Homer with the first and third syllables in arsis (285) may be connected with the secondary status of – in the thesis as a substitute for ∪∪. This placing of the molossus only involves one such substitution instead of two. Hence also the common placing of words scanning – – – – at line-end.

[2] In view of the sense of the words *νοῦν οὐδ' ἕνα* one must expect the stress, if any, to fall anywhere but on the *οὐδ'*.

21

Theocritus and the Aeolic Base

Theocritus' four known Aeolic poems, 28–31, are all in metres used by Sappho and Alcaeus. Poems 28, 30, and apparently 31, are in greater Asclepiads, and 29 is in Sapphic fourteen-syllable lines. Neither of these metres was in common use,[1] and Theocritus is likely to have based his metrical practice, like his dialect, on the Lesbian models.

Of the four forms which the 'Aeolic base' can take in the Lesbian poets, spondee, trochee, iambus, and pyrrhich, the last, which is comparatively rare from the start,[2] is not admitted by Catullus and his contemporaries in their Aeolic metres; Horace is even stricter, and admits only the first.[3] Theocritus admits all four. But the examples of pyrrhich base are distributed in a remarkable way.

Poem 28 (25 lines): none.
29 (40 lines): two examples—the last two lines of the poem.
30 (32 lines): four examples (lines 6, 9, 19 cj., 25)
31 (beginnings of first five lines preserved): two examples.

'A Note on Theocritus' Aeolic Poems', *CQ* 17 (1967), 82–4. The footnotes were there numbered anew on each page.

[1] Greater Asclepiads were used by Asclepiades (whom Theocritus admired, 7. 40), Callimachus (fr. 400), and Horace (*C.* 1. 11, 18; 4. 10).

[2] In the fragments of Sappho and Alcaeus I have counted 16 examples in 226 lines in aeolic metres whose beginnings are preserved. I found no fragment of more than ten lines that lacked an instance except Sappho fr. 44 (28 lines)—a significant exception, in view of the known abnormalities of that poem (see D. L. Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus* (Oxford 1955), 65 ff.).

[3] In *C.* 1. 15. 36 *ignis Iliacas domos*, the variant *Pergameas*, whatever its source, is unlikely to be a conjecture designed to meet the metrical point, which was surely too subtle for fifteenth-century scholars; and could Horace have written *Iliacas* only three lines after *Ilio*? He varies his words for Greek and Trojan throughout the ode.

Taking the poems in the transmitted order, we thus have 102 consecutive lines, of which the first 63 contain no instance and the remaining 39 contain eight instances.

To calculate the odds against such a distribution resulting from chance[4] one would have to pretend that a human versifier was a roulette wheel, and then guess at its design; I predict that anyone who tries it will find that, whatever assumptions he makes, the resulting odds are alarming. But mathematics apart, it would obviously be a plausible hypothesis that Theocritus composed the poems in the order 28, 29, 30, 31 or 28, 29, 31, 30, and that to begin with he was unaware that a line might legitimately start ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ –. This supposition receives some support from the following considerations.

(1) In 28. 4 *ὄππα Κύπριδος ἶρον καλάμω χλῶρον ὑπ' ἀπάλω*, the prosody *ᾱπάλω* is unparalleled and to many scholars incredible.[5] It can, however, be |[83] explained, if we allow that when he composed this poem Theocritus did not recognize the pyrrhich base. For in Sappho 94. 21 ff. we find:

καὶ στρώμν|αν ἐ]πὶ μολθάκαν
ἀπάλαν πα.[ ]. . . ων
ἐξίης πόθο̣|ν]. νίδων.

Reading this poem, Theocritus may have supposed that *ἀπάλαν* in 22 was scanned as a cretic; he perhaps imagined the lengthening to be analogous to that in *ὄπποθεν* and similar words. It is curious that he wrote *ᾱπάλω* in a line beginning *ὄππα Κύπριδος ἶρον*, for Sappho's next words (94. 24 ff.) are

κωὔτε τις[οὔ]τ̣ε̣ τι
ἶρον οὐδ' ὐ[ ]
ἔπλετ' ὄππ̣|οθεν ἄμ]μες ἀπέσκομεν,
οὐκ ἄλσος .|,

and Cypris is present in the context at least in thought.

[4] Gow, ii. 511, notes that the pyrrhich base is admitted in 30 and does not occur in 28, and says that this is 'probably no more than accident'.

[5] Of the many conjectures the most ingenious is perhaps *ὑπαὶ λάλω(ι)* (Pohlenz, *NGG* 1949, 231); though while I have heard from Greek poets and some others of 'babbling water', I cannot say I have ever heard of babbling rush. Trees 'whisper' in 1. 1, and *λαλέουσι* (with an object) in the post-Theocritean 27. 58.

(2) The relative chronology of Theocritus' Aeolic poems that the hypothesis presupposes tends to be supported by such hints as the poems themselves give. In 28 Theocritus rejoices at the prospect of seeing his friend Nicias and Nicias' wife Theogenis. Everything suggests that they are a fairly young couple. Theogenis is *ἐύσφυρος* (13), full of energy (13–16), and she *φιλέει ὅσσα σαόφρονες* (14), which is decorous Greek for 'no flirt'; she will make clothes galore (10–11), become celebrated among her neighbours for her distaff (22), and remember the poet who gave her it for evermore (23). Nicias himself is *Χαρίτων ἱεροφάνων ἔερον φύτον* (7), which is Alexandrian for 'a promising young poet'.[6] If Nicias is still on the young side, then so is Theocritus, for the tones in which he speaks to him, in this poem, in poem 11, and especially in 13. I *οὐχ ἁμὶν τὸν Ἔρωτα μόνοις ἔτεχ' ὡς ἐδοκεῦμες, Νικία*, clearly indicate that the two were coevals.[7]

In poem 29 Theocritus addresses a boy, and addresses him as a somewhat older man: *ἀλλ' αἴ μοί τι πίθοιο νέος προγενεστέρωι* (10). When the boy grows his beard, they will become *Ἀχιλλέϊοι φίλοι* (34). Then in poem 30 Theocritus has white hair (13), and unless we are prepared to suppose that a young poet is here assuming the *persona* of an old man in deference to some literary convention, we must regard this as a work of at least middle age.

In general, the order in which Theocritus' poems are transmitted differs in different sources. But the order of the Aeolic poems seems to be stable, so far as present evidence goes.

C (Ambr. 104 B 75 sup., s. xv–xvi): 28, 29, 30.
H (Vat. gr. 913, s. xiii–xiv) : 28, 29, 1–8. (Hence X = Vat. gr. 1311, s. xv.)
H^3 (P. Antin., *c.*500 CE): 28, 29, 30, 31.
P. Oxy. 3551[8] (s. iii): 17, 28.

I[84] The only variation is that D (Paris. 2726, s. xv) contained poems 28 and 29 far apart from each other and in reverse order. But this is

[6] Cf. *ἔρως* in 7. 44, with Gow's note.
[7] So Gow, ii. 208. It must be remembered that poem 28, to all appearance, is later than poem 13; and the balance of probability is that poem 13 is later than the first version of *Argonautica* books 1–2.
[8] Gow, i. 257. In H^3 also, if Gallavotti's reconstruction is correct (*Riv. Fil.* 58 (1930), 500–3; *Theocritus* (as in n. 9), 303), 28 was preceded by 17. Cf. Gow, i. l n. 1.

not significant, for the manuscript is not homogeneous, and the two poems fall in different sections drawn from different sources.[9]

The grouping together of the Aeolic poems, and the actual order 28–31, is therefore certainly ancient, and it may go back to the earliest collected edition of Theocritus' poems, perhaps to the poet himself: granted that the mixed-up collection we have does not reflect his arrangement, there is no reason why he should not have published a book containing Aeolic poems, from which a group of four (or more) survived into the later '*μάνδρα*'. The four are arranged among themselves, not by metre, since 29 is in a different metre from 28, 30, and 31, but rather by subject. 28 is the *Distaff*, 29–30 and perhaps 31 are paederastic. But the grouping by subjects might reflect the order of composition.

Our conclusions may be summarized as follows. Poems 28, 29, and 30 were written in that order. When he wrote 28, Theocritus did not know the rare pyrrhich form of the Aeolic base and was misled by a Sapphic case of it into committing a false quantity. In the course of writing 29 he discovered it, and the fact that he ends the poem with two successive examples of it suggests that he regarded it not as a dubious licence to be used in times of need but rather as a fully legitimate variation that demonstrated his close acquaintance with Lesbian metric. In 30 he used it freely. Its free use in 31 may be taken as evidence that that poem was also composed after 28 and 29, whether before or after 30.

It is not out of place to recall another feature of Lesbian metrical practice that he may have learned within the period covered by these poems. In Sappho the greater Asclepiad line was used only in two-line stanzas. This was known to some later scholars.[10] Theocritus did not know it when he wrote 28, which has 25 lines. He may have known it later: 29 has 40 lines, 30 has 32, and 31 may have had 34.[11] But this could easily be fortuitous.

[9] C. Gallavotti, *Theocritus quique feruntur Bucolici Graeci* (Rome 1946), 288 ff.
[10] Hephaestion, *Poem.* p. 59. 7 C.
[11] Gow, ii. 519. If so, there will be no significance in the fact that 29 and 30 could be divided into four-line stanzas. With Horace's greater Asclepiad odes, which have eight or sixteen lines, it is another matter, in view of his regular use of quatrains.

Literary Byways. Varia

22

The Greek Poetess: Her Role and Image

'The Greek Poetess': who might that be? Sappho, obviously. But there are many others besides. I am of course speaking only of antiquity, down to about the fifth century of our era. The number of poetesses is nevertheless considerable. If historical and legendary ones are taken together, I count no fewer than sixty-four, to say nothing of various nameless prophetesses and priestesses.[1] You will readily calculate that if I were to give them all equal treatment in an hour's lecture, I should have at most 56 seconds for each one. I do not intend to proceed in that way. I shall concentrate on two themes: what sort of role a woman writing poetry could find for herself in the predominantly male-oriented society of ancient Greece, and how her image was exposed to many kinds of distortion, tendentious colouring, and romantic invention.

A woman's role in Greek society was rather circumscribed. She was excluded from political affairs. She was not free to travel, or even to go about the town unaccompanied. It was a man's world. Early

Translated from *Die griechische Dichterin. Bild und Rolle* (Lectio Teubneriana, 5, Stuttgart–Leipzig 1996). The text begins on p. 9.

[1] See the Appendix. The most complete list known to me is to be found in the Leipzig Academy dissertation of 1708 by Johann Christian Blum, *De poetriis Graecis observationes historicae et criticae*, published under the name of the president of the Academy, the Leipzig professor Gottfridus Olearius (Gottfried Oehlschläger, 1672–1715). There are several anthologies and general treatments of the more significant poetesses, mainly of a feminist-dilettante nature, for example Umbertina Lisi, *Poetesse greche* (Catania 1935); Sylvia Barnard, 'Hellenistic Women Poets', *CJ* 75 (1978), 204–13; Helene Homeyer, *Dichterinnen des Altertums und des frühen Mittelalters*. Zweisprachige Textausgabe (Paderborn 1979); Eleonora Cavallini, *Poetesse greche e romane*. Introduzione, traduzione e note (Venice–Rome 1980); Jane McIntosh Snyder, *The Woman and the Lyre: Women Writers in Classical Greece and Rome* (Carbondale, Ill. 1989).

Greek poetry was designed for public occasions or social gatherings. It was essentially a social phenomenon—what is preserved of it, at any rate—and not a medium for private musings. It follows that the forms of poetry were conditioned by social institutions. The absurd hypothesis has occasionally been put forward that the *Odyssey* was the work of a woman, because it supposedly [10] shows a feminine outlook and feeling. The idea suffers firstly from a banal preconception about male and female sensibilities, and secondly—more seriously—from a gross misapprehension of the social realities. Epic poems were composed by rhapsodes who wandered from town to town to find new audiences or, if they were lucky, enjoyed a lasting position in the house of a rich patron. That a woman could have produced such a poem in that society is inconceivable. She did not have the opportunity to learn how it was done, and even if she had somehow managed that, it would have been impossible for her to appear in a rhapsode's place at a festival or in the market-place. Equally unimaginable is a tragedy or a comedy by a woman, since the composition and production of dramas took place within the framework of fixed institutions that simply had no place for a woman, not even as an actor on the stage.

So a poetess in early Greek society was inevitably a *rara avis*. In Euripides' *Medea* the Corinthian women of the chorus explain that Phoibos, the god of poetry, has not blessed the female sex with the gift of lyric song; otherwise women would long ago have countered the male poets who are always singing of women's infidelity.[2]

The earliest poetesses, it was believed, were prophetesses. This reflects the reality that that was a role in which women did utter verses in public in the classical and Hellenistic periods, for example the Pythia at the Delphic oracle, the Sibyls at several Asiatic oracular sites, [11] and others, even if they did not compose the verses themselves. As the oracular shrines claimed a high antiquity for themselves, it was only natural to project the practice back onto fictitious prehistoric prophetesses. Imperial authors affirm that the first Pythia was a daughter of Apollo named Phemonoe, older even than Orpheus. In the Hellenistic period at least one forgery was published in her name, and the elder Pliny, who had a whole mass of such stuff in his grotesque library (he evidently bought everything that his bookseller offered him, out of curiosity), cites Phemonoe as an

[2] Eur. *Med.* 424–8.

authority on divination from birds. Pausanias is able to tell of yet earlier poet-prophetesses in Dodona.[3]

Already in the classical period it happened that poetesses were created by romantic invention. Of one of the Seven Sages, Kleoboulos the tyrant of Lindos, we hear that he had a daughter Kleoboulina who composed verse riddles.[4] One such riddle is already quoted under her name around 400 BCE, in the so-called *Δισσοὶ λόγοι*. The sweet girl is supposed also to have exercised a moderating influence on her father's tyranny, and the fame of her riddles to have spread as far as Egypt. What lies behind the story? The riddle was a common form of entertainment at social gatherings. If women were present, they were usually hetairai, hired musicians, and the like. One may imagine that these women sometimes entertained the company with riddles, perhaps with the offer of a nice prize for the man who could solve them. The mythical Kleoboulina (we can hardly doubt that she is mythical) would then be a reflection of these riddle-posing women, even if she is no hetaira but a tyrant's or sage's daughter.

[12] Now a riddle for you. Who is the earliest historical Greek poetess that we can name? Sappho, you might think. That is the safest answer. But the correct answer is perhaps Megalostrata. She is a girl mentioned by Alcman. He calls her 'blessed among maidens' and says she has 'shown forth this gift of the sweet Muses'.[5] The Peripatetic Chamaeleon, who quotes the fragment, understood Megalostrata to be a poetess, which is very plausible even if not certain. He asserts further that Alcman was in love with her, which is by no means implicit in the words quoted from the poet. Chamaeleon may have read it into them in accord with the romantic taste of his time. Alcman certainly wrote some love poems, and

[3] Phemonoe: Voigt, *RE* xix. 1957; Pliny, *HN* 10. 21; Paus. 10. 12. 10, cf. ibid. 1–9 on Sibyls. Sibyls are especially at home in Asia Minor. Prophetic women appear also in Semitic lands. They are already attested at Mari (Syria) in the eighteenth century BCE, and later in Israel and Assyria. One of the oldest Hebrew poems is put in the mouth of the prophetess Deborah (Judges 5; eleventh century). In Mesopotamia too the first attested author is a woman—not a prophetess, but a high priestess, Enḫeduanna, daughter of King Sargon of Akkad (23rd century).

[4] *IEG* ii. 50 f.; cf. Wilamowitz, *Hermes* 34 (1899), 219–22 = *Kl. Schr.* iv. 60–3; *PCG* iv. 167 f.

[5] *PMGF* 59(b), *τοῦτο Fαδειᾶν ἔδειξε Μωσᾶν | δῶρον μάκαιρα παρθένων | ἁ ξανθὰ Μεγαλοστράτα*; Chamaeleon fr. 25 Wehrli with commentary pp. 78 f.; D. Giordano, *Chamaeleontis Heracleotae Fragmenta* (Bologna 1977), 50 fr. 28, 130–4.

Megalostrata might have been named in them. If she was really a poetess, it is understandable in Alcman's milieu. He composed songs to be performed by girls' choruses on festival occasions, and they learned the songs from him. This is an area of ancient Greek life in which women could play a role as poets and educators, as we shall see in the cases of Sappho and Telesilla. So it is entirely conceivable that a young woman with whom Alcman had professional relations, a member of one of the respectable families that provided the members of the festal choruses, was herself a composer of songs.

With Sappho we certainly come in sight of a historical figure: the most famous poetess of Greece, indeed the most famous in the Solar System. Strabo in the time of Augustus, some six centuries after Sappho, calls her a wonder, 'for in this whole span of historical time we know of no woman who l[15] was able to compete with her in poetry even in small measure'.[6] But her very fame made her the object of a legend and a continually evolving tradition. The scholar must try to distinguish between legend and reality. He must try—but the footholds are not as many as he might wish, I mean the footholds afforded by the scanty remains of Sappho's own verses.

From the somewhat more numerous fragments of her contemporary and fellow-citizen Alcaeus we can form an idea of the social and political conditions of the town in which Sappho lived. We hear much of rival cliques and partisan groups; the old families were fighting to maintain or regain their former status, while upstarts of lower birth were using demagogic arts to rouse the people against the landowners. We hear of revolutions and dictatorships, of bribery and armed violence. In the intervals when nothing special was going on—or even if it was—there was always drinking and merrymaking. Such were the salient features of Lesbian society as represented by the male poet.

As for Sappho: what was her position, her role in this society? The fragments of Alcaeus contain hardly a single mention of women; and those of Sappho contain hardly a single mention of men, practically nothing that relates to the political life portrayed by Alcaeus. Just in one place she mentions the 'Penthilean women', women belonging to the old noble family of the Penthilids, to whom the woman addressed had attached herself.[7] There was evidently a l[14] group of

[6] Strabo 13. 2. 3.

[7] Sappho fr. 71. 3 *φιλότ[ατ'] ἤλεο Πενθιλήαν.*

women defined by that family relationship, who could bring others into their 'friendship'; we may suppose that they shared the political alignment of their menfolk. Sappho does not belong to that group, but it is clear that she has a group of her own: not just a loose network of acquaintances but a closed, sharply delimited circle that women may enter or leave. Possibly this group too was somehow linked to a particular family or party. Sappho herself, despite her apparent lack of interest in politics, had to go into exile, perhaps because of such links.

Sappho's group occupied itself primarily with music and song. Sappho considers herself a special favourite of the Muses, and she is confident that because of this she will be remembered after her death, by contrast with a certain rich but less cultivated lady who has no share in the roses from Pieria and will lie forgotten in her grave.[8] In other poems Sappho refers to the singing talents of other members of her circle. It is most significant that in one fragment she calls her house a house of servants of the Muses.[9] A small number of her poems were designed for public occasions and so for a chorus. This applies especially to wedding songs, but also to a very interesting song in dialogue form for an Adonis festival. The girls of the chorus sing to Aphrodite,

> Aphrodite, tender Adonis is dying! What can we do?

and a singer who takes the part of Aphrodite, perhaps Sappho herself, responds,

> You must beat your breasts, O maidens, you must tear your tunics too.[10]

l[15] Here, then, we can identify one social role that Sappho's group fulfilled: the composition, rehearsal, and public performance of these and other songs for which traditional usage required a female chorus.

But those were only occasional productions, scarcely sufficient as the basis for a daily association of these women. Most of Sappho's poems were apparently songs for solo performance among friends at leisure, with lyre or harp accompaniment. They have the freedom to spend extended periods of time together, to eat and drink together, to spend days and nights together, to visit temples and sacred groves

[8] Sappho fr. 55.

[9] Sappho fr. 150 *ἐν μοισοπόλων δόμωι.*

[10] Sappho fr. 140.

together.[11] What they are not free to do is associate with men or join in men's gatherings. Society is virtually polarized between the two sexes.

It was certainly not only on Lesbos that that was the case. Most archaic Greek poetry shows us a male society that revolves about the symposium: that is where it finds its friendships, its musical and other entertainment, its love affairs, and to a large extent its sexual fulfilment. There may perhaps be a pretty hired girl there to play the aulos, to dance, or to perform other services, but the women of the family remain out of sight. They stay in the women's room. And what do they do there? In Sappho, at least, they are doing much the same as the men, and having just as much fun. If we venture to generalize and to apply this picture to Greece as a whole, a pleasant vision is conjured up: thousands and thousands of women happily enjoying their music and [16] song in their own quarters, like Sappho and her circle, only invisible to us because they do not write, or if they do, their writings never reach any channels of transmission. Hints are not entirely lacking. In Plato's *Symposium* the guests decide to dispense with the services of the aulos-player: 'she can go and play to herself, or if she likes, to the women inside.'[12] The vase-painters often show scenes from the women's chambers with various musical instruments being played.

Social conditions changed over time, and later readers had to form their conception of Sappho's world from her poetry. They noted that there was much talk of strong affections. That was quite understandable in the circumstances, and we can always assume it where similar social conditions prevailed. But because Sappho's voice speaks in isolation, the phrase 'Lesbian love' established itself, as if it were a special local custom.

In antiquity this aspect did not arouse especial interest. The favoured image of Sappho was that of a talented teacher who took care of the musical education of young women in graceful style. This is the picture expressed in one of Philostratus' literary descriptions of paintings:

> An Aphrodite of ivory is being hymned in tender myrtle groves by tender girls. A teacher is leading them, one skilled and not past her bloom, for a certain beauty sits even on a first wrinkle, bringing with it the dignity of age while blending it with what she still keeps of her prime. . . . Shall we add a little libation of words on the altar? It is well enough provided with frankincense, cassia, and myrrh, and it seems to me to have a certain fragrance of Sappho too.[13]

[11] See for example frr. 2, 46, 81, 94, and 126.

[12] Pl. *Symp.* 176a.

[17] In a papyrus text published in 1974 Sappho is said to have educated the well-born women not only of Lesbos but also of Ionia. The late biographer Hesychius of Miletus claims to have even more exact information: according to him she had pupils from Miletus, Colophon, and Salamis, and we are told their names.[14]

For writers of the imperial period Sappho's world had the charm of a distant landscape that they could populate with figures of their own fantasy. In Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* we encounter a Pamphylian poetess named Damophyle, said to have been a friend of Sappho's, to have gathered a circle of girls about her in just the same way, and to have composed love songs and hymns to gods; some of her hymns to Artemis were still to be heard in Perge in Philostratus' time.[15] This Damophyle is certainly fictitious, and she became the point of departure for a further fiction. In 1895 there appeared in Paris a volume with the enticing title *Les Chansons de Bilitis traduites du grec pour la première fois*. These songs of Bilitis had allegedly been discovered inscribed on the walls of a tomb in the neighbourhood of Amathous in Cyprus and published the previous year by a Dr G. Heim (!) in Leipzig. Bilitis had been a Pamphylian, daughter of Damophylos (here we see the influence of Philostratus' Damophyle) and of a Phoenician mother. She had lost her innocence in Pamphylia and then travelled to Lesbos. There Sappho had been in love with her for a short time, after which she had spent ten years with Mnasidika, a woman known from Sappho's verse. Then she had gone to Cyprus and become a temple prostitute. When she became too old for that, she had finally devoted herself to poetry, using Semitic rhythms and an admixture of Phoenician vocables. The [18] piquant story, as well as the highly sensual texts, were the work of Pierre Louÿs, who had already made a name for himself with the erotic novel *Aphrodite*. Three of the songs of Bilitis were set to music in 1898 by Claude Debussy.

[13] Philostr. *Imag.* 2. 1.

[14] Fragment of a commentary on Sappho, published by M. Gronewald, *ZPE* 14 (1974), 114–18 = P. Köln 61, edited by B. Kramer in *Kölner Papyri*, 2 (1978), 40–4; *Suda* σ 107.

[15] Philostr. *Vit. Apoll.* 1. 20.

I do not know how it came about that Bilitis received a review from Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff; was it on the great scholar's own initiative, or was someone idiotic enough to offer him the book in the belief that an unknown ancient poetess had really come to light? Anyway, Wilamowitz willingly undertook the labour of writing a fifteen-page review in the *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*[16] and of explaining how remote Pierre Louÿs's Greece was from the ancient reality. He used the opportunity to attack several modern falsifications of Sappho's image and to set out his own conception of her. He portrays her as a fine woman, wife, and mother, a music teacher of Prussian respectability. He praises her finally as 'the noblest embodiment of that Eternal Feminine [Goethe's *Ewigweibliches*] that draws us on'.

Bravo! But is this not again a picture determined by male attitudes? 'That Eternal Feminine that draws us on': us humans, or us men? I have no wish to make Wilamowitz into an Aunt Sally. But he brings me to the main point. In considering Greek poetesses it is hard to remain free from the influence of male attitudes. We need to be aware that the male imagination was already at work in antiquity and often lent a distinct colouring to the image of the female poet.

I turn now to two poetesses believed to have lived in the fifth century BCE: Telesilla of Argos and Praxilla of Sicyon.

I[19] Telesilla is said to have been a woman of good family who suffered from health problems. She consulted the oracle and was advised to become a servant of the Muses. This she did, and the result was that her health improved and that she made a name for herself by her poetic abilities, eventually becoming a chorus-leader. When the Spartan king Cleomenes marched against Argos and routed the Argive army, the women, under Telesilla's leadership, are said to have dressed themselves as men, taken up arms, and manned the walls: so the city was saved. This was held to be the origin of the practice of transvestism at a certain Argive festival.[17]

The story of Telesilla clearly contains mythical elements. But the basic pattern looks authentic: Telesilla enjoys esteem among the women of Argos and is known in the city as leader of a female

[16] *GGA* 158 (1896), 623–38, reprinted in his *Sappho und Simonides* (Berlin 1913), 63–78.

[17] Socrates of Argos, *FGrHist* 310 F 6; Paus. 2. 20. 8–10; P. Maas, *RE* VA. 385.

chorus. In this role she composes songs. One of the few surviving fragments of her poetry presupposes the same formal arrangement as Sappho's lament for Adonis: a solo voice in dialogue with a girls' chorus on a religious mythical theme; response by the chorus is to be assumed.[18] The other fragments also deal with mythological and religious topics and may come from other songs of similar nature. A chorus presupposes a formal occasion, probably a religious festival. Telesilla's connection with ritual is implicit in the transvestism story, and perhaps even in her name, as names with the fore-element Telesi- are sometimes found in priestly families, where they express the notion of the holy rites, the *τέλεα*. So it is a possibility that Telesilla held a hereditary priesthood.

I[20] Praxilla of Sicyon seems to some extent like a parallel figure. She too was credited with mythological and religious songs, including so-called 'dithyrambs' (presumably for a chorus) and 'hymns', one of which concerned Adonis. So one might think that she was another of those women whose social position was connected with the female choruses that sang at religious festivals. But we have other testimonia that point to a very different persona. Praxilla was held to be the author of a collection of *Paroinia*, drinking songs, and we know that this collection was well known at Athens by the middle of the fifth century. Aristophanes alludes to two of the songs, and a part-quotation of a third appears on a vase of *c.*470. A prostitute is addressed:

> O Miss, from out your window blowing kisses—
> a Miss by your face, but lower down a Mrs.[19]

But how could a respectable priestess or chorus-leader in the north-east Peloponnese come to compose such saucy verses? And if she did, how did they get to Athens? Doubts about Praxilla's authorship of the *Paroinia* were already voiced in antiquity. If they were really by a woman, one would think in terms of a hetaira, a different person from the Sicyonian lady. But perhaps it was a fiction that these poems were by a woman. As Wilamowitz noted (not in the Bilitis review

[18] *PMG* 717 *ἆδ' Ἄρτεμις, ὦ κόραι, φεύγουσα τὸν Ἀλφεόν.*

[19] *PMG* 754 *ὦ διὰ τῶν θυρίδων καλὸν ἐμβλέποισα, | παρθένε τὰν κεφαλάν, τὰ δ' ἔνερθε νύμφα*; I quote the (somewhat free) translation from my *Greek Lyric Poetry* (Oxford 1993), 189. Further *Paroinia* fragments: *PMG* 749 = 897, 750 = 903.

but in *Hellenistische Dichtung*), 'lascivious songs and books were especially liable to go under women's names'.[20]

A clear example of this was the love manual written in the fourth century BCE by the Athenian Polycrates under the pseudonym [21] Philaenis. A fragment from the beginning of this work is preserved on a papyrus.[21] It reads:

> Philaenis, daughter of Okymenes of Samos, has written this book for all those who wish to live with pleasure . . .
>
> *On seduction.* The seducer should not go to special lengths to improve his appearance and his hair, so that the woman may not suspect that he is on the job.

Later there came a section on compliments, then one on kisses, and later still a chapter on sexual positions. We know of four other handbooks of this sort that were current under the names of women.[22] It is noteworthy that one of these fictitious women is from Samos, like Philaenis—it was clearly thought of as a place of loose morals—and another from Lesbos, while a third possessed the exceptional qualification of being Helen's personal maid.

These works were in prose. There was also a category of erotic song called 'the Locrian songs'. 'Locrian' here probably refers to the south Italian city of Locri, where the women were reputed to have a somewhat liberated lifestyle. The songs are characterized as 'adulterous'. They were well known by the end of the fourth century BCE.[23] Only one example survives. A woman addresses her lover:

> Oh, what's the matter with you? Don't give us away, please!
> Get up before he comes,
> in case he does you serious harm, and me, poor me!
> It's day already, don't you see the light through the window?[24]

As these were known as 'the Locrian songs', they were in principle anonymous. Only once is an author [22] named, and it is a woman:

[20] *Hellenistische Dichtung* (Berlin 1924), i. 83, 'es gingen namentlich lascive Lieder und Bücher gern auf weibliche Namen'.

[21] P. Oxy. 2891.

[22] The books of Niko of Samos (Ath. 220f), Callistrate of Lesbos (ibid.), Astyanassa (*Suda* α 4291), and Elephantis (O. Crusius, *RE* v. 2324 f.).

[23] Ath. 697b *αἱ Λοκρικαὶ καλούμεναι (ᾠδαί), μοιχικαί τινες τὴν φύσιν ὑπάρχουσαι*. They were already discussed by Clearchus, fr. 33 Wehrli. Cf. W. Kroll, *RE* Supp. vi. 234.

[24] *PMG* 853, quoted by Ath. loc. cit.

Theano of Locri.[25] The same name was borne by a legendary Pythagorean, according to some writers the wife or daughter of Pythagoras himself; she was credited with writings in both prose and verse.[26] Neither she nor the Locrian Theano has a good claim to historicity.

The fourth century BCE was perhaps, of all centuries down into the Middle Ages, the one most given to literary romancing. The comic poets of that time concentrated almost entirely on emotional plots, and several of them brought Sappho onto the stage, with a lover Phaon or in surprising and chronologically impossible association with the scurrilous poets Archilochus and Hipponax.[27] We see again how the poetess becomes the object of piquant invention instead of being treated as a natural member of society. She has to be involved in emotional situations and react to them with correspondingly emotional verses. Aristotle quotes a short exchange between (supposedly) Sappho and Alcaeus. Alcaeus sings to Sappho,

> There's something I want to say to you,
> but I'm too shy.

And Sappho replies:

> But if you wanted something good,
> your tongue not brewing wicked words,
> you'd not be shy, you'd speak as you saw fit.[28]

These sound like genuine Lesbian verses from the time of Sappho and Alcaeus. But we have seen that the two poets inhabited two quite separate worlds in the one city, and that he mentions women as [23] little as she does men. That they had this brief personal encounter and then jointly published a poetic rendering of it is just too good to be true. The reality, we may suppose, is that either Alcaeus or Sappho—in all probability the latter—composed the little song as a lyric dialogue between a nameless man and a nameless woman, the vignette of a delicate approach and a good-humoured rebuff. It was the romantic reader of a later period who assumed that the man

[25] *Suda* θ 85.

[26] H. Thesleff, *The Pythagorean Texts of the Hellenistic Period* (Åbo 1965), 193–201.

[27] Comedies entitled *Sappho* were written by Ameipsias, Amphis, Antiphanes, Diphilus, Ephippus, and Timocles.

[28] Sappho fr. 137 *ap.* Arist. *Rhet.* 1367a8 ff.; translation from my *Greek Lyric Poetry*, 47.

was none other than Alcaeus and the woman none other than Sappho. This reading is already attested *c.*480 by a red-figure vase in Munich. It shows Alcaeus and Sappho, labelled with their names. Alcaeus has his eyes cast down ashamedly; Sappho is turning away, but still looking at him.[29] This personal interpretation of the song delights us with its apparent insight into Sappho's life. But it is a false insight that distorts the historical reality of her society.

Aristotle's pupil Clearchus told a charming story about the origin of a certain folk-song, the so-called *Pastoral* (*τὸ νόμιον*). The young and winsome Menalcas went hunting. A rural poetess named Eriphanis saw him and fell in love with him. She roamed across all the mountains and valleys looking for him, and as she roamed she made up the song and sang it, moving the most loveless of men and the most savage of beasts to sympathy.[30] A clearer case of romantic fiction can hardly be imagined. Where could there be a more ideal landscape, situation, or behaviour for the ideal poetess?

I[24] There are of course other suitable scenarios. Let us recall the young poetess with the not altogether differently-sounding name of Erinna, the most famous and admired poetess of antiquity after Sappho. She lived on one of the lesser known islands of the eastern Aegean. Even as a teenager she wrote an exquisitely crafted poem, in which she gave expression to her grief at the unexpected death of the friend with whom she had grown up. She recalled the children's games that they had played together, the toys, and the bogey-man that her mother had used to frighten them. She reflected sorrowfully on her own lot, confined to the spindle and the loom while her youth passed by. Thus the poem. And what became of her? The most sublime fate imaginable for a young poetess: she died, aged just nineteen.

The surviving remains of the poem and the picture of the tragic girl have entranced scholars. Bowra wrote, 'Its three hundred hexameters were a genuine cry of grief . . . a true record of her own feelings'. And Wilamowitz: 'We sense how the soul of the young woman who was to die so early is overshadowed by premonitions of death . . . Erinna will have composed quite without premeditation, as was natural to her . . . The young woman's voice sounds forth like the

[29] Munich 2416. On the interpretation of the poem cf. Wilamowitz, *Sappho und Simonides*, 41; P. Maas, *Sokrates* 8 (1920), 20–5 = *Kl. Schr.* 183–9; D. L. Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus* (Oxford 1955), 104–9.

[30] Clearchus fr. 32 Wehrli.

fresh song of a lark . . .' And Alfred Körte: 'But the most remarkable thing is that in the fourth century such a young girl on an out-of-the-way island ventured to express everything that moved her heart quite uninhibitedly and without following any model, in a poem of three hundred verses.'[31] We note what satisfaction these scholars take in the contemplation of their ideal poetess.

But when we look more closely at the fragments, I[25] we see the remains of a polished, ambitious work of art such as the Alexandrian poets used to create. The Erinna of the wondrous spontaneity and the virginal naturalness of which the professors carol is a Fata Morgana appearing to thirsty travellers in the desert and drawing them on in Eternal Feminine fashion. Surely there must be such poetesses, our beautiful world cannot be lacking in such an element! It is truly painful to set the vision aside, and there are many who still cannot bear to do so. But even in antiquity there were those who suspected that 'Erinna' was a literary creation. Athenaeus cites 'Erinna, or the author of the poem ascribed to her'. I believe the suspicion was justified, and that Erinna and her tragic story were the brilliant fiction of an anonymous poet whose power of creative invention imposed on the romantic taste of the early Hellenistic age. I attempted to vindicate this opinion many years ago,[32] and I shall not do so again here.

I will just dwell a little on one point. This fresh, uninhibited soul who poured out her heart 'without following any model' uses a literary mixed dialect coloured by Sappho's Aeolic. Wilamowitz will not admit that this is anything artificial: 'if there are real Aeolisms,' he says, 'she had followed Sappho, understandably for

[31] C. M. Bowra in *Greek Poetry and Life: Essays Presented to Gilbert Murray* (Oxford 1936), 341, = his *Problems in Greek Poetry* (Oxford 1953), 167; Wilamowitz, *Hellenistische Dichtung*, i. 109 f., 'Wir spüren, wie die Seele der Jungfrau, die so früh sterben sollte, von Todesahnungen überschattet ist . . . Erinna wird ganz ohne Überlegung gedichtet haben, wie es ihr natürlich war . . . [Der Rhetorik gegenüber] tönt wie ein frischer Lerchentriller die Stimme der Jungfrau . . .'; A. Körte, *APF* 10 (1931), 23, 'Aber das merkwürdigste ist doch, daß im IV. Jahrh. ein so junges Mädchen auf einer entlegenen Insel es wagte, alles, was ihr Herz bewegte, ganz unbefangen und ohne Anlehnung an irgendwelche Muster in einem Gedicht von dreihundert Versen auszusprechen'. Wilamowitz was writing before the discovery of the Florence papyrus PSI 1090, to which we owe the most important remains of the poem. The standard edition is now *SH* 400–6.

[32] 'Erinna', *ZPE* 25 (1977), 95–119 (partly reproduced below, Chapter 29).

a poetess, perhaps unconsciously.'[33] That it was unconscious is scarcely credible. It was rather a deliberate artifice by the author to characterize the poem more explicitly as a woman's.

But what sense does it make for a poetess of hexameters to reflect the language of Sappho? Normally the dialect colouring [26] of a Greek poem depends on the literary genre. However, precisely in the third century BCE, and again in the time of Hadrian, there are parallels for women's poetry being characterized by imitation of Sappho's dialect. We find it in a hexameter fragment that may be by Anyte[34] and in epigrams of Nossis, and then in the Hadrianic era in verses with which two women adorned the left leg of the colossus of Memnon at Luxor, and in a hymn to Rome published under the studiously feminine pseudonym 'Melinno', where we also find the Sapphic strophe-form and alleged origin from Sappho's island.[35] Now, the presupposition for this practice is that being a poetess is something special. One is not just a woman who writes verse, or a writer who happens to be female: one is writing women's poetry, and people need to be aware of it. This is something new and distinctive in the early Hellenistic age, as the literati self-consciously looked back to the old classics and endeavoured to define themselves in relation to them.

To be sure, that does not mean that all poetesses immediately felt the need to affirm their femininity. They were numerous at this period, in the late fourth and third centuries. The epigrammatist Hedylos had a mother and a grandmother who both wrote verse. In one epigram he mentions the tipsy Muse-sportings (*μεμεθυσμένα παίγνια Μουσέων*) of Glauce, a woman known from other sources as a singer with a lovely voice who accompanied herself on the lyre. She sang for Ptolemy Philadelphus, and there is a confused story that she fell in love with a ram, or *vice versa*. It is not clear [27] whether she

[33] *Hellenistische Dichtung*, i. 109 n. 2, 'Wenn wirkliche Acolismen vorkommen, so hatte sie sich an Sappho gehalten, begreiflich bei einer Dichterin, vielleicht unbewußt'. The subsequently discovered papyrus brought further material on the dialect.

[34] P. Oxy. 8. 4–7 (*Coll. Alex.* 186); *ZPE* 25 (1977), 114 (below, p. 440 f.).

[35] Cf. my discussion in *Kyklos. Griechisches und Byzantinisches. Rudolf Keydell zum neunzigsten Geburtstag* (Berlin–New York 1978), 102–4. I noted there that Erinna and Nossis are also said by some sources to come from Lesbos. On the Memnon epigrams cf. ibid. 106–9. [For a possible author of the 'Melinno' hymn cf. below, Chapter 24, p. 365 n. 28.]

wrote her own songs,[36] but if she did, we may perhaps count her among those poetesses who were hetairai.

Moiro of Byzantium appears rather as a bluestocking. She married a scholar, Andromachos the philologist, and they gave their son the name of Homer. In time he too became a man of letters, the author of fifty-seven tragedies, of which not a single word survives. Of Moiro we have a small number of fragments, but they contain nothing that throws light on her person or her life.[37]

It had by now become easier for a woman to contribute to some of the same poetic traditions as men. We still hear nothing of women writing for the theatre, but in the provinces of hymnic and didactic poetry, elegy, lyric, epigram, and even epic a woman was now able to compete. It is not so much a matter of a change in the position of women, rather a transformation of these poetic genres. They were no longer so closely bound up with social institutions and events as they had been in the classical age: they had largely become book poetry. There was now a community of educated book-lovers who were quite prepared to acknowledge the poetry of a woman—it might be one from one's own household, as with Moiro in Andromachos' house—on equal terms with a man's, and to keep it in circulation if it was work of quality.

Even Arcadia, for Virgil a paradigm of archaic rusticity, had developed a civic culture and begun to produce literati. The first Arcadian poet of note was a woman, Anyte of Tegea. She apparently [28] made her name in the early third century. Several writers describe her as a lyricist, but what we have of her work (apart from the above-mentioned hexameter fragment, which is attributed to her by conjecture) is limited to epigrams. Some of them were designed to go on dedications by different people; others are epitaphs, especially for girls who died before marriage; others are inscriptions for works of art, fountains, or roadside shrines. How did Anyte come to compose these little poems? In most cases, we may guess, she was commissioned, or she did it of her own accord and gratis for friends and neighbours. That would not imply any particular professional

[36] Doubted by Wilamowitz, *Hellenistische Dichtung*, i. 83. On Glauce cf. Gow on Theoc. 4. 31. The Hedylos epigram: Ath. 176c = *epigr.* 10 Gow–Page. In another place (297ab) Athenaeus cites Hedylos together with his mother: *Ἡδύλη δὲ ἡ τοῦ ποιητοῦ τούτου μήτηρ, Μοσχίνης δὲ θυγάτηρ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἰάμβων ποιητρίας, ἐν τῇ ἐπιγραφομένῃ Σκύλλῃ κτλ.*

[37] *Coll. Alex.* 21–3; J. Geffcken, *RE* xv. 2512 f.

position, only that she was regarded as the most gifted poet in the town, so that people turned to her in circumstances that called for a poem.

Her epigrams were not all written for such needs, however. Among the epitaphs there are four for animals, and they are not only domestic pets (the Greeks often set up memorials for favourite animals, especially dogs and horses, but also birds and other creatures); she wrote one for a dolphin that had been cast up on the shore. This at least was a purely literary exercise, in which Anyte used the epitaph form to express the thoughts aroused by the sight of the dead creature. It reads:

> No more rejoicing in the shipping lanes
> shall I shoot from the depths and toss my neck,
> nor frisk and snort about the ship's fair gunwales,
> delighting in my matching figurehead.
> The sea's dark surge has driven me to land,
> and here upon this narrow beach I lie.[38]

[29] As these verses show, Anyte did not lack imagination. But there is nothing in her epigrams that would indicate that she was a woman if we did not know it. Some of them do show tenderness, but that is not a quality of which the female sex has a monopoly. Anyte clearly did not feel the constant need to provide her poetry with markers of femininity.

The most feminine of the Hellenistic poetesses is certainly Nossis; her name means 'Chick'. She was about contemporary with Anyte, and like her she is called a lyricist but known today for epigrams, of which we have twelve. She lived in Locri, where, as I have mentioned, the women were not most renowned for their strict morals. The Chick was perhaps a hetaira. According to a later epigrammatist the wax on her tablets was melted by Love, and in one epigram she declares openly,

> Nothing is sweeter than love: it beats all wealth;
> even honey I spit out as bitterer.
> Nossis says so. Whom Cypris has not favoured,
> that woman does not know what roses are.[39]

[38] *AP* 7. 215 = Anyte *epigr.* 12 Gow–Page. For a sensitive characterization of the epigrams of Anyte as well as those of 'Erinna', Moiro, and Nossis see G. Luck, 'Die Dichterinnen der griechischen Anthologie', *Mus. Helv.* 11 (1954), 170–87.

[39] *AP* 5. 170 = Nossis *epigr.* 1 Gow–Page.

There speaks a woman who finds her happiness in the joys of love.

In another epigram she records a visit to Aphrodite's temple to see a gilded statue that a prosperous prostitute has dedicated. Even if Nossis herself does not follow this profession, she evidently does not feel herself divided from such a person by any impassable barrier. Four epigrams refer to portraits of women friends; at least one of them has been dedicated in the Aphrodite temple. I[30] The point is how lifelike the paintings are:

> It's Melinna herself! Look how kindly the face—
> she appears to be gazing at us lovingly.
> How truly the daughter resembled her mother in all.
> It's lovely when the children match the parents.[40]

I think anyone would recognize this as the work of a woman, not a fictitious woman like Bilitis or Erinna but a genuine one who is not wearing any kind of mask but behaving naturally in a real environment. I like Nossis. In a literary epitaph for her she is put beside Sappho. In poetic quality she is not Sappho's equal; but the juxtaposition is not altogether mistaken. The open-hearted, comfortable femininity that I have just highlighted appears here and there in Sappho too, as in this homily to her daughter Kleïs:

> Why now, Kleïs your grandmother used to say
> that when *she* was young, if they had
> crimson ribbons to bind their hair,
> that was quite an exceptional ornament.
> But when someone has hair like yours
> flaming brighter than any torch,
> then it's very much nicer to have it so,
> neatly garlanded with some fresh
> blooming flowers. But as for these
> broidered headbands, it's only just recently
> that they've brought them from Sardis here
> to the towns of Ionia
> . . . . . .
> But I haven't the means to buy
> such a headband for you, my dear.[41]

[40] *AP* 6. 353 = Nossis *epigr.* 8 Gow–Page.

[41] Sappho fr. 98; translation from my *Greek Lyric Poetry*, 44.

l[31] Sappho and Nossis are the only Greek poetesses in whom I find this quality, except for the humble Caecilia Trebulla, the third of the women who wrote verses on Memnon's leg at Luxor in the early second century of our era. The colossus had the peculiarity that it produced a sound at daybreak, a tone like the plucking of a cithara string. Caecilia Trebulla was one of many who visited this remarkable tourist venue. She hardly deserves the name of poet, as her versification is dreadful, but she was a warm-hearted creature who clearly belonged to the same sex as Sappho and Nossis. The first of her little poems runs:

> When I was here and heard Memnon's divine voice,
> I missed you, Mother, and wished you could have heard it.[42]

I must leave aside many of my sixty-four poetesses. Some of them are hardly more than names, and I should find it difficult to talk about them even for 56 seconds. But I want to look at two further figures who lived (as I believe) in the third century BCE: the Boeotians Corinna and Myrtis.[43]

With Corinna we return to a category defined earlier, that of the leader of a girls' chorus. Corinna came from the town of Tanagra, and the songs she composed were for the local girls' chorus to perform with dancing at festal occasions. She published the texts as a collection, with an introductory poem that began:

> Terpsichora [calls] me forth
> to sing fine ballads
> for Tanagra's white-gowned daughters;
> l[32] greatly the city rejoices in my
> clear-twittering songs.[44]

We get the impression that this is what Corinna is known for in Tanagra, and that it sums up her role in that community. The content of her songs was mythological. So far as we can see, they had none of the personal references that are a feature of Alcman's Partheneia. These might have told us much more about the local choral institutions and about Corinna herself.

[42] A. and É. Bernand, *Les Inscriptions grecques et latines du Colosse de Memnon* (Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1960), no. 92.

[43] For the dating cf. *CQ* 20 (1970), 277–87 and 40 (1990), 553–7 [= *Hellenica* ii, 355–79].

[44] *PMG* 655. 1–5.

Of Myrtis we know almost nothing, and I would have passed over her if it were not that Corinna's criticism of her yields an interesting point. Corinna scolds her for having ventured to compete against Pindar *although she was a woman.* As it appears in the broad Boeotian dialect,

> *μέμφομη δὲ κὴ λιγουρὰν*
> *Μουρτίδ' ἰώνγ', ὅτι Πινδάροι*
> *βανὰ φοῦσ' ἔβα πὸτ ἔριν.*[45]

Corinna is conscious of writing a form of poetry appropriate for women, while there are other forms that she regards as inappropriate for them. In her view Myrtis has overstepped a boundary. We can only speculate on how she had competed against Pindar. Had she composed a paean or a dithyramb for her city, a type of song that called for a male chorus and a more elaborate form of music? In this case we would have caught the moment when a frozen tradition cracked as the Hellenistic sun slowly rose in the Boeotian sky: this Myrtis breaks out of the box and does what until then only men have done, as she finds that her upbringing supplies her with everything she needs for the purpose. Corinna on the other hand, while no less well educated (her l[33] poetry is after all rather learned in character), stays within the role that society has traditionally assigned to women.

Around the beginning of our era the epigrammatist Antipater of Thessalonica drew up a canon of nine poetesses to correspond to the nine Muses:

> These are the god-tongued women that Helicon fed
> on songs, and Pieria's Macedonian crag:
> Praxilla, Moiro, Anyte's voice, the female
> Homer, Sappho, glory of Lesbian dames,
> Erinna, far-famed Telesilla, and you,
> Corinna, who sang of Athena's battle-shield,
> Nossis of feminine tongue, sweet-sounding Myrtis:
> craftswomen all of pages perennial.
> Nine were the Muses that the great Heaven, nine
> that the Earth bore, for mortals' never-failing joy.[46]

[45] *PMG* 664(a), with a small transposition of words *metri gratia* (as in *CQ* 20 (1970), 282).

[46] *A.P.* 9. 26 = Antip. Thess. *epigr.* 19 Gow–Page. That the words *θῆλυν Ὅμηρον* refer to Sappho and not to Anyte is argued at length by Jürgen Werner, *Phil.* 138 (1994), 252–9.

Once again we see a dividing line drawn between women's poetry and men's. The poetesses are treated as a separate group; Sappho is reckoned as the female Homer. What that means is made clear in another epigram of Antipater's, an epitaph for the Lesbian poetess:

> My name is Sappho; I as far surpassed
> the female songsters as Homer did the male.[47]

The implication is that women's poetry is to be measured by a different standard from men's: Homer is the yardstick for men's, Sappho for women's.[48] The dichotomy underlies Corinna's criticism of Myrtis, who tried to rival Pindar when she ought to have stayed within the province of women's poetry. It also underlies the remark about Sappho that I quoted earlier from Strabo: 'we know of no woman who was able to compete with her in poetry even in small measure.'

|[34] So the poetess continued to be regarded as a distinct species, as something more than just a person who writes poetry and is incidentally a woman; and this in spite of all the advances in the cultural emancipation of women in the Hellenistic age, in spite of the emergence of an Anyte or a Moiro, whose poetic activity seems quite independent of their sex. The division of gender roles was too deeply rooted in ancient society for this differentiation among poets to disappear.

We have identified two particular social roles for women that were associated in Greece with poetic activity: that of the chorus-leader, and that of the hetaira. These associations endured into the third century BCE, but they became less exclusive over time. The other point that I wanted to emphasize is that the image of the poetess has been constantly exposed to distortion by ancient and modern romanticizing and idealizing. The creative artist can invent poetesses for his own purposes: Kleoboulina the riddler, Eriphanis the passionate wanderer, Erinna the tragic maiden, Bilitis the priestess of sensuality. The scholar is not allowed to invent new poetesses, but in interpreting the existing ones he (or she) runs the risk of being led astray by his (or her) own romantic ideal vision. This is especially the

[47] *A.P.* 7. 15 = Antip. Thess. *epigr.* 73 Gow–Page.

[48] An anonymous epigrammatist, to be sure, put Erinna beside Homer, but then measured her also against Sappho: *A.P.* 9. 190. 3 *αἱ δὲ τριηκόσιοι ταύτης στίχοι ἶσοι Ὁμήρωι* . . . 7–8 *Σαπφὼ δ' Ἠρίννης ὅσσον μελέεσσιν ἀμείνων,* | *Ἠρίννα Σαπφοῦς τόσσον ἐν ἑξαμέτροις.*

case when—as with Sappho and Erinna—the poetess was already a source of fascination in antiquity and so comes to us in ancient biographical packaging. We have nowadays attained a better understanding and realized that the packaging has to be cleared away, or rather set to one side for separate study, as it has its own |[35] interest. But it is not quite so easy to set aside one's own attitudes. I have quoted verses that I thought could only have been written by a woman. If there were time, I could give you examples of modern Sappho interpretations that could only have been written by women, in some cases also *for* women. A manner of interpretation that reveals so much about the interpreter can hardly convince us that it is objectively uncovering the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth—unless it is maintained that as Sappho was a woman, she can only be fully understood by women. But that would imply, would it not, that the greater part of ancient literature, being the work of men, can only be fully understood by men; which I no more wish to say than women would wish to hear it.

The Greek poetesses, and Sappho above all, set us a challenge, a challenge to be aware of ourselves. Let us by all means play with these figures in our romantic fantasy and seek in their lives things that we miss in our own. Let us bring them into our feminist essays or our erotic fiction as we like. Or let us investigate them as serious scholars and make the effort to interpret their verses and their lives correctly. Only let us be aware of ourselves and recognize which of these things it is that we are wanting to do; and whoever is striving for true knowledge, let him hold on to the principle of always trying to see things as they are, and not as we would wish them to be.

APPENDIX

CATALOGUE OF ANCIENT GREEK POETESSES, REAL AND ALLEGED

ALCINOE, Aetolian poetess from Thronion in Locris. She was honoured on Tenos in the late fifth century BCE for a hymn to Zeus, Poseidon, and Amphitrite. *IG* 12(5). 812, cf. 9(1). 309.

ANONYMOUS Syrian from Gadara (of the name only -α preserved), cited in a papyrus of the first century BCE as author of a hexametric charm against inflammations. P. Berol. 7504; *SH* 900.

ANYTE of Tegea (see p. 329 f.), author of epigrams, perhaps also of hexameters and lyrics, early Hellenistic. Gow–Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams*, lines 664–759.

ARISTODAMA of Smyrna, daughter of Amyntas, epic poetess. She received honours in 218/17 BCE at Lamia (Thessaly), and on another occasion at Chaleia (Boeotia), after reciting verses in which the people's ancestors were honourably mentioned. *IG* 9(2). 62 = *SIG* 532; *SEG* 2. 263.

ARISTOKLEIA, priestess at Delphi from whose revelations Pythagoras is supposed to have drawn his wisdom. Porph. *Vit. Pyth.* 41, Phot. *Lex.* τ 6, *Suda* τ 14.

ARISTOMACHE of Erythrae, epic poetess. She was twice victorious at the Isthmian Games, and dedicated a golden book in the Sicyonian Treasury at Delphi. Polemon *ap.* Plut. *Qu. conv.* 675b.

ASPASIA of Miletus, second wife of Pericles, the most famous woman of the fifth century. In her name a number of chatty poems to Socrates about love were fabricated in the Hellenistic period. Ath. 219b–e.

ATHENAIS, Erythraean Sibyl in the time of Alexander. Strabo 14. 1. 34.

BALBILLA, JULIA, lady-in-waiting of Hadrian's wife Vibia Sabina. In 130 CE she had four epigrams in pseudo-Lesbian dialect inscribed on the left leg of the colossus of Memnon at Luxor. A. and É. Bernand (as n. 42), nos. 28–31.

BOIO, legendary priestess at Delphi and supposed author of a hymn to Apollo (Paus. 10. 5. 8, Clem. *Strom.* 1. 132. 3). A Boio (the same one?) or Boios was also known as the author of an *Ornithogonia*, an early Hellenistic poem on metamorphoses of humans into birds. *Coll. Alex.* 23–5.

CHARIXENE, a woman (perhaps a hetaira) proverbial in the Attic comedians as representing the easygoing times of old. Ancient commentators make her a composer or poet of songs. Cratinus fr. 153 K.–A., Ar. *Eccl.* 943, Theopomp. fr. 51 K.–A.

CORINNA of Tanagra (see p. 332), poet of choral lyric, in all probability to be dated to the third century BCE, although later authors take her for a contemporary of Pindar's. *PMG* 654–95a (+ 997?). The *Suda* lists three Boeotian Corinnas, all lyric poetesses, including a <younger> one from Thebes nicknamed Myia (see below), but there was presumably only one.

DAMO, author of a pseudo-Lesbian epigram among the Greek graffiti on the Memnon colossus at Luxor. A. and É. Bernand (as n. 42), no. 83.

DAMOPHYLE (see p. 321), fictitious Pamphylian poetess supposed to have known Sappho. Philostr. *Vit. Apoll.* 1. 20.

DAPHNE is in Diod. 4. 66. 6 the name of the daughter of Teiresias who is otherwise called Manto and who was dedicated to Apollo at Delphi after the conquest of Thebes. Diodorus says that she wrote many oracles and that Homer borrowed some verses from her.

DELPHIS, Coan poetess of the later third century BCE. We know of her from a fragmentary epigram on a statue base in the Asclepieum. W. R. Paton and E. L. Hicks, *The Inscriptions of Cos* (Oxford 1891), no. 137; K. Höghammar, *Sculpture and Society* (Uppsala 1993), 53, 60, 170.

DEMARETE, author of a short poem entitled *Triphyllon*; Hellenistic or early Roman period. Ath. 685a; *SH* 372.

DEMO, Cumaean Sibyl. Hyperochos, *FGrHist* 576 F 2.

DI[O]PHIL(E), uncertain reading of the name of the author of a Hellenistic hexameter fragment about the Coma Berenices; it may have been a man Di[o]philos. *SH* 391.

ERINNA of Telos (see p. 326–8), supposed author of the poem Ἠλακάτη (*The Distaff*) and of some epigrams. *SH* 400–6.

ERIPHANIS (see p. 326), legendary author of a folk-song current in the fourth century BCE. Clearchus fr. 32 Wehrli.

EUDOCIA AUGUSTA, wife of the emperor Theodosius II, author of several long hexameter poems, mainly of Christian content. A. Ludwich, *Eudociae Augustae, Procli Lycii, Claudiani carminum Graecorum reliquiae* (Leipzig 1897); A.-L. Rey, *Centons homériques (Homerocentra)* (Paris 1998); M. D. Usher, *Homerocentones Eudociae Augustae* (Stuttgart–Leipzig 1999).

GLAUCE of Chios (see p. 328 f.), celebrated citharode in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus. She composed music, perhaps also songs.

HEDYLE, daughter of Moschine (q.v.) and mother of the epigrammatist Hedylos; author of an elegiac *Scylla*; early Hellenistic. Ath. 297ab; *SH* 456.

HEROPHILE, legendary Sibyl, said to have foretold the Trojan War. Oracular poetry circulated under her name. Tibullus 2. 5. 68, Paus. 10. 12. 1–7, al.

HIPPO, daughter of Chiron, mythical prophetess supposed to have given mankind verse cures for ailments. Euripides fr. 481. 12–22.

IAMBE, mythical woman who made the grieving Demeter laugh with her jesting and gave her name to the ritual *Iamboi*. Some sources say that she (accidentally) spoke in iambic or choliambic metre and that these metres were then named after her.

KLEITAGORA, woman named in an Attic skolion; according to scholia on Ar. *Vesp.* 1245 and *Lys.* 1237 she was a poetess from Thessaly or Laconia. *PMG* 912(b).

KLEITO, named in a thoroughly suspect list of women (perhaps all poetesses) who had been portrayed by sculptors. Tatian, *ad Graecos* 33.

KLEOBOULINA (see p. 317), legendary daughter of Kleoboulos the tyrant of Lindos, and supposedly the author of verse riddles.

LAMPOUSA, Colophonian Sibyl to whom oracular verses were ascribed. *Suda* σ 357.

LEARCHIS, only in Tatian; see above under Kleito.

MANTO, daughter of Teiresias, mythical prophetess. It was related of her that after the conquest of Thebes she was dedicated to the Delphic Apollo (cf. above under Daphne). From Delphi she moved to Klaros and founded the oracle there.

MEGALOSTRATA (see p. 317 f.), Spartan contemporary of Alcman. She sang songs and perhaps composed them. Alcman *PMGF* 59(b); Chamaeleon fr. 25 Wehrli.

MELINNO of Lesbos (see p. 328), alleged author of a hymn to Rome in Sapphic metre and dialect, probably dating from the time of Hadrian; certainly fictitious. Stob. 3. 7. 12; *SH* 541.

MNESARCHIS, only in Tatian; see above under Kleito.

MOIRO of Byzantium (see p. 329), *c.*300 BCE, author of hexameters, epigrams, and perhaps lyric poems. *Coll. Alex.* 21–3; Gow–Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams*, lines 2675–82.

MOSCHINE, Attic iambographer, mother of Hedyle; *c.*320 BCE. Ath. 297a; *SH* 559.

MYIA, Spartan poetess said to have composed hymns to Apollo and Artemis (*Suda* μ 1362). Lucian (*Muscae encomium* 11) and Clement (*Strom.* 4. 121. 4) also know of a poetess of this name. See also above on Corinna.

MYRTIS of Anthedon (see p. 333), Boeotian lyricist, probably third century BCE, criticized by Corinna for trying to rival Pindar. *PMG* 716.

MYSTIS, only in Tatian; see above under Kleito. Perhaps an error for Nossis.

NOSSIS of Locri (see p. 330 f.), early Hellenistic writer of epigrams, reportedly also of lyric. Gow–Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams*, lines 2791–858.

PARTHENIS, named by Meleager among the epigrammatists collected in his *Garland*. *A.P.* 4. 1. 32.

PHAENNIS, king's daughter and prophetess among the Chaones in the first half of the fifth century BCE. Paus. 10. 12. 10, 15. 2–3. The Phaenno of Tzetz. *Hist.* 7. 541 ff., 9. 807 ff., and the Phaello of Zosimus, *Hist. nov.* 2. 36. 2, are evidently the same woman.

PHANOTHEA, wife of the mythical Ikarios and supposed inventor of the hexameter. Clem. *Strom.* 1. 80. 3.

PHANTASIA of Memphis, fictitious woman supposed to have written the original *Iliad* and *Odyssey*; Homer had been in Memphis, obtained copies, and based his own epics on them. Ptolemy Chennos, *Hist. nov.* 5. 22 (p. 36. 11 Chatzis).

PHEMONOE (see p. 316 f.), mythical daughter of Apollo and first prophetess at Delphi. Some writers make her the inventor of the hexameter. Pliny used a work under her name on divination from birds.

PHILINNA, Thessalian witch, cited in a papyrus of the first century BCE as author of a hexameter charm against headaches. P. Berol. 7504; *SH* 900.

PHOITO (in some sources less correctly Phyto), Samian Sibyl. Eratosthenes, *FGrHist* 241 F 26.

PRAXAGORIS (Praxig- or Praxeg- codd.), only in Tatian; see above under Kleito.

PRAXILLA of Sicyon (see p. 323), fifth century BCE, credited on the one hand with mythological and religious poems, on the other with licentious drinking-songs. *PMG* 747–54.

SALPE of Lesbos, supposed author of a collective work entitled *Paignia*; it is not certain if these were poems. But some thought they were by one Mnaseas of Colophon, and that Salpe (a kind of fish) was his nickname (Ath. 321f–2a). It could also have been a *nom de plume* that he used (Wilamowitz, *Hellenistische Dichtung*, i. 83 n. 2).

SAPPHO of Mytilene (see p. 318–21), lyricist, *c.*600 BCE. A large corpus of her songs was preserved in antiquity and in the Hellenistic period divided into nine books.

SIBYLLA (so named by the Libyans), daughter of Zeus and Lamia, a prehistoric prophetess, even earlier than Herophile. Paus. 10. 12. 1.

STESICHORUS' DAUGHTERS (how many is not specified), according to a late forger, sang to the lyre for Phalaris songs of their father's as well as others composed by themselves. [Phalaris], *Epist.* 67.

TELESILLA of Argos (see p. 322 f.), early fifth century BCE, composed and directed songs for girls' choruses. *PMG* 717–26.

THAL<I>ARCHIS, only in Tatian; see above under Kleito.

THEANO (1) of Locri (see p. 325), alleged author of 'Locrian songs'. *Suda* θ 85.

THEANO (2) (see p. 325), supposedly wife or daughter of Pythagoras. She was credited with several prose works, and poems are also mentioned. H. Thesleff (as n. 26).

THEOSEBIA, early fifth century CE, author of an epitaph for the physician Ablabios. *A.P.* 7. 559.

TIMARIS, queen (in the Pontic region?) and author of a poem dedicated to Aphrodite that mentioned the magic gem *paneros*. Metrodorus of Scepsis, *FGrHist* 184 F 15; *SH* 774.

TREBULLA, CAECILIA (see p. 332), probably early second century CE, author of three mediocre epigrams among the graffiti on the Memnon colossus at Luxor. A. and É. Bernand (as n. 42), nos. 92–4.

XENOKLEIA, mythical prophetess at Delphi who prophesied for Heracles. Paus. 10. 13. 8.

23

The Name of Aphrodit

It is widely agreed that Aphrodite was a post-Mycenaean (or at any rate post-palatial) addition to the Greek pantheon. She does not appear in Linear B documents, and in Hesiod and Homer she has a strong association with Cyprus, an island where Greek settlement on any scale dates only from the twelfth and eleventh centuries. Her major cult centres were in Cyprus, especially at Paphos.

Her name does not appear to be Greek or Indo-European; attempts to explain it so have been generally abandoned.[1] The suggestion that it comes from an Anatolian or 'Mediterranean' word for 'chief', reflected in Etruscan *(e)prθni* and Greek *πρύτανις*, has scarcely greater appeal.[2] Neither has Martin Bernal's (predictably) Egyptian etymology.[3] Explanations from Semitic, in particular the view that the name is a deformation of that of ʿAštart-Astarte, have an intrinsically greater plausibility, given Aphrodite's oriental connections and the features she shares with the Canaanite deity,[4] and they have found more favour.[5] I shall argue that the name cannot be

Glotta 76 (2000), 134–8. That publication appeared late (in May 2002) and disfigured by numerous misprints, which I am glad of this opportunity to correct.

[1] The foam (*ἀφρός*) with which Hesiod connects it (*Th.* 188 ff., approved by Plato, *Crat.* 406c) has no real existence but was spun out of the name itself, as E. Risch noted (*Eumusia: Festgabe E. Howald* (Zurich 1947), 75 f. = *Kl. Schr.* (Berlin–New York 1981), 297 f.).

[2] M. Hammarström, *Glotta* 11 (1921), 215 f.; W. Fauth, *Der Kleine Pauly*, i. 426; 'abzulehnen', Frisk, *Griech. etym. Wörterbuch* i. 197; 'as yet unconvincing', W. Beck, *Lexikon für griech. Epos* i. 1719. 17.

[3] M. Bernal, *Black Athena*, i (London 1987), 65 f.: pr W3dyt, 'House of W3dyt'.

[4] For these cf. W. Roscher in Roscher, i. 390–5; L. Preller in Preller–Robert, *Griechische Mythologie* (4. Aufl., 1894–1923), i. 345 f.; M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, i[3] (Munich 1967), 519–21; W. Burkert, *Greek Religion* (Cambridge, Mass. 1985), 152 f.

[5] For surveys of all the various theories cf. K. Tümpel, *RE* i. 2772 f.; O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte* (Munich 1906), 1348; D. Boedeker,

derived from ʿAštart, or interpreted with certainty, but that it is genuinely Semitic.

I[135] Fritz Hommel is cited as the first to derive it from the name of the Canaanite goddess, though I should not be surprised to discover that he had been anticipated in the seventeenth century.[6] Most modern authorities, while not embracing Hommel's hypothesis with any ardour, remain prepared to admit that it may be possible: 'kann nicht ohne weiteres abgewiesen werden' (Nilsson); 'muß in sprachlicher Hinsicht immer als möglich gelten, da bei diesem Namen mit starker volksetymologischer Angleichung zu rechnen ist' (Frisk); Chantraine is cool, but has nothing more severe to say than that it is undemonstrable.[7]

Hommel starts from the form Aštóreth, that is, the עַשְׁתֹּרֶת given by the Masoretic text at 1 Kings 11: 5. He posits a pronunciation *Aθtóreth, which the Greeks, having no interdental spirant, made into *Aphtóreth; the influence of ἀφρός then induced a metathesis to *Aphróteth, from which it is a small step to Ἀφροδίτα.

The starting-point here is unsound, as there was no such form as Aštoreth. The Masoretes, as is commonly accepted, vilified the heathen goddess by furnishing her name with the vowels of *bōšet* 'abomination'. The name was in fact ʿAštart, earlier ʿAṯtartu (Ugaritic ʿṯtrt), and it appears in Greek transcription as Ἀστάρτα or Ἀστάρτη.[8] Hommel may be right in supposing that it was still ʿAṯt- at the relevant period. But whereas [θ] might be taken over as [f] in a language that possessed the latter phoneme,[9] it is not clear

Aphrodite's Entry into Greek Epic (*Mnem.* Suppl. 11, 1974), 6–13; most fully J.-E. Dugand in *Hommage à Pierre Fargues* (Paris 1974), 80–95.

[6] F. Hommel, *NJb.* 125 (1882), 176; approved by H. Lewy, *Die semitischen Fremdwörter im Griechischen* (Berlin 1895), 250; H. Grimme, *Glotta* 14 (1925), 18.

[7] Nilsson (as n. 4), 520; Frisk (as n. 2), 196 f.; P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* (Paris 1968–80), 148; cited as if a worthwhile hypothesis also by Beck, loc. cit.; Burkert, op. cit. 408. H. Herter, on the other hand, wrote that it 'muss als ein tour de force gelten, bei dem man sich nicht recht beruhigen kann' (*Kl. Schr.* (Munich 1975), 30).

[8] First on a Corinthian graffito of the late fifth century BCE (*SEG* 36. 316), then in the Septuagint and elsewhere. The characters ṯ and ḏ in Semitic transcriptions represent the interdental spirants [θ], [ð]. Adherents of Hommel's view protest in vain that Aštoreth may have been a real form.

[9] As in Dodonaean φεσόν, φύοντες for θ- (A. Thumb–E. Kieckers–A. Scherer, *Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte*, 2nd edn. (Heidelberg 1932–59), i. 315); Russian Фома < Θωμᾶς; vulgar English [fiŋ] for 'thing'.

why it should become the aspirated occlusive φ in pre-Homeric Greek; φ did not have the value [f] until many centuries later. It is conceivable that a foreign [f] might have been rendered in Greek as φ, but what the hypothesis requires is a foreign [θ] being rendered in Greek as [f] > [pʰ]. Nor I[136] does the postulated metathesis *φτορ > φροδ look at all likely. The fact is that Ἀφροδίτα and ʿAštart or ʿAṯtart have little in common apart from the initial (ʿ)A- and the final -t(a). There is no realistic prospect of equating [phrodi:] with [ʃtar] or [θtar].

This is a disappointing conclusion to have to reach, as there is no serious doubt that ʿAštart *was* the Phoenician name of the Cyprian goddess whom the Greeks called Aphrodite. Already in an Ugaritic text of the late second millennium ʿṯtrt is listed among the gods of Alašiya, i.e. of Cyprus.[10] However, gods usually have more than one name, and it might have been some local title of ʿAštart that provided the Mycenaean colonists with their name for her. Ἀφροδίτα[11] does in any case have a Semitic-looking structure, as the following analysis will show.

We can disregard the final vowel. A Greek word cannot end in an occlusive, and in taking over a foreign name that did, it was natural to add a medium-open vowel, [ə] or [a] (as many Italians tend to do when speaking English). We see this in the names of the letters, ἄλφα, βῆτα < *ʾalp, bēt*, etc., and indeed in Ἀστάρτα < ʿAštart. In Ἀστάρτα and Ἀφροδίτα this -[a] was made into the declinable -ᾱ of the first declension, one of the most typical endings for feminine names.[12]

What precedes it, *-t*, is the universal Semitic feminine marker.

What precedes this, *-ī*, is the so-called Nisba suffix which in Semitic languages makes a substantive into an adjective with the meaning 'belonging to'.[13] Its commonest use is to make ethnics, as in Ugaritic *gzry* [gazariya] 'Gazarian', Phoenician *Ṣidonî* 'Sidonian',

[10] *KTU* 2. 42. 7–8.

[11] This is the form we must start from; Cretan and Pamphylian Ἀφορδ- shows a secondary metathesis.

[12] Herodian's statement that the Aeolic form was Ἀφρόδιτᾰ (i. 6. 13 L.; cf. Choer. in Theod. i. 304. 30) is valid only for the vocative, cf. Thumb–Kieckers–Scherer, ii. 106.

[13] Cf. S. Moscati *et al.*, *An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages* (Wiesbaden 1964), 83; W. Gesenius–E. Kautzsch, *Hebräische Grammatik*, 28th edn. (Leipzig 1909), 250 §86h.

Hebrew *Mô'ābî* 'Moabite', Aramaic *'arḏīy* 'terrestrial'. With the feminine marker it becomes *-ît*.

The initial *A-* corresponds to the prothetic aleph which appears sometimes in Phoenician before an initial two-consonant cluster, and which (*nota bene*) is especially characteristic of the Cypriot dialect.[14]

I[137] Subtracting these affixes, we are left with *-φροδ-*. In Greek transliterations of Semitic, *θ φ χ* commonly represent Semitic *t p k*, as in ἄλφα < *'alp*, χιτών or κιθών < *ktn*, θύννος < *tnn*.[15] *-φροδ-*, therefore, may correspond to a Phoenician **prod* (or **proḏ*, see below).

The vowel *o*, not a proto-Semitic phoneme, may represent an allophone of *u*, or alternatively Phoenician *o* from long or stressed **a*.[16] *φροδ* would thus correspond to what the Masoretes would have written as פֹּרֶד or פָּרֶד (*p'rud*, *p'rād*).

The *δ* in Ἀφροδίτα may represent either an original *d* or the voiced interdental spirant *ḏ* [ð], a proto-Semitic phoneme which still existed in the north Syrian area in the late second millennium, as we see from Ugaritic, but which in first-millennium Phoenician and Hebrew appears as *z*.

Aphrodite's name, on this analysis, is a Greek rendering of * *'Aprodît* or * *'Aproḏît*, meaning 'She of *prād*' (or *prāḏ*, *prud*, *pruḏ*), a feminine appellative based on a triconsonantal root *prd* or *prḏ*.

Can we go any further and discover a plausible meaning in that root? Here we enter an area of great uncertainty. E. Röth claimed to find the answer in 'Chaldaean' (i.e. Talmudic) *p'rîḏāh* 'pigeon', from which he constructed a Phoenician * *'app'rûḏet* 'the Pigeon'.[17] This might seem faintly promising in view of the fact that doves are one of the Cyprian goddess's most important attributes. But there are several objections. The word is attested late, and its basic meaning is 'a single item separated from a group' (root *prd* 'separate, divide'); hence it was used of a single grain of corn, or a single pigeon of a pair.[18] The attested vocalization does not resemble that of Ἀφροδίτη. I[138] The article seems to have been a first-millennium development, and its use is improbable for the early period in question.[19] The last difficulty, of course, could be avoided by explaining the initial *'a-* as I have done. But the Pigeon will not fly.

We might take the alternative option of supposing that the underlying root is *prḏ*, which would appear in Hebrew as *prz*. In this case Aphrodite might have been 'the Perizzite': the Perizzites (*Prizzîm*, in the Septuagint Φερεζαῖοι) are repeatedly mentioned in the Old Testament as one of the peoples living in Canaan in the late second millennium.

But this idea is capable of refinement. It has long been suspected that *Prizzî* is related to *prāzôt*, the term used for unfortified country settlements in opposition to walled towns. The inhabitant of such a hamlet is a *prāzî*.[20] The feminine, were it attested, would be *prāzît*. If the *z* in this word comes from *ḏ* (for which there is no proof, but there can be no reason to exclude it), an early Cyprian Canaanite equivalent of *prāzît* should have sounded like *[*'aproði:t*]. If we may suppose that 'Aštart somewhere acquired this as a title, meaning 'She of the Villages',[21] we shall have in Ἀφροδίτα a Greek rendering as exact in every detail as it could possibly be.

This is speculative, but it is, I submit, speculation more plausible than what has been offered on the question in the past. It is an explanation based not on looking about for similar-sounding

[14] Z. S. Harris, *A Grammar of the Phoenician Language* (New Haven 1936), 33; S. Segert, *A Grammar of Phoenician and Punic* (Munich 1976), 29, 75; J. Friedrich–W. Röllig, *Phönizische–Punische Grammatik* (3rd edn. by M. G. A. Guzzo, Rome 1999), 51 f. §95.

[15] Cf. É. Masson, *Recherches sur les plus anciens emprunts sémitiques en grec* (Paris 1967), 115.

[16] For this sound-change in NW Semitic dialects cf. Harris, op. cit. 24 f.; Moscati *et al.*, op. cit. 48, 49 f., 68; Segert, op. cit. 66 f.; J. C. L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions* iii (Oxford 1982), xvii f.; in most detail Friedrich–Röllig–Guzzo, op. cit. 40–2. Some of the grammars represent the outcome of the change as *ō*, but Phoenician had no phonemic opposition of *ō* and *ô*, and although the **ā* which gave rise to *o* may originally have been quantitatively distinguished from **ă*, the distinction in Phoenician between *a* < **ă* and *o* < **ā* may have been qualitative rather than quantitative.

[17] *Geschichte unserer abendländischen Philosophie* i² (Mannheim 1862), 263 with n. 452.

[18] Pigeons were normally sacrificed in pairs. See J. Levy, *Neuhebräisches und Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim* (Leipzig 1876–89), iv. 101; E. Klein, *A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of the Hebrew Language* (Jerusalem–Tel Aviv 1987), 528.

[19] It should in fact be written *ha-* (the spelling with aleph is Punic and late), though this would not in itself vitiate the comparison with Ἀφροδίτη.

[20] Deut. 3: 5; 1 Sam. 6: 18; Esth. 9: 19. On the *prāzôt* cf. L. E. Stager, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 260 (1985), 5 ff., 25, and *Biblical Archaeology Review* 15/1 (Jan./Feb. 1989), 55. I am indebted to Professor Jo Ann Hackett for bringing these to my notice, and more generally for her constructive and encouraging comments on an initial outline of my argument.

[21] Cf. perhaps Artemis' title Ἀγροτέρα, 'She of the Countryside'.

words in any Indo-European or Mediterranean language but on an analysis that relates Aphrodite's name directly to the phonology and morphology of the one language which on historical grounds we should expect to be relevant: Cypriot Phoenician.

24

Rhapsodes at Festivals

Performers of Homeric verse often sought audiences at events where crowds were gathered for other purposes, such as public festivals. There the presence of two or more such performers naturally led to rivalry; as Hesiod noted (*Op.* 25–6),

> καὶ κεραμεὺς κεραμεῖ κοτέει καὶ τέκτονι τέκτων,
> καὶ πτωχὸς πτωχῶι φθονέει καὶ ἀοιδὸς ἀοιδῶι.

In many cases they competed against each other formally before a judge or judges, and these competitions became institutionalized. The practice can be documented over the best part of a millennium, and it may have existed for hundreds of years before we have any knowledge of it. The very name of Homer, like that of Thamyris or Thamyras, may relate to a gathering or assembly.[1] Thamyris appears in the *Iliad* (B 594–600) as a competitive singer: he boasted that he would be victorious even against the Muses themselves.

Hesiod relates that he won a tripod as a prize with a song that he performed at the funeral games for Amphidamas of Chalcis (*Op.* 654–9). It must have been announced beforehand, across Boeotia, that the event was to include a contest for singers, and that is what led Hesiod to make the first sea-crossing of his life. We do not know, of course, how the contest was organized or how many took part in it. The fictional account of it in the *Certamen Homeri*

ZPE 173 (2010), 1–13, revised to incorporate the addenda in *ZPE* 174 (2010), 35. Epigraphic sources are listed at the end of the chapter.

[1] Marcello Durante, 'Il nome di Omero', *Rendiconti morali dell'Accademia dei Lincei* 1957, ser. 8 vol. 12 fasc. 1–2, 94–111, repeated with slight modifications in *Sulla preistoria della tradizione poetica greca*, ii (Rome 1976), 185–203; cf. M. L. W., 'The Invention of Homer', *CQ* 49 (1999), 364–82 [= *Hellenica* i. 408–36], esp. 366–7, 374–6 [= 411–12, 424–6].

et Hesiodi is based on a literary construction by the sophist Alcidamas.

The funeral games for Patroklos described in the *Iliad* are wholly athletic and have no place for singers; the Achaeans had no singers among them, so it would have been quite impracticable for the poet to introduce a singing contest. The same applies to the funeral games for Achilles which he had evidently sung of previously and which were then related in the *Aethiopis*. However, in the *Odyssey*, following the Phaeacians' athletic contests that have drawn a great throng of spectators (θ 109–10), the one available singer, Demodokos, gives a public performance together with a group of dancers (250–369).

Musical contests were not in principle excluded from mythical funeral games, at any rate in later eyes. The famous games for Pelias seem to have been entirely athletic in the early sources, but according to Plutarch (*Qu. conv.* 675a) Akastos also held an *ἀγὼν ποιήματος*, which was won by the Sibyl, while according to Hyginus (*Fab.* 273) Olympos on that occasion won as an aulete, Orpheus as a citharist, and Linos and Eumolpos respectively as singers to those instrumentalists' accompaniment. In an account of the first Isthmian Games that may go back to the *Korinthiaka* of 'Eumelos', Orpheus wins the citharodic contest.[2]

Apart from Hesiod, the first clear reference to a historical contest for singers occurs at the end of the second of the Homeric Hymns to Aphrodite (6. 19–21):

> *χαῖρ' ἑλικοβλέφαρε, γλυκυμείλιχε, δὸς δ' ἐν ἀγῶνι*
> *νίκην τῶιδε φέρεσθαι, ἐμὴν δ' ἔντυνον ἀοιδήν.*
> *αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ σεῖο καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ' ἀοιδῆς.*

At the beginning of the hymn (2–3) Aphrodite is addressed as queen of all Cyprus, *ἣ πάσης Κύπρου κρήδεμνα λέλογχεν | εἰναλίης*, which suggests that that island was the venue. A plausible setting might be the panegyris at Old Paphos described by Strabo 14. 6. 3:

> *εἶτα Τρήτα καὶ Βοόσουρα καὶ Παλαίπαφος, ὅσον ἐν δέκα σταδίοις ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης ἱδρυμένη, ὕφορμον ἔχουσα καὶ ἱερὸν ἀρχαῖον τῆς Παφίας Ἀφροδίτης ... καὶ πανηγυρίζουσι διὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ | τ[2] ταύτης* (between Paphos and Old Paphos) *κατ' ἔτος ἐπὶ τὴν Παλαίπαφον ἄνδρες ὁμοῦ γυναιξὶν συνιόντες καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων.*

[2] Favorinus, *Cor.* (=Dio Prus. *Or.* [37]) 14; cf. *JHS* 122 (2002), 122 [= *Hellenica* i. 373 f.].

At any rate the poet is competing in a regular competition at a festival of Aphrodite, with a short hymn to the goddess serving him as a preface to a longer recitation, presumably from an epic poem.

This may be the only Homeric Hymn to refer so explicitly to a contest, but there is at least one other that envisages a festival attended by a large crowd: the Delian hymn to Apollo, with its memorable description of the throng of Ionian families who have come over the sea with their camping equipment for the Delian festival (3. 149–50);

> *οἵ δέ σε πυγμαχίηι τε καὶ ὀρχηστυῖ καὶ ἀοιδῆι*
> *μνησάμενοι τέρπουσιν, ὅταν στήσωσιν ἀγῶνα.*

ἀγών does not have to mean a competition, it can just mean an organized assembly, and the musical performance of the Delian maidens described in 156–64 is evidently not part of a contest. But boxing at least is a contest sport, and so there may have been competitive dancing and singing as well.

A festival, an annual one, is also presupposed in the closing lines of the third hymn to Dionysus (26. 11–13):

> *καὶ σὺ μὲν οὕτω χαῖρε, πολυστάφυλ' ὦ Διόνυσε,*
> *δὸς δ' ἡμᾶς χαίροντας ἐς ὥρας αὖτις ἱκέσθαι,*
> *ἐκ δ' αὖθ' ὡράων εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐνιαυτούς.*

The singer sees himself as one of a crowd of worshippers who will return to the site year after year.

Up to now I have been speaking of singing and singers, corresponding to the words *ἀοιδή* and *ἀοιδός* used in the poetic texts, but it is now time to bring in the word rhapsode. It is first attested in the fifth century, but it must be a good deal older. In the classical period it refers to those who learned and performed the poetry of others, but the word itself, from *ῥάπτω* + *ἀοιδήν*, suggests the creative compositional technique of an earlier period, as implied in the spurious fragment that Philochoros quoted under Hesiod's name in support of his correct etymology (*FGrHist* 328 F 212; [Hes.] fr. 357):

> *ἐν Δήλωι τότε πρῶτον ἐγὼ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἀοιδοί*
> *μέλπομεν, ἐν νεαροῖς ὕμνοις ῥάψαντες ἀοιδήν,*
> *Φοῖβον Ἀπόλλωνα χρυσάορον, ὃν τέκε Λητώ.*

Plato applies the term rhapsode to the Homeric Phemios (*Ion* 533c) and in effect to Homer himself (*Leg.* 658b, d); Theopompos applied

it to Demodokos (*FGrHist* 115 F 114). We should not draw any sharp distinction between the creative ἀοιδός and the non-creative ῥαψωιδός. There was a historical development from the creative poet to the reciter of fixed texts, but no discontinuity corresponding to a change of name.

An interesting piece of information that looks as if it should relate to the Delian festival is preserved as a scholium on Dionysios Thrax (180. 12–17 Hilgard) under the name of Porphyry:

ὠνόμασται δὲ (ῥαψωιδός) ἀπὸ τοῦ ῥάψω μέλλοντος καὶ τοῦ ὠιδή· συνέρραπτον γὰρ τοὺς κατάλληλον διάνοιαν ἀπαρτίζοντας στίχους Ὁμηρικούς, καὶ ἔψαλλον τὸ ἐφαρμόζον μέλος πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἑορτήν. κατεῖχον δὲ καὶ κλάδους δαφνῶν οἱ Ὁμηρίδαι ἐν ταῖς χερσίν, ὅτε τοὺς Ὁμηρικοὺς στίχους ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἑορτῇ ἔψαλλον.

The reference to the Homeridai points to a relatively early, probably fourth-century source. It connects with the well-known scholion on Pindar (*Nem.* 2. 1c/e) about Kynaithos of Chios as chief among the Homeridai of his time, author of the *Hymn to Apollo*, and the first to recite Homer at Syracuse.[3]

Herodotos speaks of rhapsodic contests at Sikyon in the early sixth century (5. 67. 1):

[3] Κλεισθένης γὰρ Ἀργείοισι πολεμήσας τοῦτο μὲν ῥαψωιδοὺς ἔπαυσε ἐν Σικυῶνι ἀγωνίζεσθαι, τῶν Ὁμηρείων ἐπέων εἵνεκα, ὅτι Ἀργεῖοί τε καὶ Ἄργος τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ὑμνέαται, τοῦτο δὲ κτλ.

We cannot be sure that 'rhapsodes' was the term used at Sikyon in the time of the tyrant. But there was, if Herodotos was correctly informed, some regular occasion on which reciters of Homeric poetry competed, and Kleisthenes abolished or suspended the contest.

Herakleitos disapproved of Homeric recitals on different grounds (Diog. Laert. 9. 1 = DK 22 B 42):

τόν τε Ὅμηρον ἔφασκεν ἄξιον ἐκ τῶν ἀγώνων ἐκβάλλεσθαι καὶ ῥαπίζεσθαι, καὶ Ἀρχίλοχον ὁμοίως.

'Homer' and 'Archilochos' must stand for those who performed their poetry. The reference to ἀγῶνες speaks for itself.

[3] For the Syracusan initiative, dated to Ol. 69 = 504/1 BCE, the authority cited is Hippostratos (*FGrHist* 568 F 5). Cf. M. L. W. (as in n. 1), 368 [= 414].

THE PANATHENAIA

I come now to the festival most strongly associated with the recitation of the Homeric poems, and the only one we hear of at which the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were recited in their entirety: the Great (quadriennial) Panathenaia at Athens. The principal testimonies to these recitals are two fourth-century texts:

[Plato], *Hipparchos* 228b Ἵππαρχωι, ὃς τῶν Πεισιστράτου παίδων ἦν πρεσβύτατος καὶ σοφώτατος, ὃς ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἔργα σοφίας ἀπεδείξατο καὶ τὰ Ὁμήρου ἔπη πρῶτος ἐκόμισεν εἰς τὴν γῆν ταυτηνί, καὶ ἠνάγκασε τοὺς ῥαψωιδοὺς Παναθηναίοις ἐξ ὑπολήψεως ἐφεξῆς αὐτὰ διέναι, ὥσπερ νῦν ἔτι οἵδε ποιοῦσιν.

Lykourgos, *Leokr.* 102 βούλομαι δ' ὑμῖν καὶ τῶν Ὁμήρου παρασχέσθαι ἐπῶν. οὕτω γὰρ ὑπέλαβον ὑμῶν οἱ πατέρες σπουδαῖον εἶναι ποιητήν, ὥστε νόμον ἔθεντο, καθ' ἑκάστην πεντετηρίδα τῶν Παναθηναίων μόνου τῶν ἄλλων ποιητῶν ῥαψωιδεῖσθαι τὰ ἔπη.

The first passage is the more explicit of the two: it identifies the originator of the custom (Hipparchos), and it tells us that the rhapsodes went through the Homeric epics in sequence, ἐξ ὑπολήψεως, that is, with one taking up the narrative where the previous one stopped. This is confirmed by a later text, where however the Panathenaia are not mentioned and the institution is attributed to Solon:[4]

Diog. Laert. 1. 57 τά τε Ὁμήρου ἐξ ὑποβολῆς γέγραφε ῥαψωιδεῖσθαι, οἷον ὅπου ὁ πρῶτος ἔληξεν, ἐκεῖθεν ἄρχεσθαι τὸν ἐχόμενον.

So it was not up to the individual rhapsodes to decide what episodes they wanted to perform. They were organized into a team and assigned their portions of text. As I have said elsewhere, I believe that it was for this purpose that each poem was divided up into the twenty-four segments that were always referred to as ῥαψωιδίαι, recitations, or better, recitation-units.[5] If so, we must assume that this designation goes back to the time of Hipparchos' original ordinance,

[4] The attribution to Hipparchos is altogether more likely, for reasons explained in my *Studies in the Text and Transmission of the Iliad* (Munich–Leipzig, 2001), 17 f.

[5] As in n. 4, 18 f.

presupposing the currency of the terms *ῥαψωιδός*, *ῥαψωιδεῖν*. Once the division into rhapsodies had been made, the rhapsodes must have had to learn where the boundaries fell. There is no need to suppose that twenty-four rhapsodes had to be found for a complete performance of each epic. Those taking part may each have been assigned a selection of rhapsodies, perhaps by lot.

But if the performance as a whole was a collaborative effort, that does not exclude its being at the same time a competitive one in which the individual rhapsodes' contributions were judged against each other, with prizes being awarded for the best. Plato's Ion, a champion rhapsode from Ephesos, has lately arrived in Athens from Epidauros, where he has won the first prize in a festival competition. Socrates congratulates him and adds, 'now make sure we win at the Panathenaia too', and Ion replies that god willing, it will [4] be so (*Ion* 530b). Isokrates (*Paneg.* 159) opines that Homer's poetry is all the more celebrated because he eulogized those who made war on barbarians,

καὶ διὰ τοῦτο βουληθῆναι τοὺς προγόνους ἡμῶν ἔντιμον αὐτοῦ ποιῆσαι τὴν τέχνην ἔν τε τοῖς τῆς μουσικῆς ἄθλοις καὶ τῆι παιδεύσει τῶν νεωτέρων.

The similarity of the phrasing to the passage quoted above from Lykourgos suggests that Isokrates is referring to the recitations at the Panathenaia, but here it is 'the musical contests'.

There is also the uncertain evidence of *IG* 2^2. 2311 = *SIG*^{3} 1055, an inscription dated to the first half of the fourth century and giving a tariff of Panathenaic prizes. The first column of fr. *a* begins:

[ ]
[*πρώτωι*] *στ*[*έφανος*
[*δε*]*υτέρωι*
[*τ*]*ρίτωι*

To the left of each of the last three lines the value of each prize in drachmas was given, but these are all lost. There followed in the rest of the column sections on citharodes (five prizes), adult aulodes (two prizes), adult citharists (three prizes), and auletes (at least two prizes). For the missing heading in line 1 scholars have long restored [*ῥαψωιδοῖς*], arguing from the recurrent sequence rhapsodes–citharodes in Plato, *Leg.* 764e, in the Delphic Soteria inscriptions (see below), and in the Hesychius entry quoted in the next paragraph; in

Orchomenos and Oropos too rhapsodes precede instrumentalists.[6] If this restoration is right, we gather that prizes were provided for the three best rhapsodes, the first prize being a crown, *στ*[*έφανος*.

Some fragments of information in late texts may be relevant to the Panathenaia. Hesychios has an entry on the Odeion in which he states that rhapsodes and citharodes competed there before the theatre was built (*ω* 39):

Ὠιδεῖον· τόπος ἐν ὧι πρὶν τὸ θέατρον κατασκευασθῆναι οἱ ῥαψωιδοὶ καὶ οἱ κιθαρωιδοὶ ἠγωνίζοντο.

As Wilamowitz saw, the notice in all probability goes back to Eratosthenes; an almost identical expression, *πρὸ τοῦ κατασκευασθῆναι τὸ θέατρον*, appears in another Hesychian entry where Eratosthenes is named as the source (*π* 513, *παρ' αἰγείρου θέα*; Eratosth. fr. 3 Strecker). It must refer not to the fifth-century theatre but to the Lykourgan theatre built *c.*330, the first one to have stage buildings and seating of stone.[7] The Odeion had been in use for more than a century before that. According to Plutarch (*Per.* 13. 9–11) it was built or rebuilt by Perikles, who also added a *μουσικῆς ἀγών* to the Panathenaia, *καὶ διέταξεν αὐτὸς ἀθλοθέτης αἱρεθεὶς καθότι χρὴ τοὺς ἀγωνιζομένους αὐλεῖν ἢ ἄιδειν ἢ κιθαρίζειν*. There is nothing here about rhapsodes' performances, but these had existed since Hipparchos; contests for citharodes, citharists, and auletes might well have been an innovation by Perikles. Eratosthenes' reference to rhapsodes is no doubt based on more recent memory, but it may have been to performances in connection with the Panathenaia—we do not know of another rhapsodic agon at Athens—and there is no reason why the Odeion should not have been used for the purpose in the fifth century.

Two other late texts offer picturesque but slightly discordant information about rhapsodes' costume. A scholion on Dionysios Thrax excerpted from Heliodoros[8] states that if the Homeridai were reciting from the *Iliad* they wore a crimson crown or garland

[6] A. R. Rangabé, *Antiquités helléniques* ii (Athens 1855), 673 no. 961, approved by E. Reisch, *De musicis Graecorum certaminibus capita quattuor* (Vienna 1885), 19f.; A. Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen im Altertum* (Leipzig 1898), 65, approved by A. W. Johnston, *BSA* 82 (1987), 125–9; a different text in *IG* and *SIG*. Cf. J. A. Davison, *From Archilochus to Pindar* (London 1968), 56, 58–60.

[7] Wilamowitz, *Hermes* 21 (1886), 601–2 = *Kl. Schr.* i. 150–1; cf. Scott Scullion, *Three Studies in Athenian Dramaturgy* (Stuttgart–Leipzig 1994), 53–7.

[8] On this Heliodoros cf. N. G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium* (London 1983), 71f.

symbolizing bloodshed, but if they were reciting from the *Odyssey* they wore a dark blue one symbolizing the sea over which Odysseus wandered (316. 15–19 Hilgard):

> [5] *ἐπιστητέον δὲ ὅτι εἰ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰλιάδος ἤιδον οἱ Ὁμηρίδαι, φοινικοῦν ἐφόρουν στέφανον, διὰ τὸ περὶ ἐκχύσεως αἱμάτων λέγειν αὐτοὺς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν· εἰ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Ὀδυσσείας, κυάνεον, διὰ τὸ τοιοῦτον εἶναι τὸ θαλάττης χρῶμα, περὶ ἣν ἐγένετο τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως ἡ πλάνη.*

In the version of Eustathios (*in Hom.* 6. 8) it is not crowns but garments:

> *εἰ δὲ καὶ τὴν Ὁμηρικὴν ποίησιν οἱ ὕστερον ὑπεκρίνοντο δραματικώτερον, τὴν μὲν Ὀδύσσειαν ἐν ἁλουργοῖς ἐσθήμασι, τὴν δὲ Ἰλιάδα ἐν ἐρυθροβαφέσιν, ἐκεῖνο μὲν διὰ τὴν ἐν θαλάσσῃ πλάνην τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως, τοῦτο δὲ διὰ τοὺς ἐν Τροίαι φόνους καὶ τὰ ἐντεῦθεν αἵματα, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν σύμβαμα καὶ καινότερον ἐπινόημα τῶν ἐσυστέρων· ὁ δὲ ποιητὴς εἰ καὶ δραματικῶς ἔγραψεν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐδραματούργησε σκηνικῶς.*

The differently dyed *ἐσθήματα* are obviously more plausible than the coloured *στέφανοι*. (Of what material would these be?)

Some ancient source must lie behind the two notices (cf. Eustathios' *κατὰ τοὺς παλαιούς*). It is the sort of antiquarian morsel one might find in Athenaios, cited from some Peripatetic or Hellenistic writer. It must have a historical basis, whether or not the explanation given for the red and blue costumes was given by the rhapsodes themselves. It is unlikely to refer to a period later than the fourth century BCE.

But where and in what circumstances was the colour-coding in use? There seems no point in it on occasions where a single rhapsode was giving a self-contained performance. We know that a rhapsode such as Ion appeared *κεκοσμημένος ἐσθῆτι ποικίλῃ* (Pl. *Ion* 535d, cf. 530b). But did he choose a different item from his wardrobe according to whether he was going to recite from the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*? It does not seem very likely or purposeful. It is more plausible, as Renata von Scheliha conjectured, to think of the one famous institutionalized event at which the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were both performed on the grand scale, the Panathenaia.[9] If both

[9] R. von Scheliha, *Patroklos. Gedanken über Homers Dichtung und Gestalten* (Basel 1943), 403–4, 'nichts bot wohl bessere Gelegenheit zur Instituierung einer solchen Sitte als die feierlichen Rhapsodenvorträge in Athen'.

epics were to be gone through in four days (the attested length of the festival), it is a reasonable hypothesis that they were recited simultaneously in parallel sessions, with six rhapsodies of each poem per day. In those circumstances, with members of the public dropping in for parts of the performances, it would have been useful to be able to see at a glance which epic was in progress at each venue.

We know from Lykourgos that the epics were still being recited at the Panathenaia in 330, but it is doubtful how much longer the custom continued. It may have seemed old-fashioned and unnecessary now that people were used to reading Homer for themselves.[10] The pleasure of listening to rhapsodes was perceived as an old men's taste (Pl. *Leg.* 658d). For at least a century they had been marginalized as entertainers by musical virtuosi such as citharodes and auletes. Eratosthenes' testimony about the Odeion, whether or not it is relevant to the Panathenaia, suggests that rhapsodic contests of some sort were still known or remembered at Athens in the third century. But in the meantime Homeric performers of another sort, more appealing to lowbrow tastes, had made an appearance: the *Ὁμηρισταί*, who acted out Homeric scenes, wearing armour and fighting as they exchanged Homeric verses. They are said to have been introduced by Demetrios of Phaleron, presumably during his regency in 317–307 (Ath. 620b, perhaps from Aristokles *περὶ χορῶν*). It is possible that the innovation represented a reform of the old rhapsodic institution,[11] though there is no reason to assume that it was at the Panathenaia that the Homeristai were seen; they might have been a feature of Demetrios' reform of the Dionysia. Homeristai, performing in theatres or in private rooms, reappear in several sources of the Roman period down to the third century.[12]

[10] Wilamowitz, *Homerische Untersuchungen* (Berlin 1884), 263 f., 364 f.

[11] As suggested by Wilamowitz, op. cit., 365; Reisch (as in n. 6), 83 n. 2.

[12] Petron. *Sat.* 59, Ach. Tat. 3. 20. 4, Artemid. 4. 2, P. Oxy. 519. 4, 1025. 9, 1050. 26, P. Osl. 3. 189. 12, *SB* 7336. 26–9; J. and L. Robert, *RÉG* 96 (1983), 184; C. Roueché, *Performers and Partisans at Aphrodisias* (*JRS* Monograph 6, London 1993), 18, cf. 22; G. Husson, 'Les Homéristes', *JJP* 23 (1993), 93–9; F. Perpillou-Thomas, 'Artistes et athlètes dans les papyrus grecs d'Égypte', *ZPE* 108 (1995), 225–51, at 229–30; M. Hillgruber, 'Homer im Dienste des Mimus', *ZPE* 132 (2001), 63–72, esp. 71; R. Merkelbach–J. Stauber, *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten* ii (Munich–Leipzig 2001), 322–4.

I[e] OTHER PRE-HELLENISTIC EVIDENCE

Recitations of the *Iliad* are also attested for another place in Attica. Hesych. β 1067:

Βραυρωνίοις· τὴν Ἰλιάδα ᾖδον ῥαψωιδοὶ ἐν Βραυρῶνι τῆς Ἀττικῆς.

The dative lemma suggests that the source was a scholion on some passage, probably in a comedy or an orator, which mentioned the Brauronia, the festival of Artemis celebrated at Brauron in pre-Hellenistic times.[13] *Prima facie*, though it is not said explicitly, it was at this festival that the *Iliad* recitations took place, and they were somehow relevant to the passage that was the subject of comment. *τὴν Ἰλιάδα ᾖδον* may indicate a complete performance of the epic; if so, it is the only such performance attested anywhere apart from the Panathenaia. Like the Panathenaia, the Brauronia were an annual festival but held on a grander scale every four years (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 54. 7), and it was no doubt only on these bigger occasions that the *Iliad* was performed.[14] It is natural to speculate that there was some connection between the quadriennial Panathenaic and the Brauronian recitations, though it is not known how close the two festivals were in time. I would assume that the Panathenaic recitations were primary and those at Brauron derivative or parasitic. Possibly the same group of rhapsodes who had done the *Iliad* at the Panathenaia, or were preparing to, were engaged at public expense to do it also (non-competitively?) for Artemis at Brauron.

It was perhaps at an Attic festival that Thrasymachos witnessed the painful defeat of a rhapsode Nikeratos by one Pratys (Arist. *Rhet.* 1413a8 = DK 85 A 3).

Klearchos of Soloi made reference to rhapsodes' performances in Book 1 of his work on riddles (Fr. 91a Wehrli; Ath. 275b):

[13] The Brauronia disappear from the record by about 300, and the sanctuary became unusable through flooding not much later: R. C. T. Parker, *Athenian Religion: A History* (Oxford 1996), 270 with n. 62. The form *Βραυρωνίοις* occurs at Ar. *Lys.* 645, but the notice has no relevance to that passage and bears no relation to the scholia on it.

[14] L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin 1932), 208. Sch. Ar. *Pac.* 874/876 (~ *Suda* β 521) speaks of quadriennial Dionysia at Brauron.

Φαγήσια, οἱ δὲ Φαγησιπόσια προσαγορεύουσι τὴν ἑορτήν. ἐξέλιπε δὲ αὕτη, καθάπερ ἡ τῶν ῥαψωιδῶν ἣν ἦγον †καὶ τὴν Διονυσίων, ἐν ᾗι παριόντες †ἕκαστοι τῶν θεῶν† οἷον τιμὴν ἀπετέλουν τὴν ῥαψωιδίαν.

κατὰ τὴν J. Müller *ἑκάστωι τῶν θεῶν* Welcker : *ἕκαστοι τῶι θεῶι* Müller

The text is unfortunately corrupt, but Klearchos evidently wrote of a Dionysiac(?) festival formerly celebrated in some Greek city at which a series of rhapsodes appeared. The reference to their honouring the god or each of the gods with their recitations perhaps suggests their use of hymns of the Homeric type.

I have already mentioned that Ion in Plato's dialogue is represented as having recently won a competition at Epidauros. On hearing that Ion has just come from the Asklepieia there, Socrates asks, *μῶν καὶ ῥαψωιδῶν ἀγῶνα τιθέασιν τῶι θεῶι οἱ Ἐπιδαύριοι*; Ion replies, *πάνυ γε, καὶ τῆς ἄλλης γε μουσικῆς* (*Ion* 530a). There was, then, a series of musical contests, for rhapsodes, for citharodes, and so on. Socrates asks whether Ion competed and how he fared, and he answers that he won the first prize, *τὰ πρῶτα τῶν ἆθλων*, implying that there were also lesser prizes on offer.[15]

At the Eretrian Artemisia, as perhaps at the Panathenaia, there were three prizes for rhapsodes, as we know from an inscription dating from *c.*340 (*IG* 12 (9). 189. 15–20). They were of 120, 30, and 20 drachmas: the disproportion is striking, seeing that for citharists the prizes were of 110, 70, and 55 drachmas, and for citharodes of 200, 150, and 100. A rhapsode who was only the second or third best was evidently not thought to be worth much, whereas the third-best citharode was rewarded nearly as highly as the best rhapsode.

There is no record of rhapsodic contests at the Olympic Games, but rhapsodes were likely to be attracted there in any case by the especially large crowds. There is some reason to think that the *Hymn to Hermes* may have been composed for performance there.[16] And in 388 Dionysios I of Syracuse sent his best rhapl[7]sodes to the Games to recite his own poetry in splendid booths hung with costly fabrics (Diod. 14. 109. 1–2):

[15] August Matthiae thought that it might have been for these Asklepieia that the sixteenth Homeric Hymn was composed (*Animadversiones in Hymnos Homericos* (Leipzig 1800), 95.

[16] See my *Homeric Hymns. Homeric Apocrypha. Lives of Homer* (Cambridge, Mass. 2003), 13 f.

ὡς δ' ἐπεβάλοντ' οἱ ῥαψωιδοὶ προφέρεσθαι τοῦ Διονυσίου τὰ ποιήματα, κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν διὰ τὴν εὐφωνίαν τῶν ὑποκριτῶν συνέδραμε τὰ πλήθη καὶ πάντες ἐθαύμαζον· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, ἀναθεωροῦντες τὴν κακίαν τῶν ποιημάτων, διεγέλων τὸν Διονύσιον.

Although Dionysios' enterprise was a fiasco, the episode shows that there were opportunities for rhapsodes at festivals outside the organized programme. We note also that εὐφωνία was an admired quality in a rhapsode. It is also at the Olympic Games that a rhapsode Kleomenes is said to have recited Empedocles' *Katharmoi* (Dikaiarchos fr. 87 Wehrli).

Hesiod's prize took the form of a tripod, and this archaism survived in places. We have two inscribed tripods dedicated by rhapsodes. One of them (Robert, *Collection Froehner* 39) was allegedly found at Olympia, but this is considered unlikely; Louis Robert guessed that it came from Dodona. No date is given. The inscription reads Κλέαρχος Διομέδοντος ῥαψωιδός μ' ἀνεθνκε (for ἀνέθηκε). The other, *GDI* 5786, does come from Dodona; it reads Τερψικλῆς τῶι Δὶ Ναΐωι ῥαψωιδὸς ἀνέθηκε. It was formerly dated to the mid fifth century, which would have made it perhaps the earliest attestation of the word ῥαψωιδός, but more recently it has been down-dated to the fourth century (*SEG* 46. 2312). Terpsikles' name is especially appropriate to a rhapsode—we think of Phemios Terpiades in the *Odyssey*—and if it is not an assumed name, it indicates that the profession ran in his family.

The ῥαψωιδία in which Athenian boys competed for prizes on the third day of the Apatouria (Pl. *Tim.* 21b) was simply recitation of memorized passages from various poets. Critias says that 'many of us sang the works of Solon, as they were recent at that time', but no doubt Homer was a frequent choice. This has little to do with rhapsodes at festivals, but it bears witness to the educational value attached to the learning of poetry by heart.

THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD

After the fourth century rhapsodes largely fade out of literature, apart from antiquarian discussions such as those in Ath. 620a–d and sch. Pind. *Nem.* 2. 1. But their continuing activity at festivals is documented by inscriptions. (Cf. I. E. Stephanis, Διονυσιακοὶ Τεχνῖται (Heraklion 1988); rhapsodes indexed on pp. 573 f.) However, these records never specify what poetry the rhapsodes were reciting. We cannot take it for granted that it was always or even usually Homer. As remarked above, the public appetite for hearing rather than reading Homer may have waned by this time. In the later Hellenistic victor lists the rhapsode is often immediately preceded or followed by a ποιητὴς ἐπῶν, a hexameter poet, just as we sometimes find tragic, satyric, and comic poets listed beside actors. The rhapsodes in these competitions presumably recited the competing poets' new poems, and there was one prize for the best poem and another for the best performance. On the significance of the distinction between rhapsode and poet in the victor lists cf. M. R. Pallone, 'L'epica agonale in età ellenistica', *Orpheus. Rivista di umanità classica e cristiana*, NS 5 (1984), 156–66, at 161–2.

A Delian inscription dated to the archonship of Aristokritos (284 BCE), *IG* 11 (2). 105, lists performers of various sorts who gave displays for Apollo (ἐπεδείξαντο τῶι θεῶι), that is, they performed non-competitively at the festival: tragic and comic actors, an aulete, citharodes, a psaltes, a citharist, and two rhapsodes, named as Archelas from Thessaly and Glaukos of Athens.

A decree from Koresia on Keos, also of the early third century, makes provision for games involving archery and javelin contests for men and boys. The men are to get appropriate items of weaponry as prizes; the boys get portions of meat, and a portion is also to be given to a rhapsode (*IG* 12 (5). 647. 35 = *SIG*^{3} 958): διδόναι δὲ καὶ ῥαψωιδῶι κρεῶν μερίδα. There does not appear to be a contest for rhapsodes, but a rhapsode is expected to be in attendance, perhaps to lend a suitably heroic colour to the martial contests.

At Rhodes there were games in honour of Apollo Erethimios that comprised both musical and athletic contests. The musical ones came first, in line with a pattern that remains standard across Greece for centuries. A third-century victor list published in *BCH* 99 (1975), 102 fr. B, after the heading τοίδε ἐνίκων [τ]ὰ μεγ[άλα Ἐρεθίμια], begins with [ῥα]ψωιδός· [Νι]κομή[δης; next come a boy citharist, an adult citharist, a boy aulode, an adult aulode, a citharode, a herald, and a trumpeter, before we start on the athletes. The I^8 victors' names carry a patronymic if they are Rhodians, otherwise an ethnic. Nikomedes' details are lost, so we cannot tell whether he was a Rhodian or from elsewhere.

Two series of inscriptions at Delphi record victories of rhapsodes and other performers at the annual Amphiktionic Soteria between *c.*262 and 252 and at the quadriennial Aetolian Soteria between *c.*244 and 207.[17] In the earlier series the lists are headed *ἠγωνίσαντο δὲ οἵδε* or *οἵδε ἠγωνίσαντο τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Σωτηρίων*. Rhapsodes come first in the sequence, two being regularly named; then come others such as citharodes, citharists, auletes, didaskaloi, tragic and comic actors, but with some variation in the categories and the order. The relevant inscriptions, in approximate chronological order (but the exact dates are uncertain), with the rhapsodes named, are as follows:

SEG 1. 187a: Aristago[ras . . .
SEG 18. 230: Kleitorios son of Aristeides, A[rcadian]; Kallias son of Archetimos, Syracusan.
SEG 18. 235: . . .k]rates son of Kalliph[. . .; X son of Y], Athenian.
GDI 2563: Polymnestos son of Alexandros, Arcadian; Kleitorios son of Aristeides, Arcadian.
GDI 2564: Kleitorios son of Aristeides, Arcadian; [. . .o]n son of Thrasonides, from Sinope.
GDI 2565: Agathinos son of Kritodemos, [Sik]yonian; Aristeides son of Ariston, [. . .]
GDI 2566: Kleitorios son of Aristeides, Arcadian; [Euth]ydemos son of Chares, Athenian.

We note that two of the rhapsodes are Arcadians (including one who appears three times) and two are Athenians. Others come from as far afield as Syracuse and Sinope.

In the later series, from the Aetolian Soteria, the rhapsodes again head the lists, but only one is named on each occasion, and the heading now is *οἵδε ἐνίκων*, or *οἵδε ἐνίκων τὰ Σωτήρια*. Previously two *ἀγωνισταί* had been named, now just one victor. The names are:

SEG 2. 260. 2: P[. . .
SEG 2. 260. 5: Simakos son of Satyros, Argive.
SEG 2. 260. 6: Eurybios son of Lykiskos, Megalopolitan.
FD iii 4. 125: Eurybios son of Lykiskos, Megalopolitan.
FD iii 4. 126: Nikias (*vacat*)
FD iii 4. 127: Philokrates son of Lysippos, Argive.
FD iii 4. 128: Ialles(?) (*vacat*)

[17] Cf. G. M. Sifakis, *Studies in the History of Hellenistic Drama* (London 1967), 73f., 83.

In two cases it seems that the stonecutter lacked details of the winning rhapsode's identity except for his name.

Apart from this set of inscriptions, the bulk of evidence for rhapsodic activity in the second and early first centuries comes from Boeotia. We have records relating to musical contests at festivals in various centres: the Romaia at Thebes, the Amphiaraa–Romaia at Oropos, the Soteria and Ptoia at Akraiphia, the Charitesia at Orchomenos, the Sarapieia at Tanagra, and the Mouseia at Thespiai. More than one rhapsode can be seen winning victories in more than one place.

From Thespiai we have a number of inscriptions recording victories at the Mouseia.[18] Rhapsodes appear in several of them, though there are others that have a *ποιητὴς ἐπῶν* with no rhapsode (*IThesp.* 161, 164, 165, 174). The earliest is *IThesp.* 163 = *IG* 7. 1762, dated to between *c.*210 and 172. The first victor in the list is restored as being a *κήρυξ* (herald, town crier).[19] Then comes the *ποιητὴς ἐπῶν*, who was Heliodoros son of Heliodoros, followed by the rhapsode, Zenodotos son of Sopatros. Heliodoros and Zenodotos were both *Ἀντιοχεῖς ἀπὸ Πυράμου*, and they must have come to Thespiai in partnership.

In *IThesp.* 170. 22 (*c.*118–112) the list begins with a *ποιητὴς προσοδίων*, a trumpeter, and a herald, and then come the *ἐπῶν ποιητής*, [Dem]okles son of Ameinias, Theban, and the rhapsode, [. . . .]os son of [9] Phrynidas, Tanagraean.[20] In this case the poet and the rhapsode are not from the same town, though both are Boeotians.

In *IThesp.* 171 (*c.*110–90) and 172 = *IG* 7. 1760 (after 84) we find the same sequence. In inscr. 171 the poet is Mnasarchos son of Damon, from Thespiai itself, while the rhapsode is a Theban, Habron son of Philoxenos. Habron won another victory at the Theban

[18] On this festival, securely attested from the latter part of the third century BCE but probably older, cf. Fiehn, *RE* viA. 45–7; A. Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia* (London 1981–94), ii. 147–79 (the games: 163–79).

[19] Heralds were judged on their lung-capacity; see Poll. 4. 91, with *PMG* 863 and 865.

[20] The rhapsode's name has been restored as [Iran]os from *Oropos* 523. 26, where *Ἴρανος Φρυνίδου Ταναγραῖος* appears in another role as victorious *κωμωιδός*. But he is likely to have been Iranos' brother, just as in the same inscription we find Artemon the son of Isidotos as rhapsode and his brother Straton as a comic actor, while in *IG* 7. 540 we have Boukattes son of Glaukos as rhapsode and his brother Alexandros as *σατύρων ποιητής*.

Romaia, see below. In inscr. 172 the poet is Mestor son of Mestor, a Phocaean, the rhapsode Theodotos son of Pythion, an Athenian.

This Athenian rhapsode is also known from the inscription on the Athenian treasury at Delphi recording the large contingent of Technitai of Dionysos who came from Athens for the Pythais of 97 BCE (*FD* iii 2. 48). They included three epic poets and three rhapsodes, Kallon son of Kallon, Theodotos son of Pythion, and Xenophantos son of Eumachos. Besides reciting the poets' compositions, these three also took part in the choral singing of the Paean and were *συναγωνισταί* in the performances of the *τραγωιδοί*, that is, they took the secondary roles in such dialogue scenes as the principal actors chose to perform.[21] Rhapsodes were suitable for the purpose because they had good, strong voices and because there was an element of the histrionic in their own performances.[22]

The inscriptions from the Theban Romaia show a similar pattern to those from Thespiai. In *SEG* 54. 516 (shortly after 118?) the first on the list is a trumpeter from Delphi; the remaining victors are all Thebans, starting with the herald, the hexameter poet, and the rhapsode, who is the Habron we have already encountered. In *IG* 7. 2448 (cf. *SEG* 54. 517) the sequence is similar, but the rhapsode, Aeimnastos son of Euphraios, precedes the poet. Again all but one of the victors are Thebans, the exception being a trumpeter from Aegina.

Another series of inscriptions relates to the Amphiaraa–Romaia at Oropos.[23] Musical contests at the Amphiaraa can be traced back well into the fourth century; we have part of a victor list from between 366 and 338, but as the beginning is missing we cannot tell whether rhapsodes already took part (*Oropos* 520 = *IG* 7. 414). Those in which they certainly appear are considerably later. In them a new category of prizewinner is listed after the trumpeter and herald and before the rhapsode and hexameter poet: for an encomium of the god in prose, and for another in hexameters. In *Oropos* 521 (*c.*85 BCE) the respective rubrics are *ἐγκώ[μιο]ν εἰς τ[ὸν θ]εὸ[ν κ]αταλογάδην* and *[ἐγμω]μίου [ἐ]πικοῦ*. Then comes the oddly titled *ἐπῶν ἱερὸς ῥαψωιδός*; he is one Biottos, son of Menelaos, from across the water at Chalcis. In the other Oropian inscriptions we revert to the plain

[21] Cf. Reisch (as in n. 6), 105–6; F. Poland, *RE* VA. 2487; Sifakis (as in n. 17), 93.

[22] Cf. Pl. *Ion* 532d, 535b–e, 536a; *Rep.* 395a; Alcid. *Soph.* 14; Arist. *Rhet.* 1403b22, *Poet.* 1462a7.

[23] On this festival cf. Schachter (as in n. 18), i. 19–25 with iii. 26–7.

ῥαψωιδός, coupled with his *ἐπῶν ποιητής*. The winning rhapsodes are:

Oropos 523 = *IG* 7. 416: Artemon son of Isidotos, Athenian.
Oropos 524 = *IG* 7. 418: Kraton son of Kleon, Theban.
Oropos 526 = *IG* 7. 419: Hieron son of Aristoboulos, Theban.
Oropos 528 = *IG* 7. 420: Theophanes son of Sokrates, Theban.

Kraton son of Kleon also won a victory at the Charitesia at Orchomenos (*IG* 7. 3195).[24] This inscription, dated to the first half of the first century, is remarkable for its archaizing Boeotian orthography: the heading is *τύδε ἐνίκωσαν τὰ Χαριτείσια*, and the victors are labelled *σαλπιγκτάς*, *κάρυξ*, *ποειτάς*, *ῥαψαϝυδός*, and so on. In two other lists from this festival, *IG* 7. 3196 and 3197, the rhapsodes precede the poets. They are (3196) Mentor son of Apollodoros, from Heraclea, and (3197) Noumenios son of Noumenios, from Athens.

I[10] Three further inscriptions relate to festivals at Akraiphia. *IG* 7. 4147 (late second or early first century?) is from the pentaeteric Ptoia, and here the victorious rhapsode was Agathon son of Damas, from Thespiai. *BCH* 44 (1920), 251 (first century) records a victory at the same festival by Archias son of Soteridas, a Theban. *IG* 7. 2727 is from the trieteric Soteria, the first to be held after the (Mithridatic) war; there was a rhapsode, but his name is lost.[25]

Finally, so far as Hellenistic Boeotia is concerned, there is an inscription from Tanagra listing victors at the Sarapieia (*IG* 7. 540, cf. *SEG* 25. 501).[26] The sequence is conventional: trumpeter, herald, rhapsode, poet, aulete, aulode, citharist, citharode, and so on. The winning rhapsode was a local Tanagraean, Boukattes son of Glaukos, and a second prize was awarded to Aristodikos son of Demokrates, an Opuntian.

There is little further evidence from outside Boeotia. At games at Amarynthos in Euboea a contest for rhapsodes was won by one M]ento[r, who is likely to be the Heracleot rhapsode that we have met at Orchomenos (*IG* 12 (9). 139. 9). At the same period, the first half of the first century, one Miltiades son of Dionysios was victorious at games on Chios (*Chios* 57. 10 = *SIG*[3] 959. 9, *GDI* 5660).

[24] On this festival, at which the musical contests evidently took place in the theatre, cf. Schachter (as in n. 18), i. 140–4.

[25] On the Ptoia cf. Schachter, i. 52–73 (games: 70–2); iii. 11–21.

[26] On the Sarapieia cf. Schachter, i. 203 f.

THE ROMAN PERIOD

After this there is no record of rhapsodic contests for some two hundred years, and one might well suppose they had ceased to exist. Then they reappear, but only in Boeotia, which, as we have seen, appears to be the region where they had most flourished in the second and early first centuries BCE.

The later victor lists come from Thespiai and Akraiphia. There must have been some continuity from the Hellenistic events, as the general scheme of the programmes is the same as before, though some evolution has taken place. In *IThesp.* 178 = *IG* 7. 1773 (Mouseia; second half of the second century) the catalogue of victors begins with a *ποιητὴς προσοδίου* and continues through *κήρυξ, σαλπιγκτάς, ἐγκωμιογράφος εἰς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, ἐγκώμιον εἰς Μούσας, ποιητὴς εἰς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, ποίημα εἰς τὰς Μούσας, ῥαψωιδός, πυθαύλας, κιθαριστάς*, to dramatic actors. The rhapsode is Eutychianos of Corinth. In *IThesp.* 179 we have a similar sequence but with no rhapsode.

In *IThesp.* 180 = *IG* 7. 1776 (after 212) the festival has become the *μεγάλα Καισάρηα Σεβάστηα Μουσεῖα*. The programme is simpler again: only the trumpeter and herald appear before the rhapsode, who is named as Markos Aurelios Eukairos, a Tanagraean.

This man also won victories at Akraiphia. In *IG* 7. 2726 (before 211?) he is again the winner in the rhapsodes' contest, while in *BCH* 27 (1903), 297 A 12, at the pentaeteric Ptoia Kaisareia, he scores a double triumph, winning both in the rhapsodes' contest and in the heralds'. The same feat had been achieved in an earlier celebration of the Ptoia by an Argive named Kornelios Eukarpos (*IG* 7. 4151. 5). Evidently a loud, strong voice was still characteristic of the rhapsode.

Although there were such honours to be won, one would not think that the name of rhapsode carried much status. All the more surprising to find it in the titulature of a high functionary in the World Convention of Artists of Dionysos in the time of Antoninus Pius. He appears in about the year 142 as the proposer of an honorific decree bestowing a priesthood on the benefactor T. Aelius Alcibiades (*IEphes.* 1a no. 22). The inscription, found at Nysa, begins:

[ϵ]ἰσηγησαμένου Ποπλίου Αἰλίου Πομπη[ιανοῦ Π]αίονος Σιδήτου καὶ Ταρσέ[ως] καὶ Ῥοδίο[υ, ποιη]τοῦ πλειστονείκου, μελοποιοῦ καὶ ῥαψ[ωδοῦ Θϵ]οῦ Ἁδριανοῦ, θεολόγου ναῶν τῶν ἐν Π[ϵργάμωι, ἀγ]ωνοθέτου ἀποδεδειγμένου τῶν Σεβ[αστῶν Πυ]θίων, ἐπιψηφισαμένου Π° Αἰλίου [. . . . . Κυ]ζικηνοῦ, κιθαρωδοῦ Καπετωλιονείκου Ὀλυμπιονείκου παραδόξου.

Later in the text Paion appears again as one of the envoys appointed to convey the decree to Nysa; his full titulature is repeated in the same words as above (guaranteeing the supplements).

There is further mention of him in an inscription from his home city of Side, honouring a son of his (*ISide* 70). The honorand's name is not preserved, but he is identified as *υ]ἱὸς Αἰλίου Παίονος φιλοκαίσαρος, l[11] νέου Ὁμήρο[υ, τὰς ἐπι]σήμους ἀρχὰς καὶ λειτουργίας φιλοτείμως πϵ[πληρωκότο]ς*.[27] The extravagant characterization of Paion as a modern Homer implies that besides lyric verse he composed hexameters in some quantities, though not necessarily at epic length: perhaps encomia which, in his guise as 'rhapsode', he also recited. His poetic victories had no doubt been won in more prestigious arenas than Boeotian local festivals. His talents as a *μελοποιός* and declaimer of poetry had evidently received official recognition from Hadrian.[28] Tarsus and Rhodes had made him an honorary citizen, he was a temple official at Pergamum, he administered important games. This was a man of consequence.[29]

I know of no further evidence for rhapsodes in competition or otherwise performing at festivals, but for the sake of completeness I will mention three inscriptions in which rhapsodes are or may be referred to.

An Athenian relief of the first or second century (*GVI* 1332) commemorates one Nikomedes of Cos, characterized as *Μουσάων θεράπων, ἄδων θυμέλαισιν Ὅμηρον*. But this vague description may as well suit a Homeristes as a rhapsode.

[27] Cf. Louis Robert, *Stèlè. Mélanges N. Kondoléon* (Athens 1977), 10–20 = *Opera Minora Selecta* vii (Amsterdam 1990), 578–88.

[28] Lyric poetry was a rarity at this period. Might Paion be the author of the Sapphic ode to Rome transmitted under the name of a fictitious poetess Melinno (*SH* 541)?

[29] Some have thought him the same as the Paion of Side who composed two elegiac epigrams carved on the left leg of the Colossus of Memnon at Luxor (A. and É. Bernand, *Les Inscriptions grecques et latines du Colosse de Memnon* (Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1960), 48–51 nos. 11–12; Robert (as in n. 27). But other Paions are known from Side, and on a natural reading of the first epigram its author's name is Mettius Paion (G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca* (Berlin 1878), on no. 1007).

IG 4. 649 (Argos, late) is a memorial stone set up by one Aulus Apollonides, a priest of Zeus Sabazios. Some details are obscure, but it commemorates at least two persons, one of whom was a forty-year-old 'rhapsode' (whatever is now meant by the term):

Αὖ[λ.] Ἀπολλωνίδης
ἱερεὺς] Διὸς Σεβαζείου τὸ μνῆμα
κατεσκ]εύασεν ζῶν. Π° Ἀπολλωνιδιων χαῖρε [
– –]ιον ζήσας ἡλικία[ς] ἔτεσι τριάντα δύω. πολείταρ[χε
– – –]α, ῥαψωδέ, χαῖρε, ζήσας ἔτη λ΄.

Finally, *Salamine* xiii 272B (third or fourth century) is a fragmentary marble plaque in the Famagusta Museum bearing only remnants of words of which nothing can be made:

[– – – –]χιας *vacat*
[– –]νεχουσης
[– – ?ρα]ψωδι *vacat*

(Of the last line only letter tops.)

RHAPSODES' MOBILITY

Homeric singers and rhapsodes always moved about. In a well-known passage of the *Odyssey* they appear as familiar recipients of invitations to travel (ρ 382–6):

τίς γὰρ δὴ ξεῖνον καλεῖ ἄλλοθεν αὐτὸς ἐπελθών
ἄλλόν γ', εἰ μὴ τῶν οἳ δημιοεργοὶ ἔασιν,
μάντιν ἢ ἰητῆρα κακῶν ἢ τέκτονα δούρων,
ἢ καὶ θέσπιν ἀοιδόν, ὅ κεν τέρπησιν ἀείδων;
οὗτοι γὰρ κλητοί γε βροτῶν ἐπ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν.

Homer was portrayed in the biographical tradition as an itinerant reciter of his poetry.[30] In the present study we have noted many cases of rhapsodes who performed in a city not their own or who won victories in more than one place. I will conclude with a summary list of them; details may be found above. I omit the eminent Paion of Side, who belongs in a different category.

[30] Pl. *Rep.* 600d, *Certamen* 5, ps.-Hdt. *Vita Homeri* (*passim*).

I[12] *Name*	*Place of origin*	*Place(s) of recorded activity*
(Eighth–seventh century)		
Hesiod	Ascra	Chalcis
(Sixth century)		
Kynaithos	Chios	Delos, Syracuse
(Fifth century)		
Ion	Ephesos	Epidauros, Athens
(Fourth century)		
Dionysios' rhapsodes	Syracuse	Olympia
(Third century)		
Archelas	Thessaly	Delos
Glaukos	Athens	Delos
Kleitorios	Arcadia	Delphi
Kallias	Syracuse	Delphi
[. . . . .]	Athens	Delphi
Polymnestos	Arcadia	Delphi
[. . . . . .o]n	Sinope	Delphi
Agathinos	Sikyon	Delphi
Euthydemos	Athens	Delphi
Simakos	Argos	Delphi
Eurybios	Megalopolis	Delphi
Philokrates	Argos	Delphi
(Second–first century)		
Zenodotos	Antiocheia ad Pyramum	Thespiai
[. . . . .]os	Tanagra	Thespiai
Habron	Thebes	Thespiai, Thebes
Theodotos	Athens	Delphi, Thespiai
Kallon	Athens	Delphi
Xenophantos	Athens	Delphi
Biottos	Chalcis	Oropos
Artemon	Athens	Oropos
Kraton	Thebes	Oropos, Orchomenos
Hieron	Thebes	Oropos
Theophanes	Thebes	Oropos
Mentor	Heraclea	Orchomenos, Amarynthos
Noumenios	Athens	Orchomenos
Agathon	Thespiai	Akraiphia
Archias	Thebes	Akraiphia
Aristodikos	Opous	Tanagra
(Second–third century CE)		
Eutychianos	Corinth	Thespiai
M. Aurelios Eukairos	Tanagra	Thespiai, Akraiphia
Kornelios Eukarpos	Argos	Akraiphia

EPIGRAPHIC SOURCES CITED

BCH = *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.*
Chios = D. F. McCabe–J. V. Brownson, *Chios Inscriptions* (Princeton 1986).
FD = *Fouilles de Delphes.*
GDI = H. Collitz *et al.*, *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften* (Göttingen 1884–1915).
IEphes. = H. Wankel, R. Merkelbach *et al.*, *Die Inschriften von Ephesos* (= *IK* 11–17) (Bonn 1979–84).
IG = *Inscriptiones Graecae.*
IK = *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien.*
ISide = Johannes Nollé, *Side im Altertum*, ii (= *IK* 44) (Bonn 2001).
IThesp. = Paul Roesch, *Les Inscriptions de Thespies*, posthumous electronic edition at http//:www.hisoma.mom.fr/Thespies.
Oropos = V. Ch. Petrakos, *Οι Επιγραφές του Ωρωπού* (Athens 1997).
Robert, *Collection Froehner* = Louis Robert, *Collection Froehner* (Paris, 1936).
Salamine = Jean Pouilloux, Paul Roesch, Jean Marcillet-Jaubert, *Salamine de Chypre* xiii, Testimonia Salaminia 2 (Paris 1978).
SEG = *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum.*
SIG[3] = W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, ed. tertia (Leipzig 1915–24).

I gratefully acknowledge help from Angelos Chaniotis and Peter Thonemann in tracking down some of the inscriptions.

25

The Contest of Homer and Hesiod

The work of many scholars in the last hundred years has helped us to understand the nature and origins of the treatise which we know for short as the *Contest of Homer and Hesiod.*[1] [s1] The present state of knowledge may be summed up as follows. The work in its extant form dates from the Antonine period,[2] but much of it was taken over bodily from an earlier source,[3] thought to be the *Μουσεῖον* of Alcidamas.[4] [s2] Some of the verses exchanged in the contest were

CQ 17 (1967), 433–50. The footnotes were there numbered anew on each page.

[1] This, in its Greek and Latin forms, was H. Stephanus' abbreviation of the title in the archetype (Laur. 56. 1), *περὶ Ὁμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου καὶ τοῦ γένους καὶ ἀγῶνος αὐτῶν.*

[2] The expression *ὅπερ δὲ ἀκηκόαμεν ἐπὶ τοῦ θειοτάτου αὐτοκράτορος Ἁδριανοῦ εἰρημένον* (§3, lines 32–3 Allen) implies that Hadrian is dead, but of fresh memory. *Ἁδριανοῦ* is Stephanus' correction of *ἀδιανοῦ.*—In citing passages from the *Certamen* I shall use the section-numbers of Wilamowitz, *Vitae Homeri et Hesiodi* (Berlin 1916), which are also adopted by A. Colonna in his edition (*Hesiodi Opera et Dies*, Milan 1959) [and by me in mine, see the Supplementary Notes], and the lineation of T. W. Allen (*Homeri Opera*, v, Oxford 1912). Of the various twentieth-century editions, that of Rzach in his big edition of Hesiod (Leipzig 1902) still offers the fullest and most accurate report of the readings of the manuscript; Allen's is the most widely circulating, Wilamowitz's the most intelligent, Colonna's the most recent. That of Evelyn-White in the Loeb Hesiod (revised edn. 1936) may also be mentioned. A facsimile of the manuscript as far as §13, line 214, is published by R. Merkelbach and H. van Thiel, *Griechisches Leseheft* (Göttingen 1965), 6–10.

[3] Proved by the close agreement with the Flinders Petrie papyrus (now P. Lit. Lond. 191), which is dated to the third century BCE. The trivial differences of wording are not necessarily to be attributed to the Antonine compiler: I agree with Wilamowitz's judgement that 'die Prosa so viel and wenig stimmt, wie man erwarten konnte, die Verse durchaus' (*Die Ilias und Homer* (Berlin 1916), 400).

[4] F. Nietzsche, *Rh. Mus.* 25 (1870), 536–40, argued so, firstly because the two verses 78–9 are quoted by Stobaeus (4. 52. 22) as from this work, secondly because the *Certamen* itself (§14, line 240) cites it for the death of Hesiod at a point where an alternative version is given. His hypothesis received support, firstly from the Petrie papyrus, which showed that the account of the contest, at least, went back to

current even earlier,[5] and some scholars have supposed that the story of a contest went back to the fifth, sixth, or even eighth century; but this is now much doubted.[6]

The questions that seem to me to need further clarification are:

1. Did Alcidamas really write the narrative that lies behind the *Certamen*? If so, how much of the detail did he invent, and how much had been invented already? And what was the purpose and nature of his work?
2. How many other sources did the compiler use, what was his procedure, and what was he aiming at?

I[454]

I. ALCIDAMAS

The problem of the Michigan papyrus

The simple view, that the two papyri are both fragments of copies of Alcidamas' *Mouseion*, was dealt a sudden blow by G. S. Kirk in 1950.[7] He argued that the part of the Michigan papyrus which corresponds with the *Certamen* is unlike the following sentences (and the rest of Alcidamas' remains) in its simple style and admittance of hiatus,[8] that no connection of thought can be discovered between it and them, and that its language in some details resembles the koine. He concluded that it was an interpolation in the Alcidamas. E. R. Dodds then pointed out that the supposed epilogue of Alcidamas is more like an extract from a prologue, and substituted for Kirk's

Hellenistic times or earlier, secondly from the Michigan papyrus inv. 2754 (ii–iii CE, ed. J. G. Winter, *TAPA* 56 (1925), 120 ff.), which gave the end of a narrative closely resembling the end of *Cert.*, followed by what appeared to be an epilogue and the subscription]δαμαντος περι ομηρου. But there are difficulties, which must be discussed presently.

[5] 78–9 (the same two that Stobaeus attributes to Alcidamas) = Theognidea 425/7 (Stobaeus quotes the Theognidean lines, with their accompanying pentameters, later in the same section ἔπαινος θανάτου, 4. 52. 30); 167–8 = Ar. *Pax* 1282–3, with inessential variants.

[6] E. Vogt, *Rh. Mus.* 102 (1959), 193–221; K. Hess, *Der Agon zwischen Homer und Hesiod* (Diss. Zürich 1960).

[7] *CQ* 44 (1950), 149 ff.

[8] This had been remarked by A. Körte, *APF* 8 (1927), 263, who supposed Alcidamas to be quoting an earlier composition.

interpolation hypothesis the suggestion that we have to do with a collection of excerpts περὶ Ὁμήρου, of which the last comes from Alcidamas, being chosen by the excerptor to end his book 'as a worthy description of the motives for Homeric study'.[9] If the arguments of Kirk and Dodds are accepted, the situation will have to be restated as follows:

Alcidamas, in the course of a work called *Mouseion*, told the story of Hesiod's death, and elsewhere in the same work, we do not know for what purpose, quoted two hexameters which also appear in our *Certamen* in the mouth of Homer. This is just a coincidence.

The compiler of the *Certamen* made extensive use of a contest narrrative which existed in Hellenistic times but was not the *Mouseion* and not by Alcidamas.

He did, however, know Alcidamas' *Mouseion*, and cited its account of Hesiod's death.

The occurrence in a papyrus of part of the Hellenistic contest narrative in conjunction with what is agreed to be a piece of Alcidamas' *Mouseion*, with no external sign that they are not part of one text, is just another coincidence.

These coincidences are suspicious; and there are other circumstances that call for further thought:

(i) In the *Certamen*, at §5 (line 54), the writer clearly switches from one source to another, from a life of Homer to the contest narrative. It is explained that Homer was staying in central Greece at the time because he had been to Delphi, where he had received an oracle warning him that he would be buried in Ios, and should beware of a boys' riddle; so he was staying away from Ios. This is obviously preparation for the account of his death in §18, lines 321 ff., where the boys confront him with the riddle and he remembers the oracle. Therefore, although the compiler in the latter part of his narrative (after the conclusion of the contest) may have drawn on other sources besides, the account of Homer's death stood in the contest narrative in this or a similar form. But if the contest narrative included the account of Homer's death, it is likely also to

[9] *CQ* NS 2 (1952), 187 f. Körte, 264, had already declared himself unable to believe 'daß ein kultivierter Schriftsteller wie Alkidamas seine Schrift über Homer mit so stammelnden Sätzen abgeschlossen habe', and assumed shortening by the thoughtless copyist.

have included the account of Hesiod's death, which is prepared for in an identical way, by means of an oracle which induces Hesiod to keep away from a certain place, and likewise rounded off with an epitaph. The nexus I[435] 'contest–death of Hesiod–death of Homer', which gives the *Certamen* such structural cohesion as it possesses, thus goes back to the original contest narrative.[10] Why, then, does the compiler, in giving us two versions of Hesiod's death, ascribe one to Alcidamas and one to Eratosthenes? Is he not reporting what was said in the contest narrative before him,[11] or was Alcidamas already cited as an authority in it? When we observe how the words *ὥς φησιν Ἀλκιδάμας ἐν Μουσείωι* (§14, lines 239–40) are added as if an afterthought, at the end of the first version of the story, where Eratosthenes is about to appear, it looks very much as if the compiler, having so far reproduced a simple narrative in which no sources are named, now remembers Eratosthenes and takes the opportunity to appear scholarly, in the manner of the age of Pausanias and Athenaeus, by citing a second authority. This prompts him to disclose the identity of his first authority, which he had concealed under *τινες* in §5, line 54, in his other guise as elegant writer of the sophist type.[12]

(ii) A troubling feature of the Kirk–Dodds approach is the peculiar view it requires us to take of the Michigan papyrus. For Kirk it is a book of Alcidamas with the whole story of Homer's death interpolated from a life of Homer in the middle of the peroration. Dodds calls this hypothesis desperate; but his own solution is not altogether convincing. A book of excerpts about Homer is a reasonable thing to find. But if the excerptor wanted to throw a noose of literary form round his collection for the purpose of publication, surely he would have written a preface and put it at the beginning, not taken an

[10] So Vogt, 199 ff. The alternative, that the Antonine writer worked Homer's oracle in at the beginning of the contest, would presuppose an artistry with which the inconcinnities of his compilation are to my mind incompatible.

[11] Nietzsche, 538, makes this point.

[12] The contrast between his two *personae* struck T. W. Allen, *Homer: The Origins and the Transmission* (Oxford 1924), 21: 'The austerity of Apollonius and Herodian cannot be suspected, the book is too erudite in form for a sophist . . . this mixture of erudition and rhetoric . . .'. But his suggestion that the author might be Porphyry is improbable. Porphyry dated Hesiod 100 years after Homer (*Suda* s.v. *Ἡσίοδος*, cf. s.v. *Ὅμηρος*), an opinion which besides being incompatible with the contest story is not mentioned in the earlier sections.

unsuitable piece out of someone else's preface to a quite different kind of work and put it at the end. And then we are asked to think that the copyist was careless enough to write *ΑΛΚΙΔΑΜΑΝΤΟϹ ΠΕΡΙ ΟΜΗΡΟΥ* in large letters underneath, supposing himself to have just copied a work by Alcidamas.

These difficulties mount up. I propose to evade them by returning to the simple view that the Michigan papyrus is Alcidamas, Homer's death and all, and that earlier in the same book there stood an account of Hesiod's death closely resembling *Cert.* §§13–14, lines 215–39, and before that an account of the contest closely resembling *Cert.* §§5–13, lines 54–214. I must first counter the arguments of the *χωρίζοντες*.

1. A difference of style between the two sections of the papyrus text is inevitable. One is narrative, the other is manifesto: the style that Alcidamas thought appropriate for the second was simply inapplicable to the first. We can only deny him the use of a straightforward narrative style by denying that he would ever choose to write straightforward narrative; and then we shall have to explain how exactly he dealt with Hesiod's death.

2. One linguistic oddity in the narrative deserves notice: *ἀναμνησθεὶς δὲ τοῦ μαντείου, [ὅτι] ἡ καταστροφὴ αὐτῶι τοῦ βίου ἦκεν, π[οι]εῖ εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐπίγραμμα τόδε*. The corresponding sentence in the *Certamen* runs *ἀναμνησθεὶς δὲ τοῦ* I[436] *μαντείου, ὅτι τὸ τέλος αὐτοῦ (αὐτῶι* Westermann) *ἦκοι τοῦ βίου, ποιεῖ τὸ τοῦ τάφου αὐτοῦ ἐπίγραμμα*. The conjunction of 'remembering the oracle' and 'that his hour of death had come' is very strained; and one may conjecture that *ὅτι ἡ καταστροφὴ αὐτῶι τοῦ βίου ἦκεν*, or whatever the original wording may have been, was an explanatory addition by a copyist for whom the earlier mention of the oracle seemed too far back for instant recall. There is no difficulty in the assumption that it was in the text when the compiler produced the *Certamen*.

The removal of these seven words abolishes at a stroke four of the seven instances of hiatus in the papyrus narrative. If we look at the remaining three, we find that in each case the *Certamen* has a variation of wording in which the hiatus either disappears or appears in a different place.

Pap. 4–5 οἳ δ' ἔφασαν ἐφ' ἁλιείαν οἰχόμενο[ι ἀγρ]εῦσαι μὲν οὐδέν.	*Cert.* 329–30 οἳ δέ φασιν ἐν ἁλείαι μὲν ἀγρεῦσαι μηδέν.
10 ποιεῖ εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐπίγραμμα τόδε.	383 ποιεῖ τὸ τοῦ τάφου αὐτοῦ ἐπίγραμμα.
13–14 καὶ ἀναχωρῶν πηλοῦ ὄντος ὀλισθάνει καὶ πεσὼν ἐπὶ πλευρὰν οὕτως, φασίν, ἐτελεύτησεν.	334–5 ἀναχωρῶν δ' ἐκεῖθεν ὄντος πηλοῦ ὀλισθὼν καὶ πεσὼν ἐπὶ τὴν πλευρὰν τριταῖος ὡς φασι τελευτᾶι.

This does not of course mean that the original was free from hiatus. It means that the transmission of a text such as this is too inexact in details of wording and word order to allow us to argue from a small number of apparent instances. The part of the *Certamen* that is thought to derive from Alcidamas does in fact exhibit some hiatus, but less than the other parts; see below, p. 393 f.

3. Kirk, 154, adduces the following words as evidence for a Hellenistic date:[13]

(*a*) σχεδιάζω 'improvise' instead of αὐτοσχεδιάζω. In noting that, even if there has been corruption, αὐτοσχεδιάζω is not likely to have been used immediately after αὐτόν,[14] Kirk suggests an answer to himself; although Alcidamas uses it regularly in his περὶ τῶν τοὺς γραπτοὺς λόγους γραφόντων (*Soph.* for short), the αὐτόν would have been a sufficient reason for his using σχεδιάζω here. The word is attested three times in the fourth century: in P. Hibeh 13 i. 12, of careless argument; in Anaxandrides fr. 16. 3 K.–A., of improvising on a musical instrument; and in the pseudo-Platonic *Sisyphus*, of speaking off the cuff.[15] It cannot be shown that Alcidamas could not have used it of the boys who met Homer and set him a riddle on the spur of the moment. If we prefer not to believe it, we need not, for the word does not appear in the *Certamen* version, and it is not essential to the sense.

(*b*) ἁλιεία. This occurs twice in Aristotle, and is the expected noun corresponding to the regular Attic ἁλιεύομαι, ἁλιεύς. There is no reason why Alcidamas should not have used it.

[13] He was here arguing against Körte's theory that the account of Homer's death was a quotation in Alcidamas of an earlier work. His argument may be thought to have slightly more force against fifth-century authorship than against fourth.

[14] Alcidamas does actually tolerate τὴν αὐτὴν κατ' αὐτῶν, *Soph.* 27.

[15] 'Très probablement, cet écrit pseudo-platonicien fut composé au temps d'Aristote ou peu après' (J. Souilhé in the Budé *Platon*, xiii (3), 65).

(*c*) φθειρίζομαι. This again is used by Aristotle, and presupposed by φθειριστική, which appears in Plato, *Soph.* 227b. Alcidamas would have been more likely to use this than the clumsy φθεῖρας κατακτείνω of Heraclitus.

I[437] (*d*) 'φασίν in οὕτως, φασίν, ἐτελεύτησεν, at line 14 smacks of post-Alexandrian scholarship.'

4. The other argument is the unsuitability of the manifesto as the end of a work and its apparent lack of connection with the preceding narrative. We are hampered here by the difficulty of understanding what it says. It reads as follows.

περι τουτου μεν ουν ποιεισθαι την αρετην ποι
ησομεν μαλιστα δ' ορων τους ιστορικους θαυ
μαζομενους οδη.ος γουν δια τουτο και ζων
και αποθανων τετιμηται παρα πασιν ανθρω
ποις ταυτη[ν] ο.ην αυτω της παιδιας χαριν α
ποδιδο[.....]ενος αυτου και την αλλη[ν] ποι
ησιν δια .[...]ειας μνημης τοις βουλομε
νοις φι[λοκαλ]ειν των Ελληνων εις το κοινον
παραδω[ ]
[Αλκι]δαμαντος
περι Ομηρου

I have consulted the photographs in *TAPA* 56 (1925), pl. A, and *Rh. Mus.* 102 (1959), facing p. 210. 17 Ὅμηρος Winter. 'μ habe ich im Mikrofilm sicher gelesen' Vogt 210, but I find this hard to accept against the photograph in *TAPA*. 19 παιδιας = παιδείας (Körte). 20]ενος : for the reading of the epsilon see C. H. Roberts *ap.* Dodds 187. 21 after δια an angle on the line with thickening at the point (β, or possibly α or φ), or the serifed foot of an upright (γ, κ, τ). 22 suppl. Hunt.

The first line is unintelligible and agreed to be corrupt by all except the first editor, who translated 'In regard to this, then, we shall bring it to pass that we win distinction for ourselves'; he then had to change ορων to ὁρῶντες. Körte rightly rejected the translation, and proposed to delete ποιεῖσθαι and render 'an ihm also laßt uns unsere Tüchtigkeit (Meisterschaft) erweisen'. Page altered ποιησομεν to πειρασόμεθα: 'On this theme, then, we shall endeavour to make our reputation'. Dodds altered ποιεῖσθαι to πονεῖσθαι[16] and ορων to ὁρῶ: 'On this subject, then, we shall make it our especial

[16] But the active is more normal. So Alcidamas, *Soph.* 30.

service to labour'.[17] I do not find any of these convincing, because they all tolerate the unparalleled expression *τὴν ἀρετὴν ποιῶ* or *ποιοῦμαι*, and involve changing *ὁρῶν*. I think it likely that something has fallen out, especially as there is nothing for *μάλιστα δέ* to answer. Purely by way of example: *περὶ τούτου μὲν οὖν ποιεῖσθαι <δεῖν ἡγοῦμαι τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, ἀφ' οὗ Μούσαις φίλην> τὴν ἀρετὴν ποιήσομεν, μάλιστα δ' ὁρῶν τοὺς ἱστορικοὺς θαυμαζομένους.*

The next sentence is clear if we adopt the correction *Ὅμηρος*, which is hard to avoid in view of what follows. 'Homer has shown me a way to win honour.'[18] The next sentence begins with a logical continuation of this idea: 'I give him this return for his teaching.' Now we encounter the second difficult patch. The supplements suggested are *ἀποδιδο⌊ὺς* (or *-ό⌊ντες*) *τὸ γ⌋ένος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ποίησιν δι' ἀκ⌊ριβ⌋είας μνήμης ... παραδῶ* (or *παραδῶμεν*).[19] But *ἀκριβείας*, if I[438] it is meant as an adjective (and an adjective is what we expect), will not do: it should be *ἀκριβοῦς*.[20] Nor is *τὸ γένος* satisfactory, for it leaves us wondering what is meant by *τὴν ἄλλην ποίησιν*.[21] There seem to be only two possibilities. Either *⌋ενος* conceals a reference to some part of Homer's poetic production, and I do not see how it can; or *τὴν ἄλλην ποίησιν*, coming after talk of Homer, means 'the rest of poetry', poetry not by Homer.[22] This is surely the answer; the supplement will be on the lines *ταύτη⌊ν⌋ οὖν αὐτῶι τῆς παιδείας χάριν ἀποδιδο⌊ύς, ἀφέμ⌋ενος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἄλλη⌊ν⌋ ποίησιν διὰ β⌊ραχ⌋είας μνήμης ... παραδώ⌊σω*, 'so offering him this return for his teaching, I will leave him and go on to make the other poets available too, in a conveniently brief form of remembrance, to those of the Greeks who desire to love beauty.'

[17] He also suggests *ποιήσομαι* for *ποιήσομεν*.

[18] For the importance of *ἱστορία* cf. *Soph.* 1; F. Blass, *Die attische Beredsamkeit* (Leipzig 1887–98), ii², 47–50, 347. The argument from the honour won by Homer may be compared with *Soph.* 9 *τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας ὡς ἰσόθεον τὴν γνώμην ἔχοντας ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων τιμωμένους ὁρῶμεν.*

[19] Page, Dodds. Alternatives *ἀγ⌊ῶνος* and *ἀγ⌊χιστ⌋είας* (Winter) do not make sense; the former does not seem to fit the traces either.

[20] Alcidamas agreed with other Greeks in this matter: *Soph.* 18 *ποιεῖσθαι τὴν μνήμην καὶ τὴν μάθησιν ἀκριβῆ.*

[21] 'His origin and the rest of his poetry', Page; 'where he came from and what else he wrote', Dodds. See the criticism by Kirk (as in n. 7), 153.

[22] This hardly needs illustration; but cf. Isoc. 12. 33 *περὶ δὲ τῆς Ὁμήρου καὶ τῆς Ἡσιόδου καὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ποιήσεως.*

It has often been assumed that Alcidamas' *Mouseion* dealt with a number of poets[23] and that the subscription *περὶ Ὁμήρου* in the papyrus marks the end of one section of the work. If I have argued correctly, both these assumptions are confirmed. What we have is the end of a section on Homer, at least a section that began and ended with Homer, though it also dealt with Hesiod. This whole section served as a kind of prologue to the rest of the work, and that accounts for the forward-pointing language recognized by Dodds.

The arguments of Kirk and Dodds have now been countered, and we need no longer believe in the singular coincidences that they postulated. We can return to the view that Alcidamas was the creator of the 'contest–death of Hesiod–death of Homer' nexus that lies behind our *Certamen*.

Alcidamas' sources

There are indications that the stories about the poets' deaths were current before Alcidamas' time.[24] He may have elaborated them a little, but he did not invent them. What of the contest? Here the ice is thinner. We can at least dismiss the theory of Bergk[25] and Allen[26] that the story of the contest goes back to a biographical poem by the cyclic poet Lesches. The passage of Plutarch on which this is based, *Sept. Sap. Conv.* 153f, runs:

ἀκούομεν γὰρ ὅτι καὶ πρὸς τὰς Ἀμφιδάμαντος ταφὰς εἰς Χαλκίδα τῶν τότε σοφῶν οἱ δοκιμώτατοι [ποιηταὶ] συνῆλθον ... ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ παρεσκευασμένα τοῖς ποιηταῖς ἔπη χαλεπὴν καὶ δύσκολον ἐποίει τὴν κρίσιν διὰ τὸ ἐφάμιλλον, ἥ τε δόξα τῶν ἀγωνιστῶν [Ὁμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου] πολλὴν ἀπορίαν μετὰ αἰδοῦς τοῖς κρίνουσι παρεῖχεν, ἐτράποντο πρὸς τοιαύτας ἐρωτήσεις, καὶ προύβαλε μὲν ὡς φασι Λέσχης

> *Μοῦσά μοι ἔννεπε κεῖνα τὰ μήτ' ἐγένοντο πάροιθεν*
> *μήτ' ἔσται μετόπισθεν·*

[23] *Μουσεῖον* meant, among other things, a place where books were collected. Just as later writers such as Diodorus and the mythographer Apollodorus called their books *Βιβλιοθήκη*, because they gave information for which you would otherwise need a whole repository of books, Alcidamas gave the title *Μουσεῖον* to a work which covered a variety of poets. Callimachus also wrote a *Μουσεῖον* (*Suda*; i. xcv, ii. 339 Pf.).

[24] Homer: Heraclitus DK 22 B 56. Hesiod: Thuc. 3. 96.

[25] *Griechische Literaturgeschichte*, ii (Berlin 1883), 66.

[26] As in n. 12, 25 ff.

|[439] ἀπεκρίνατο δ' Ἡσίοδος ἐκ τοῦ παρατυχόντος·

ἀλλ' ὅταν ἀμφὶ Διὸς τύμβωι καναχήποδες ἵπποι
ἅρματα συντρίφουσιν ἐπειγόμενοι περὶ νίκης·

καὶ διὰ τοῦτο λέγεται μάλιστα θαυμασθεὶς τοῦ τρίποδος τυχεῖν.

The verses correspond to *Cert.* 97 ff. Plutarch has changed the speakers round: in the *Certamen* the riddle is set by Hesiod and answered by Homer. Plutarch has to make the change because he is making this riddle decide the contest, coming after the recitation of the παρεσκευασμένα ἔπη. In the *Certamen* the latter decide the contest, and the riddle comes earlier.

Bergk and Allen read ὥς φησι Λέσχης, as given by one manuscript, so that Lesches suddenly appears as a quoted authority. But this is inappropriate in Periander's mouth; and it is hard to believe that a contest poem by Lesches existed in Plutarch's time, or ever. We know of a considerable number of early hexameter poems that were current in antiquity, and not one of them was about post-Dark Age personalities. 'Biographical' poetry did not exist, to the best of our knowledge; and there is nothing to suggest that Plutarch or the other imperial writers who allude to the contest story knew it from any other source but Alcidamas.[27]

Wilamowitz read φασι, which is better attested in the manuscripts,[28] making Lesches instead of Homer the antagonist of Hesiod; he had bracketed the words Ὁμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου after ἀγωνιστῶν.[29] The interpolation is evident, but Plutarch surely is talking about Homer and Hesiod even if he does not name them both. He is talking about the funeral games of Amphidamas, and that was the occasion of the famous contest between Homer and Hesiod, not only in the *Certamen*, Philostratus, and Themistius, but elsewhere in Plutarch himself (*Qu. Conv.* 674f). A contest between Hesiod and Lesches is nowhere recorded, and inherently improbable.[30] Nor can Lesches plausibly be cast in the role of a judge between Homer and Hesiod: the contest was organized by the relatives of Amphidamas, and Amphidamas' brother Panedes was

[27] A. Kirchhoff, *SPAW* 1892, 865–91.

[28] See Kirk (as in n. 7), 150 n. 1.

[29] First in *Hermes* 14 (1879), 161 = *Kl. Schr.* iv. 1.

[30] There is more point in the fiction of a contest between Lesches and Arctinus (Phaenias fr. 33 Wehrli = *FGrHist* 1012 F 10). They are the two main poets associated with the Cyclic epics.

the famous judge.[31] If Lesches has any relevance here at all,[32] the only possibility I see is that someone was reminded of him by the verses

Μοῦσά μοι ἔννεπε κεῖνα τὰ μήτ' ἐγένοντο πάροιθεν
μήτ' ἔσται μετόπισθεν.[33]

The *Certamen* version (97 f.) has

Μοῦσ' ἄγε μοι, τά τ' ἐόντα τά τ' ἐσσόμενα πρό τ' ἐόντα,
τῶν μὲν μηδὲν ἄειδε, σὺ δ' ἄλλης μνῆσαι ἀοιδῆς.

The riddle is produced by inversion of the phrase τά τ' ἐόντα τά τ' ἐσσόμενα πρό τ' ἐόντα, which was used in early poetry, and specifically in connection |[440] with the Muses' power.[33] Possibly it or something like it was used in an invocation of the Muses in one of the poems ascribed to Lesches, the *Little Iliad* or *Iliou Persis*. A reader jotted Λέσχης in the margin of a copy of Plutarch, near enough to the words προύβαλε μέν, ὥς φασιν, Ὅμηρος for the one name to displace the other.[34]

Another doubtful scrap of evidence for a pre-Alcidamantine contest is the fragment of verse quoted from 'Hesiod' by Philochorus (328 F 212) *ap.* sch. Pind. *Nem.* 2. 1 (iii. 31. 7 Dr.) in support of the derivation of ῥαψωιδός from ῥάπτειν τὴν ᾠδήν:

ἐν Δήλωι τότε πρῶτον ἐγὼ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἀοιδοί
μέλπομεν, ἐν νεαροῖς ὕμνοις ῥάψαντες ἀοιδήν,
Φοῖβον Ἀπόλλωνα χρυσάορον, ὃν τέκε Λητώ.
(Hes. fr. spur. 337 M.–W.)

Here we have Hesiod speaking of a contest with Homer, not at Chalcis as in all other accounts, but at Delos, where they each sang a hymn to Apollo. τότε πρῶτον (or, with Paulson, τὸ πρῶτον) implies that there was then a later contest somewhere else. The origin of the fragment is difficult to determine. It cannot have come from one of the poems generally attributed to Hesiod, or there could never have been a debate about which poet was earlier, and the Delian contest would have been famous. Alcidamas presumably did not

[31] Alcidamas (Petrie papyrus); Philostratus, *Heroic.* p. 318; Tz. *vit. Hes.*; Apostolius 14. 11 (*Paroem. Gr.* ii. 606. 20) Πανίδου ψῆφος· ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμαθῶς ψηφιζομένων.

[32] For the original one might conjecture ἔννεπε ἔργα, after *Hymn. Aphr.* 1.

[33] Hes. *Th.* 38, shortened in 32; cf. *Il.* 1. 70, [Hes.] fr. 204. 113, orac. *ap.* Diod. 9. 3. 2, Solon 3. 15, Eur. *Hel.* 14.

[34] A similar suggestion in Bergk, *Analecta Alexandrina* (Progr. Marburg 1846), i. 22 n.

know it, or he would have set his contest at Delos instead of basing it on the *Works and Days* passage (650–60), where Homer is not mentioned. The poem Philochorus saw seems to have been a fairly recent forgery in which Hesiod (contradicting the *Works and Days*, where he said he had never crossed the sea except when he went to Chalcis) told of two contests: an earlier one at Delos, at which Homer defeated him with the *Hymn to Apollo*, which according to *Cert.* §18, line 320, was inscribed on a λεύκωμα and dedicated in the temple of Artemis, and the later one at Chalcis, in which Hesiod got his revenge and dedicated the famous inscribed tripod to the Muses. The poem seems never to have had a wide circulation, and it disappeared early. We have no reason to think that it existed before Alcidamas.[35]

There remains the quotation in Aristophanes' *Peace* (1282–3) of the joke lines

> ὣς οἳ μὲν δαίνυντο βοῶν κρέα καὐχένας ἵππων
> ἔκλυον ἱδρώοντας ἐπεὶ πολέμου ἐκόρεσθεν.

They appear (with two variants) in *Cert.* 107–8, as the first of a series of couplets or triplets in which Hesiod recites an apparently absurd verse which Homer has to restore to sense by supplying a suitable continuation. This seems to have been a recognized type of party game;[54] but riddles of this sort are more easily repeated than created, and if Alcidamas invented the contest between Homer and Hesiod, it would be natural for him to use those that were current. There is nothing to suggest that Aristophanes associated the lines with Homer and Hesiod. There is another indication that Alcidamas used pre-existing lines in this section, and in a new context. In his narrative, Hesiod sets the puzzles I[441] and Homer answers them. But through a misunderstanding he has included some double riddles, in which both speakers have to solve a puzzle.

121–3	A.	δεῖπνον δειπνήσαντες ἐνὶ σποδῶι αἰθαλοέσσηι
	B.	σύλλεγον ὀστέα λευκὰ Διὸς κατατεθνηῶτος
	A (or C).	παιδὸς ὑπερθύμου Σαρπηδόνος ἀντιθέοιο.

[35] The phrase ῥάψαντες ἀοιδήν may seem to have an early ring, but is rather a poetic archaizing equivalent of ῥαψωιδεῖν as used in *Cert.* §5, lines 55–6 ποιήσαντα γὰρ τὸν Μαργίτην Ὅμηρον περιέρχεσθαι κατὰ πόλιν ῥαψωιδοῦντα; §17, lines 286–7 ἐκεῖθεν δὲ παραγενόμενος εἰς Κόρινθον ἐρραψώιδει τὰ ποιήματα.

124–6	A.	ἡμεῖς δ' ἅμ πεδίον Σιμοέντιον ἤμενοι αὖτως
	B.	ἴομεν ἐκ νηῶν ὁδὸν ἀμφ' ὤμοισιν ἔχοντες[36]
	A (or C).	φάσγανα κωπήεντα καὶ αἰγανέας δολιχαύλους.
133–7	A.	τοῖσιν δ' Ἀτρεΐδης μεγάλ' εὔχετο πᾶσιν ὀλέσθαι
	B.	μηδέποτ' ἐν πόντωι, καὶ φωνήσας ἔπος ηὔδα·
		ἐσθίετ' ὦ ξεῖνοι καὶ πίνετε, μηδέ τις ὑμῶν
		οἴκαδε νοστήσειε φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν
	A (or C).	πημανθείς, ἀλλ' αὖτις ἀπήμονες οἴκαδ' ἵκοισθε.

Alcidamas evidently thought that only the last line of these contained the answer to a puzzle, even if the introductory words 105–6 ἔστιν οὖν ὁ μὲν πρῶτος (στίχος) Ἡσιόδου, ὁ δὲ ἑξῆς Ὁμήρου, ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ διὰ δύο στίχων τὴν ἐπερώτησιν ποιουμένου τοῦ Ἡσιόδου should not go back to his version. Particularly significant is the third riddle quoted, 133–7. It is the last of the series, and the narrative proceeds πρὸς πάντα δὲ τοῦ Ὁμήρου καλῶς ἀπαντήσαντος πάλιν φησὶν ὁ Ἡσίοδος κτλ. 137 must in view of this be attributed to Homer, and 134–6 to Hesiod; but 133 must also be Hesiod's.[37] Alcidamas has therefore, in a scene in which one poet only is on trial, used verses that were not designed for such a situation.

We are left with no evidence for a contest between Homer and Hesiod before Alcidamas. The motif of a contest between poets, seers, etc., is old;[55] we have the contest between Calchas and Mopsus in the Hesiodic *Melampodia* (fr. 278 M.–W.), and that between Aeschylus and Euripides in the *Frogs*.[38] It was natural that one between Hesiod and Homer should be invented when they emerged as the two great names in early epic. But by whom? A comedian might be one answer; but the case of Aeschylus and Euripides in the *Frogs* had a topical relevance which a comparison of Homer and Hesiod could never attain, apart from the fact that tragedy is a more regular object of comic parody than epic. Allen and Kirk have

[36] I do not understand this. ἅμ πεδίον needs a verb of motion, so that 124 is a paradox; but 125 fails to account for ἤμενοι αὖτως (οὕτως cod.). Barnes conjectured that a line has fallen out after 124.

[37] So Rzach. The only alternative is Busse's division (*Rh. Mus.* 64 (1909), 115 n. 1): A. 133, B. 134 μηδέποτ' ἐν πόντωι, A. καὶ φωνήσας to 136, B. 137. But the division of the line between two speakers is surely unacceptable. The first paradox must be answered with at least one complete line.

[38] Cf. E. Rohde, *Kl. Schr.* i. 103 f.; L. Radermacher, *Aristophanes' Frösche* (*Sitz.-Ber. d. Wien. Ak.* 198/4, 1921), 30; F. Dornseiff, *Gnomon* 20 (1944), 139.

proposed the Homeridai, who certainly told stories about Homer's life.[39] But there is a serious obstacle to this view in that the Lives of Homer, which must ultimately derive from these stories, know nothing of the contest with Hesiod; nor are the Homeridai likely to have spread the story of Homer's defeat by another poet. Eustathius or his source is probably referring to the Lives when he writes (*in Hom.* 4. 38) *εἰ δὲ καὶ ἤρισεν Ὅμηρος Ἡσιόδῳ τῷι Ἀσκραίωι καὶ ἡττήθη, ὅπερ ὄκνος τοῖς Ὁμηρίδαις καὶ λέγειν*. No, it is difficult to imagine a likelier kind of writer to have invented the contest than a sophist.

[442]

The judgment of Panedes

It is time now to analyse the contest with a view to determining Alcidamas' aim. Hesiod begins by asking Homer *τί φέρτατόν ἐστι βροτοῖσι*; Homer replies with the two lines

ἀρχὴν μὲν μὴ φῦναι ἐπιχθονίοισιν ἄριστον,
φύντα δ' ὅπως ὤκιστα πύλας Ἀΐδαο περῆσαι,

which Stobaeus quotes as from Alcidamas' *Mouseion* but which appear with added pentameters in the Theognidea and are no doubt fairly early.[40] Then Hesiod asks the almost identical question *τί θνητοῖς κάλλιστον*; (so the papyrus; or *τί θνητοῖσιν ἄριστον*;), and Homer replies in the words of Odysseus, *Od.* 9. 6–11. That is the first round, and it is based on old verses. Secondly, Hesiod asks for a song that refers to events of neither past, present, nor future, and Homer replies with the negative prophecy

οὐδέποτ' ἀμφὶ Διὸς τύμβωι καναχήποδες ἵπποι
ἅρματα συντρίψουσιν ἐρίζοντες περὶ νίκης.

This may have been a traditional riddle, like the paradox verses to which Hesiod proceeds thirdly and which I have already mentioned. Fourthly, he asks how many Greeks went to Troy with Agamemnon,

[39] Pl. *Rep.* 599e, Isoc. 10. 65.

[40] Alcidamas wrote an essay in praise of death (Cic. *Tusc.* 1. 116, Menander Rhet. i p. 32. 17 Russell–Wilson, Tz. *Hist.* 11. 740 ff.), and these verses may have made a particular impression on him.

and Homer answers with lines which may conceivably have come from a Cyclic epic.[41]

So far Alcidamas has presented Homer with a ragbag of tests and puzzles, all probably traditional, and seems to be aiming at nothing more than entertainment. Now there is a change. Hesiod starts once again asking questions like 'What is best for men?' But this time there is a series of eight questions, and the questions and answers are much more sophistic; they reek of the late fifth or early fourth century, and may be Alcidamas' own composition. The contest has moved on to a more serious plane. And now, as the crowd applauds Homer's display and clamours for him to be crowned victor, Panedes steps in and sets the final decisive test: each must recite the finest piece (*τὸ κάλλιστον*) of his poetry. The passages that Alcidamas selects (*Op.* 383 ff.;[42] *Il.* 13. 126–33 + 339–44) are indeed fine; but they are clearly chosen so as to embody what he wished to [443] represent as most characteristic of and peculiar to the two poets. The 'sophistic' questions that Homer has answered imply the idea that a poet is to be judged by what he can contribute to the community; he was asked, for example

πῶς ἂν ἄριστ' οἰκοῖντο πόλεις καὶ ἐν ἤθεσι ποίοις;[43]

Aristophanes had already said, through Aeschylus' mouth, what Hesiod and Homer were thought to be good for (*Frogs* 1032–6):

[41] They are of the same sort as *Il.* 2. 123 ff., [Hes.] fr. 304 M.–W. The irrelevant note that follows in the manuscript, *τοῦτο δὲ εὑρίσκεται πλῆθος ἄπιστον κτλ.*, is clearly interpolated. It is incomplete at the end, possibly because of damage to a lower margin in which it was written.

[42] In the manuscript the quotation ends rather abruptly at 392, with *γυμνὸν δ' ἀμάειν, ὅταν ὥρια πάντα πέλωνται*, where the actual text of Hesiod proceeds *γυμνὸν δ' ἀμάειν εἴ χ' ὥρια πάντ' ἐθέλῃσθα* | *ἔργα κομίζεσθαι Δημήτερος κτλ.* But originally the extract may have gone on to 404, since Philostratus, *Heroic.* p. 318, says *ἐπὶ Ὁμηρόν τέ φασι καὶ Ἡσίοδον, ὅτε δὴ ἆισαι ἄμφω ἐν Χαλκίδι τὸν μὲν τὰ ἑπτὰ (?) ἔπη τὰ περὶ τοῦν Λιάντοιν καὶ ὡς αἱ φάλαγγες αὐτοῖς ἀραρυῖαί τε ἦσαν καὶ καρτεραί, τὸν δὲ τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ Πέρσην, ἐν οἷς αὐτὸν ἔργων τε ἐκέλευσεν ἅπτεσθαι καὶ γεωργίαι προσκεῖσθαι, ὡς μὴ δέοιτο ἑτέρων μηδὲ πεινώιη*. This seems to be not a vague account of the contents of the *Works and Days* but a particular reference to the lines *ἐργάζευ, νήπιε Πέρση,* | *ἔργα, τά τ' ἀνθρώποισι θεοὶ διετεκμήραντο,* | *μή ποτε σὺν παίδεσσι γυναικί τε θυμὸν ἀχεύων* | *ζητεύῃς βίοτον κατὰ γείτονας, οἳ δ' ἀμελῶσι·* | *. . . ἀλλά σ' ἄνωγα* | *φράζεσθαι χρειῶν τε λύσιν λιμοῦ τ' ἀλεωρήν* (397–404). Cf. Tzetzes, *Vit. Hes.* p. 49. 6 Wil. *Ἡσίοδος δὲ τῶν Ἡλιάδων Ἀτλαγενέων ἐπιτελλομενάων ἀπάρχεται καὶ ὁμοίως Ὁμήρωι προβαίνει μέχρι πολλοῦ τῶν ἐπῶν*, and Nietzsche (as n. 4), 530, 532.

[43] For this criterion of art cf. Ar. *Ran.* 1420 ff., Alcid. *Soph.* 9, 26, 27, Isoc. 2. 43.

Ὀρφεὺς μὲν γὰρ τελετάς θ' ἡμῖν κατέδειξε φόνων τ' ἀπέχεσθαι, Μουσαῖος δ' ἐξακέσεις τε νόσων καὶ χρησμούς, Ἡσίοδος δέ γῆς ἐργασίας, καρπῶν ὥρας, ἀρότους· ὁ δὲ θεῖος Ὅμηρος ἀπὸ τοῦ τιμὴν καὶ κλέος ἔσχεν πλὴν τοῦδ', ὅτι χρήστ' ἐδίδαξεν, τάξεις, ἀρετάς, ὁπλίσεις ἀνδρῶν;

These are just the things that Alcidamas picks on. The judgment of Panedes comes down to a choice between peace and war. The crowd is delighted by the verses of Homer, but the king awards the victory to Hesiod.

According to Vogt,[44] the account of the contest shows a marked bias in favour of Homer; and in this he finds a striking manifestation of Alcidamas' preference for the extempore over the premeditated speech, as shown in *Soph.*[45] This interpretation is, I believe, mistaken. There is no suggestion in the whole narrative that Homer is contrasted with Hesiod as an improviser against a lucubrator, and no reference to Homer in *Soph.* It is Hesiod who wins the prize, not Homer, and it is no good saying that he wins it only through the perversity of the adjudicator (Vogt, 199, 201, al.); there is not a word to suggest that the decision was unjust.[46] The story belongs to a type much favoured by the Greeks, in which a man does the opposite of what is expected and justifies himself with an original and by no means contemptible analysis of the situation, expressed in epigrammatic form. It is true that by any other criterion Homer deserves to win. He passes every test except the last. But this does not mean that the narrator really wishes he could win. It is preparation for the final surprise assessment, and like the crowd's acclamation of Homer it makes the final assessment all the more telling.

Hesiod is the poet of peace; therefore, according to Alcidamas, Homer must concede him the prize. Yet someone else in antiquity, while characterizing Homer and Hesiod in terms of the same antithesis, assessed their worth in the opposite sense. According to Plutarch,[47] *Κλεομένης ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδεω τὸν μὲν Ὅμηρον*

[44] *Rh. Mus.* 102 (1959), 199, 201, al.

[45] So already Nietzsche (as n. 4), 539f.

[46] There is in Lucian (*Vera hist.* 2. 22), Philostratus, and Apostolius (as n. 31), but that is not relevant. To ignore the original point of the story would be typical of the Second Sophistic. The phrase recorded by Apostolius is probably drawn from a writer of that period, though not from the Philostratus passage as some have thought.

[47] *Apophth. Lac.* 223a; cf. Ael. *VH* 13. 19.

Λακεδαιμονίων εἶναι ποιητὴν ἔφη, τὸν δὲ Ἡσίοδον τῶν εἱλωτῶν· τὸν μὲν γὰρ ὡς πολεμεῖν, τὸν δὲ ὡς χρὴ γεωργεῖν παρηγγελκέναι. Is this disagreement unconnected with the fact that in the 360s Alcidamas upheld the independence of the Messenians, and peace, while others argued that Sparta might justifiably re-enslave them through war?[48] The opinion ascribed to Cleomenes looks suspiciously like a reply to Alcidamas.

[444]

II. THE COMPILER

The Antonine compiler took from Alcidamas a narrative comprising

1. Oracle to Homer.
2. Contest.
3. Oracle to Hesiod.
4. Hesiod's death.
5. Homer's death.

In Alcidamas this formed a substantial part of an essay on Homer, which served as the introduction to a collection about various poets. The compiler discarded the rhetorical framework and combined the narrative with material from other sources.

§1, lines 1–8. Introduction

The treatise begins *Ὅμηρον καὶ Ἡσίοδον τοὺς θειοτάτους ποιητὰς πάντες ἄνθρωποι πολίτας ἰδίους εὔχονται λέγεσθαι.* This is so obviously inappropriate to Hesiod that the compiler must be suspected of having taken from a Life of Homer the sentence *Ὅμηρον τὸν θειότατον ποιητὴν πάντες ἄνθρωποι πολίτην ἴδιον εὔχονται λέγεσθαι* and simply adapted it to his own work.[49] He immediately contradicts himself by continuing *ἀλλ' Ἡσίοδος μὲν τὴν ἰδίαν ὀνομάσας πατρίδα πάντας τῆς φιλονικίας ἀπήλλαξεν, εἰπὼν ὡς ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ*

[48] Cf. Busse (as n. 37), 119; Dornseiff (as n. 38), 137. The *Μεσσηνιακὸς λόγος*, mentioned more than once by Aristotle, seems to have been among Alcidamas' most important works.

[49] *θεῖος* is particularly used of Homer: *Cert.* lines 214, 309, 338, Ar. *Ran.* 1033, [Plut.] *Cons. Apoll.* 104d, Tz. *Exeg. in Il.* p. 7. 26, etc.

εἵσατο δ' ἄγχ' Ἑλικῶνος ὀϊζυρῇι ἐνὶ κώμηι,
Ἀσκρηι, χείμα κακῆι, θέρει ἀργαλέηι, οὐδέποτ' ἐσθλῆι.

Ὅμηρον δὲ πᾶσαι ὡς εἰπεῖν αἱ πόλεις καὶ οἱ ἔποικοι αὐτῶν παρ' αὑτοῖς γεγενῆσθαι λέγουσιν. That this goes back direct to an earlier source appears from its agreement with Velleius 1. 7. 1 (*Hesiodus*) *qui uitauit ne in id quod Homerus incideret, patriamque et parentes testatus est.* A similar remark is made by Proclus, *Vita*, lines 4–8 Severyns, Ὅμηρος μὲν οὖν τίνων γονέων ἢ ποίας ἐγένετο πατρίδος οὐ ῥάιδιον ἀποφήνασθαι· οὔτε γὰρ αὐτός τι λελάληκεν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ οἱ περὶ αὐτοῦ εἰπόντες συμπεφωνήκασιν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν ῥητῶς ἐμφαίνειν περὶ τούτων τὴν ποίησιν αὐτοῦ μετὰ πολλῆς ἀδείας ἕκαστος οἷς ἐβούλετο ἐχαρίσατο.[50] There are other points of contact between Velleius and Proclus,[51] and the same source evidently lies behind both.[52] We may accept that it was also used by the *Certamen* compiler.

§2, lines 8–17. Homer's birthplace

A different source must be postulated for the section that follows, in which three alternative birthplaces for Homer are given, each with an argument: Smyrna, Chios, Colophon. No authors are named; it is Σμυρναῖοι . . . φασί . . . Χῖοι δὲ πάλιν . . . Κολοφώνιοι δέ . . ., but all must be taken from literary I[445] sources.[52] The absence of any reference to Ios (Aristotle), Athens (Aristarchus), and the various minor claimants that proliferate in some of the Lives, suggests a fairly early, perhaps fourth-century date for this source. The manner of presentation suggests a historian.[53] The source of Velleius and Proclus would seem to be later, since the chronology of the second-century scholars appears in both. Besides, the Velleius–Proclus source that made the remark about Homer's blindness cannot have gone on to cite, as if it were a reasonable theory, the opinion that Homer (*né* Melesigenes) changed his name to Homer when he became blind.[54]

§3, lines 18–43. Homer's parentage

This section begins oddly: 'About his parents there is again much disagreement among all authorities. Hellanicus and Cleanthes say *it was* Maion, Eugaion says Meles,' etc. A list of fathers only, mostly with named authorities. And then, 'As for his mother, some say it was Metis', etc. a list with no authorities named. In fact the list of mothers belongs with the list of fathers, as we see if we put them in parallel columns.[57]

Authority	*Father*	*Mother*
1. Hellanicus, Cleanthes (or Neanthes)	Maion	Metis
2. Eugaion	Meles	Kretheis
3. Callicles	†Masagoras	Themiste
4. Democrines of Troezen	Alemon	Hyrnetho
5. 'some'	Thamyras	An Ithacesian sold abroad by Phoenicians
6. 'Egyptians'	Menemachus	Calliope
7. 'some'	Telemachus	Polycaste

1. Cf. *Suda* iii. 525. 2 Adler ὡς δὲ Χάραξ ὁ ἱστορικός (103 F 62), Μαίονος καὶ Εὐμήτιδος [ἢ Μήτιος] μητρός. (ἢ Μητίου (*sic*) ante καὶ Εὐμ. codd., om. W; correxi.)

2. The river Meles and the Κρηθηΐς νύμφη are paired in all the Lives [and in *Cert.* §2, where the Smyrnaeans are cited as the source].

[50] Cf. also Luc. *Quomodo historia conscribenda* 14, [Plut.] Vita i. 1, Eust. *in Hom.* 4. 18.

[51] Vell. 1. 5. 3 *quem si quis caecum genitum putat, omnibus sensibus orbus est* ~ Procl. lines 47–9 (cf. also Luc. *Vera Hist.* 2. 20); Vell. ibid. *hic longius a temporibus belli quod composuit Troici quam quidam rentur abfuit, nam ferme ante annos DCCCCL floruit, intra mille natus est* ~ Procl. lines 58–63; Vell. 1. 7. 1 *huius temporibus aequalis Hesiodus fuit, circa CXX annos distinctus ab Homeri aetate* ~ Procl. lines 50–7. Velleius' chronological framework comes from Apollodorus via Nepos: F. Jacoby, *Apollodors Chronik* (Berlin 1902), 101 ff.; A. Dihle, *RE* viiiA. 642 f. Cf. E. Rohde, *Rh. Mus.* 36 (1881), 551–2 = *Kl. Schr.* i. 87–8.

[52] The Smyrnaeans' story that Homer was so named after he became blind comes from Ephorus (70 F 1), who made Homer of Cymaean stock but born in Smyrna. The Chian claim based on the Chian Homeridai may have come in Hellanicus (4 F 20); though the Roman Life (p. 432 West), does not name him among the authorities for Homer's Chian origin, it names Damastes (5 F 11), Anaximenes (72 F 30), Pindar (fr. 264), and Theocritus ἐν τοῖς ἐπιγράμμασιν (*sc.* ἄλλος ὁ Χῖος; cf. *Idyll* 7. 47). The Colophonian claim was made by the Colophonians Antimachus and Nicander.

[53] Alcidamas is not likely. He referred somewhere to Homer's not being a Chian (Arist. *Rhet.* 1398b12), and the oracle given to Homer before the contest makes Ios the homeland of his mother.

[54] Proclus cites it, but in an earlier section of his Life, from a different source.

3. Callicles made Homer a Cyprian from Salamis (*Vita Romana* 2 p. 432 West); the Cyprians who claimed Homer as theirs called his mother Themisto (Paus. 10. 24. 3). Cf. *FGrHist* 758 F 13, and for the father's name A. S. F. Gow–D. L. Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams* (Cambridge 1965), ii. 27.

4. All the names in this row are emended from other sources; the manuscript gives *Δημόκριτος, Δαήμονα, Εὐγνηθώ*.[58] I have found no direct evidence for Hyrnetho's being Alemon's wife.

5/6. The mothers have been transposed. Menemachus is described as *ἱερο*[446]*γραμματεύς*. An Egyptian origin for Homer, with different parents, in Eust. *Od.* 1713. 17 ff., who names Alexander of Paphos (unknown) as his source.

7. The last pair as in the oracle given to Hadrian, which the compiler records a little later. It is clear that in the source the mothers and fathers were united: *περὶ δὲ τῶν γονέων αὐτοῦ . . . Ἑλλάνικος μὲν γὰρ καὶ Κλεάνθης Μαίονα λέγουσι καὶ Μῆτιν, Εὐγαίων δὲ Μέλητα καὶ Κρηθηίδα νύμφην*, and so on. The compiler has separated them, presumably with the idea that two lists look more learned than one, and has not covered his traces by substituting 'father' for 'parents' in the first sentence.

The source here used knows writers who make Homer a Cypriot, Egyptian, or Ithacesian, and is therefore not the same as the source of the preceding section. And as it has hardly anything in common with Proclus' Life, it seems not to be the same as the source of the section before that either. It is probably the Life from which the opening sentence was adapted, for it is hardly likely that the compiler took just the one sentence from this source and made no further use of it, and we shall not find another section that it is possible to attribute to it. The content of the present section sufficiently suits the promise of the opening sentence. The same source probably also supplied what follows the parent-lists, lines 27–32: the information about Melesigenes and the change of name due either to Homer's being given as a hostage by the Cypriots (presumably the explanation of Callicles) or to his becoming blind (Ephorus). And then the compiler himself adds the piece about the oracle given to Hadrian (lines 32–43).

§§4–14, lines 44–253. Relationship of Homer and Hesiod; the contest; Hesiod's death

Hesiod now comes back into view. *ἔνιοι μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν προγενέστερον Ἡσιόδου φασὶν εἶναι, τινὲς δὲ νεώτερον καὶ συγγενῆ. γενεαλογοῦσι δὲ οὕτως*. There follows a version of that genealogy, running from Apollo via Linus and Orpheus down to Homer and Hesiod, stretches of which in varying forms appear in several Lives, attributed to Stesimbrotus, Hellanicus, Pherecydes, Damastes, Ephorus, or Charax.[55] The *Certamen* agrees most closely with the version of the *Suda*, for which the authority quoted is Charax. Of the three sources we have postulated so far, only the Velleius–Proclus source, which decidedly made Homer earlier than Hesiod and denied that they were kinsmen (Proclus, lines 50–3 S.), seems to be ruled out.

The compiler now turns to Alcidamas' narrative. This of course presupposes that Hesiod and Homer were contemporaries. He therefore begins *τινὲς δὲ συνακμάσαι φασὶν αὐτοὺς ὥστε καὶ ἀγωνίσασθαι ὁμόσε ἐν Αὐλίδι τῆς Βοιωτίας*. Alcidamas takes us to §14, line 239,[56] the point where Eratosthenes' account of Hesiod's death is added.

§§15–18, lines 254–338. The rest of Homer's life

In the last sections we have narrative about Homer, part of which comes from Alcidamas (Homer's death: Michigan papyrus), but much of which must come from elsewhere. Homer goes round Greece reciting his poems, beginning l[447] with the *Thebais* and *Epigonoi*.[57] To the titles are appended, very oddly, details taken from a library catalogue: the length of each poem in lines (not, as usual,

[55] Set out conveniently by Allen (as n. 12), facing p. 32. Cf. Rohde, *Rh. Mus.* 36 (1881), 385 ff. = *Kl. Schr.* i. 6 ff.

[56] On the way he reveals some ideas of his own about the poets' parentage which are inconsistent with the information in §§1–4. Hesiod is son of Dios (156), as in the Ephorus–Charax stemma, but Homer is son of Meles (75, 151) and of a mother who comes from Ios (59).

[57] He had done the *Margites* before the contest, line 55. In line 260 the words *φασὶ γάρ τινες καὶ ταῦτα Ὁμήρου εἶναι* are evidently interpolated; they cannot have been written by a man who has just stated as a fact that Homer did recite these among his poems.

in books, perhaps because this would be inappropriate in the context) and the first line. The sons of Midas are so impressed by these compositions that they invite Homer to write an epitaph for their father, which he does. They reward him with a silver cup, which he dedicates to Apollo at Delphi, composing a suitable inscription. The story is parallel to that about Hesiod's tripod (invitation by sons of a dead king, prize, dedication, inscription), and may on the strength of this be attributed to Alcidamas, whose tendency to fit Homer and Hesiod into a similar story-pattern (oracle, death, epitaph) has already been noticed. The same story appears later in the Herodotean Life.

Homer *next* composes the *Odyssey* (12,000 lines), *having already* composed the *Iliad* (15,500 lines).—It is put in this odd way, I suppose, because Homer has already recited verses from the *Iliad* in the contest. But if Alcidamas had mentioned the composition of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in his narrative, he would surely have done it less awkwardly. Here the compiler seems to be at work.

Then a series of stops at different places:

Athens. Entertained by King Medon. Composes epigram *ἀνδρὸς μὲν στέφανος.*[58]

Corinth. Recites poems and is greatly honoured.[59]

Argos. Recites lines from the Catalogue of Ships about Argos (560 ff.) and is greatly honoured: among other things, a sacrifice is to be sent to Chios every fifth year.[60]

Delos. Recites *Hymn to Apollo* (again identified by its first line). The Ionians make him a *πολίτης κοινός*, and the hymn is inscribed on a plaque and dedicated in the temple of Artemis.

[58] In the Herodotean Life and the *Suda* this is composed at Samos.

[59] The explanation of this uneventful visit seems to be as follows. Aristarchus was troubled by Homer's use of *Κόρινθος* besides the 'older' name *Ἔφυρη*, and found it necessary to explain to his students that Homer used it *ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου προσώπου*, speaking in his own person (sch. A *Il.* 2. 570, cf. 6. 152, 210, 13. 301). Even Velleius thinks this worth saying, 1. 3. 3. Homer is therefore made to visit Corinth, in this account, simply to make sure that he is acquainted with the place.

[60] Homer's celebration of *Ἀργεῖοι* attracted attention early. Cleisthenes of Sicyon banned the recitation of Homer in Sicyon because of it (Hdt. 5. 67. 1). In the Herodotean Life §28, line 378 Allen, before Homer sets sail from Ionia for the mainland, he notices that he has eulogized Argos frequently but not Athens, and therefore inserts a few passages in praise of Athens. Philochorus actually made Homer an Argive (328 F 209), probably because of the Argive references (Jacoby *ad loc.*).

It is to be observed that none of these places is in Asia Minor. But there is no suggestion that Homer is not an Ionian (the Argive section indeed implies that he came from Chios, and so does the inclusion of the Delian Hymn). On the contrary, the point of the whole section is to account for certain references in Homer that seemed out of place in an Ionian poet, while fitting in the production of the known poems. The Herodotean Life shows a similar tendency, though it contains a much fuller collection of occasional poems and gives a different account of Homer's movements: he never reaches mainland Greece, but falls ill on the way to Athens and has to stay on Ios.

It is hard to see why such an exercise should have interested Alcidamas, and I[448] other things militate against his being the source for this section: the awkward mention of the composition of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (above), the pinax-type descriptions of the poems, and the fact that it makes Homer a Chian, which Alcidamas said he was not.[61] This conclusion has a satisfying consequence: all that is left to Alcidamas, after the episode with the sons of Midas, is the final section about Homer's death, and this completes the parallel between Homer's history and Hesiod's. Each poet, after winning a prize from the sons of a dead king and dedicating it with an inscription, meets his death in a place foretold by an oracle and is buried with a suitable epitaph.

The rest comes from a Life, of the dogmatic Herodotean type, not of the sort that offers alternative possibilities, and therefore not the same as either of the sources used in §§2–3. Nor can it be identified with the Velleius–Proclus source in §1, for this, since it denied that Homer was blind, must have denied that the Delian Hymn was by him.[62] It may be the same as the source used for the genealogy in §4;[63] that must have given some account of Homer's origin, and the compiler seems to have used everything to hand. It is in favour of this hypothesis that just after §4, at the point where the contest narrative is joined on, Homer is found going round reciting the *Margites*; it is because he is 'on tour' that he has the opportunity to visit Delphi. This detail resembles and supplements what we find in §§15–18, and

[61] Above, n. 53.

[62] The statement that it was foisted on him by Cynaethus (sch. Pind. *Nem.* 2. 1) may have originated from this or a related source.

[63] Unless it insisted that Homer was *born* in Chios—the genealogy implies birth at Smyrna.

The portions of text represented in the first four columns are too short for the figures to be of much significance, though the variations are marked. It is of more interest to compare E and F. Hiatus of the kinds more freely admitted l^{450} in formal prose occurs with very similar frequency in both; other hiatus much less in F than in E. This will be clearer if the figures are reduced to a mean frequency per 100 lines:

	E	F
After *καί* or article	25.0	24.4
At end of colon	9.4	8.5
Other	37.5	18.3

The combined figures for ABCDGE resemble those for E, except that hiatus after *καί* or the article is found less than in the pure narrative sections.

The figures suggest that Alcidamas, though not as strict in the genial narrative of the *Mouseion* as in *Soph.*, did admit comparatively little serious hiatus. Some or all of the apparent examples may have arisen through changes of word order and other accidents of the transmission. I have not found any of them difficult to eliminate.[64]

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

1. For more recent studies see G. L. Koniaris, *HSCP* 75 (1971), 107–29; N. J. Richardson, *CQ* 31 (1981), 1–10; K. Heldmann, *Die Niederlage Homers im Dichterwettstreit mit Hesiod* (Hypomnemata 75, Göttingen 1982). I edited and translated the work in my Loeb *Homeric Hymns, Homeric Apocrypha, Lives of Homer* (Cambridge, Mass. 2003), 318–53, with introduction on pp. 297–300.
2. Basil Mandilaras has published a papyrus of the second century BCE which relates the death of Hesiod in almost exactly the same words as *Cert.* §14 lines 226–35.[65] This provides further proof that parts of the *Certamen* were lifted from an older source, and it is consistent with my argument that the narrative of Hesiod's death came from Alcidamas. The new papyrus, like the Flinders Petrie papyrus, may be assumed to be a fragment from the *Mouseion.*
3. It may be worth recalling Hermann's proposal (*Opusc.* vi. 145) to restore the passage as *ἐτράποντο πρὸς τοιαύτας ἐρωτήσεις καὶ λέσχας, καὶ προύβαλεν ὃ μέν, ὥς φασι.*
4. For Indian and Irish parallels see my *Indo-European Poetry and Myth* (Oxford 2007), 73 f.
5. Cf. ibid. 72–4.
6. This source was marked by polemic against Ephorus. Both the argument against Homer's having been blind (n. 51) and what follows in Proclus, the argument against Homer's having been Hesiod's cousin, are directed against positions that Ephorus took.
7. As was seen by Rohde, *Rh. Mus.* 36 (1881), 388 n. 1 = *Kl. Schr.* i. 9 n. 1.
8. The source for 'Democrines', as printed in my table, is the *Vita Romana.* Wilamowitz emended to *Δημήτριος* (= Demetrius Troezenius, *SH* 378).

[64] I will mention only two places where a conjecture may be a positive improvement: §14, line 228 *ὁ γὰρ τόπος οὗτος ἅπας ἐκαλεῖτο Διὸς Νεμείου [ἱερόν]*. §6, lines 64–6 *πάντας τοὺς [ἐπισήμους ἄνδρας] οὐ ῥώμῃ καὶ τάχει μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ σοφίαι <διαφέροντας> ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα . . . συνεκάλεσεν.*

[65] P. Gk. Papyrol. Soc. inv. M2, published in M. Capasso (ed.), *Papiri letterari greci e latini* (*Papyrologica Lupiensia*, 1, 2001), 55–62.

26

The Ascription of Fables to Aesop in Archaic and Classical Greece

The name of Aesop is as widely known as any that has come down from Graeco-Roman antiquity. There must be many people who have heard of the Fables of Aesop but never of Homer or Virgil, Sophocles or Plato. For Europeans, at least, his name is all but synonymous with the ancient animal fable. And yet we scholars have to confess that it is far from certain whether a historical Aesop ever existed. If he did, his life is shrouded in legend, and of his achievements in the realm of fable we can hardly say anything except that he did not invent it. The ancients themselves, at least the rhetoricians and grammarians, were aware of that. Aelius Theon explains that Aesopic fables are so called not because Aesop was the inventor of the type, for Homer, Hesiod, Archilochus, and others who lived earlier than Aesop were evidently acquainted with it, but because he used it extensively and felicitously; just as certain metres are called Aristophanean, Sapphic, and so on, not because those poets were the first or the only ones to use them but because they made the most conspicuous l[106] use of them.[1] When Peisetairos in Aristophanes' *Birds* (651–3) alludes to the fable of the fox and the

La Fable (*Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique* 30, Fondation Hardt, Vandœuvres–Genève 1984), 105–28. The paper was followed by discussion to which F. R. Adrados, R. S. Falkowitz, F. Lasserre, F. P. Knapp, and M. Nøjgaard contributed and of which a polished-up reconstruction was printed on pp. 129–36 of the volume.

[1] *Progymn.* 3, in *Rhet. Gr.* ii. 73 Spengel. Cf. Hermog. *Progymn.* 1 pp. 1–2 Rabe; Aphthonius, *Progymn.* 1 p. 1 Rabe; Quint. 5. 11. 19; Philostr. *Imag.* 1. 3. 1. There are no animal fables in Homer, but Theon's subject is *μῦθος*, defined as *λόγος ψευδὴς εἰκονίζων ἀλήθειαν* (p. 72. 28). He notes that the early poets generally use the term *αἶνος* (p. 73. 25), so he is very likely thinking of Odysseus' *αἶνος* in *Od.* 14. 462 ff., which is indeed a *λόγος ψευδὴς εἰκονίζων ἀλήθειαν*.

eagle as occurring in the tales of Aesop, the scholiast comments: 'Note that they clearly attributed these tales to Aesop—even this one that is told in Archilochus, despite his being the older.'

We know today that the history of fable does not begin with Hesiod and Archilochus but well over a thousand years earlier, in Sumer. My subject is the position of Aesop in that history. Was there really such a person, a storyteller as resourceful and witty as he was ugly and misshapen, who in Greece in the sixth century BCE exploited the possibilities of the fable so effectively as to give it a new importance for all subsequent generations? It is a question which will lead us to consider such problems as the relationship between the single fable and the collection, the ways in which fables were transmitted in archaic Greece, and the origins of the biographical tradition.

As Theon remarks, the early poets—Homer, Hesiod, Archilochus—apply the term *αἶνος* to the fables or parables that they tell; he explains that this is because they contain *παραίνεσίν τινα*, a measure of advice.[2] We may quibble at his explanation, but he is right to this extent, that the stories in question, at least in those texts which are not too fragmentary for us to judge, are not told merely by way of entertainment (though they are entertaining, and this is their l[107] strength): they are told with the intention of influencing the conduct of a particular person or persons in a particular situation. Hesiod tells the fable of the hawk and the nightingale to the unjust 'kings' as an *αἶνος* which will not be lost on them (*φρονέουσι καὶ αὐτοῖς*). Archilochus tells his fable of the fox and the eagle to Lycambes, who has broken faith with him, as a warning that such behaviour does not go unpunished.[3] In another epode he told the fable of the fox and the monkey to someone addressed (satirically, perhaps) as Kerykides, and to his fellows. We know nothing of the circumstances, but here too the *αἶνος* presumably contained a point specially aimed at these people.[4] The *αἶνος* which Odysseus uses as a hint to Eumaios that he should give him a blanket is of a different sort, and we may wish to exclude it from consideration, but it is certainly relevant to the

[2] *Progymn.* 3 p. 73. 31 ff. *αἶνος δὲ ὅτι καὶ παραίνεσίν τινα περιέχει· ἀναφέρεται γὰρ ὅλον τὸ πρᾶγμα εἰς χρησίμην ὑποθήκην. νῦν μέντοι καὶ τὰ αἰνίγματα αἴνους τινὲς καλοῦσι.* See further my note on Hes. *Op.* 202.

[3] Frr. 172–81 (+ 224?). See *SGEI* 132–4 and *ZPE* 45 (1982), 30 f.

[4] Frr. 185–7 (+ 225?).

meaning of the word αἶνος. It confirms that the idea of a pointed lesson is essential to it.

Karl Meuli, in an important and influential contribution to the subject in 1954, argued that this was the natural and original format of the fable.[5] 'Die ursprüngliche lebendige Fabel' did not exist to convey a universal truth of general application but was rather 'der diplomatische Vermittler einer ganz speziellen, sozusagen akuten Wahrheit, die einen bestimmten Hörer in einem bestimmten Zeitpunkt unmittelbar treffen, im einzelnen konkreten Fall unmittelbar wirken soll'.[6] It was a technique of criticism and per-
l[108]suasion which by its indirectness might avoid giving offence, while at the same time making a powerful impression by its artistry. It was especially valuable to the weak as a weapon against the powerful; but the powerful might also use it as a rebuke or 'put-down' to the weak, as Cyrus is said to have answered the Ionians' overtures following the fall of Sardis with the fable of the piper and the fishes who would not dance for him until they were landed in the net.[7] Meuli believed that Cyrus actually did use this fable, and that the symbolism was suggested to his mind by the Persian practice of going over a conquered territory with a human dragnet to capture every single one of the enemy, as if trawling for fish.[8] For not only fable itself, but its admonitory function was native to the orient. Meuli referred to Aḥiqar and to two αἶνοι of the Homeric type in the Second Book of Samuel (12: 1 ff., 14: 4 ff.), as well as to the later *Pañcatantra*.

In Meuli's view, then, a fable is created *ad hoc* for a concrete situation, or (since not everyone possesses the requisite powers of invention) a pre-existing fable created for a particular situation in the past is re-used whenever a similar situation arises again. At a second stage a quantity of fables come to be attached to a figure such as Aḥiqar or Aesop and are worked into a biographical narrative. Meuli

[5] 'Herkunft and Wesen der Fabel', in *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde* 50 (1954), 65–88 (also issued separately), = *Gesammelte Schriften* (Basel 1975), ii. 731–56. See further Triantaphyllia Karadagli, *Fabel und Ainos. Studien zur griechischen Fabel* (Beiträge zur klass. Phil. 135, Königstein 1981), chapter 1, a work written with all the clarity, charm, and *Erzählfreude* of her teacher Reinhold Merkelbach.

[6] As in n. 5, 77 = 743.

[7] Hdt. 1. 141; repeated without context in *Fab.* 11 Perry, Babr. 9, and in a debased form in Aphthonius, *Fab.* 33.

[8] Hdt. 3. 149, 6. 31; K. Meuli, 'Ein altpersischer Kriegsbrauch', in *Westöstliche Abhandlungen, Rudolf Tschudi zum siebzigsten Geburtstag* (Wiesbaden 1954), 63–86 = *Gesammelte Schriften*, ii. 699 ff. (the fable: 728 f.).

accepts the view of Crusius and others that a *Life of Aesop* existed as a *Volksbuch* as early as the sixth century. The third stage is for fables to be detached from their contexts and gathered in collections as self-sufficient stories with a lesson for everyone.

This is certainly the observed sequence so far as Greek fable is concerned. The individual αἶνος is present in Hesiod l[109] and Archilochus; a biographical legend about Aesop, in which a number of fables were incorporated, was known by the fifth century BCE; the first collection of fables as independent entities was made by Demetrius of Phaleron, unless we count the few that Socrates is said to have versified during his last days in prison.[9] However, it is difficult to believe that every one of all the hundreds of fables that we know from Babrius, the Augustana, and other collections had its origins in an αἶνος devised for some specific occasion. And since Meuli wrote, the picture has been transformed by the progress of Assyriological research. It now appears that the evolution was more complex than he supposed.

One of the very earliest examples of a fable occurs in a Sumerian wisdom poem, the *Instructions of Šuruppag*, which in its oldest form goes back to about 2500 BCE. The antediluvian sage Šuruppag tells his son Zi-ud-sura

> After a man had taken a great ox by the neck,
> He found he could not cross the river.
> After you have consorted with the great men of the city,
> My son, you should be quick to disengage yourself.[10 sl]

Here is a short fable or parable used not in a specific situation but to reinforce a general precept, and attributed to a mythical sage. This example, however, is as far as I know (Mr Falkowitz may correct me) isolated in the Mesopotamian material known hitherto. The typical habitat of the Mesopotamian fable is the proverb collections, or rhetoric collections as Mr Falkowitz calls them—'commonplace l[110] books' would perhaps not be an inappropriate description, for they are miscellanies which include maxims and adages, truisms and

[9] Pl. *Phaed.* 60c–61b; *IEG* ii.[2] 138. I see no reason to doubt the story; why should Plato have invented such a surprising thing, which has no relevance to his argument? He also mentions a *Prooimion to Apollo*; Socrates may have intended this to be the prooimion to his *Aesopica*.

[10] B. Alster (ed.), *The Instructions of Šuruppak* (Copenhagen 1974), lines 194–7. I have modified the translation to make it more idiomatic.

paradoxes, taunts and compliments, wishes and greetings, prayers and anecdotes. Edmund Gordon, who pioneered the study of these texts, was able to write in 1958 (four years after Meuli's paper):

> It is now clear that both the scribes of Sumer in the second millennium B.C. (and perhaps earlier) and their successors in Assyria in the 8th century B.C. included the fable within the category of 'proverbs'.

And in 1960:

> The fables and parables (at least as far as can be judged from the material studied so far) seem to be found always in the milieu of the proverb collections.[11]

Of course, these scholastic compilations are at some remove from real life, the life of popular discourse. The items contained in them presumably had a function outside the collections. A modern dictionary of proverbs would not be the ideal evidence on which to judge the role of the proverb in our culture. And so it is with the Mesopotamian fable. The *Instructions of Šuruppag* give us one indication of its application. After a very long gap in time the story of Aḥiqar provides more evidence of the same sort. There are also occasional examples of proverbs and short fables being quoted for rhetorical purposes, for instance in the Tell el-Amarna letters.[12]

It follows from all this that if we wish to maintain Meuli's view that the first form of the fable is the *αἶνος* tailor-made for the specific addressee in a specific situation, we must go back at least to the third millennium to find this 'original' stage, and our evidence runs out before we reach it. His second and third stages seem to be established I[111] from the beginnings of the literate period. Perhaps the development in Greece from Hesiod to Demetrius repeated a sequence that had been played through in Sumer two thousand years earlier. However that may be, the essential point is that we cannot any longer treat the archaic Greek poets, where they draw on oriental traditions, as if they lived at the beginning of the world.

I do not think anyone now disputes that the fable came to Greece from the orient, in the eighth century BCE if not earlier. We must now address ourselves to the question in what form it came, bearing in mind what we know of the forms in which it was current in

[11] *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 12 (1958), 1; *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 17 (1960), 130.
[12] W. G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (Oxford 1960), 280–2.

the east. Hesiod offers us one fable, and he offers it in a wisdom poem, preceded by two extended myths and followed by a series of admonitions. This wisdom poem, the *Works and Days*, stands in a clear relation to the Near Eastern traditions of wisdom literature, as I have shown in the Prolegomena of my edition following the lead of Dornseiff, Walcot, and others. Šuruppag and Aḥiqar provide evidence for the use of fable in these traditions. It is natural to suppose, therefore, that this was one medium by which fable came to Greece: in the context of wisdom literature.

In this type of tradition fables might have come to be associated with a particular mythical personage. Hesiod's poem is composed in his own persona; but there is evidence for some other early Greek wisdom poetry put in the mouths of legendary instructors such as Chiron and Pittheus,[13] and Near Eastern wisdom is commonly pseudepigraphic. If there happened to be a liberal use of fable in a particular composition, it is possible to imagine fable becoming associated with the person in whose mouth the wisdom was put. Aḥiqar is the nearest approach to this in the extant material. Thus archaic Greek wisdom poetry I[112] might have provided conditions in which a proto-Aesop could have emerged. But this does not seem to have happened.

Another genre in which the fable made itself at home was the Ionian iambos. Archilochus, as we know, used fables in at least two of his epodes; there may have been others, though I regard the attempts to identify others as excessively speculative. Semonides of Amorgos included in a trimeter iambos a fable in which a heron robbed a buzzard of a Maeander eel that it was eating; we do not know the rest of the story, or anything of the context.[14] I may say in passing that I do not believe fr. 13 of the same poet,

> *τὸ δ' ἥμιν ἑρπετὸν παρέπτατο*
> *τὸ ζωΐων κάκιστον ἔκτηται βίον,*

to come from the fable of the eagle and the dung-beetle, as has often been supposed (and indeed asserted as an established fact). It is much more likely to be a detail from a scatological first-person narrative of a type characteristic of the iambos, especially in view of the parallel of Hipponax fr. 92. 10 f.,

[13] See my *Hesiod. Works and Days*, 23–5.
[14] Semon. fr. 9 West = *Fab.* 443 Perry.

κάνθαροι δὲ ῥοιζέοντες
ἦλθον κατ' ὀδμὴν πλέονες ἢ πεντήκοντα.[15]

But when all doubtful instances have been excluded we are still left with three definite examples of fable in the iambographers. It would be surprising if we were so fortunate as to have the only three they ever used, or if they used all the ones they had ever heard. We must suppose that they knew a fair number.

I[113] From whom did they hear them, and in what circumstances? Archilochus gives the only clue when he introduces one of his fables with the words

αἶνός τις ἀνθρώπων ὅδε.

A fable that men tell—not a particular wise man, not the men of a particular nation or region, simply men. The story is current among the people, and not thought of as coming from a particular source, or at any rate not from a source that it is of any moment to specify. The effect is similar when Hesiod introduces the Myth of Ages (which immediately precedes his animal fable) as a λόγος, that is, a story which is not necessarily literally true but which is told and deserves attention. Strictly speaking, an αἶνος ἀνθρώπων should mean a story that men tell for the sake of its rhetorical point. But it is possible that Archilochus means no more than a story that men tell and that he himself intends to use as an αἶνος. Such a story clearly could be told for its entertainment value, without pressing its moral implications, just as one of the classic myths might be told with greater or less emphasis on its moral implications. The fable of the crab and the snake (196 Perry) appears as a self-contained item in the old collection of Attic *skolia* preserved by Athenaeus, *PMG* 892:

ὁ καρκίνος ὧδ' ἔφα
χαλᾶι τὸν ὄφιν λαβών·
"εὐθὺν χρὴ τὸν ἑταῖρον ἔμ-
μεν καὶ μὴ σκολιὰ φρονεῖν."

It is theoretically possible that this, like at least one other item in the collection, was an excerpt from a longer poem.[16] But the fact remains that at the Attic symposium, probably I[114] sometime in the fifth century, it was sung by itself as one of the guests' contributions to the

[15] Cf. *SGEI* 28. Semon. frr. 8 and 17 might have stood in the same context.
[16] See, however, R. Reitzenstein, *Epigramm and Skolion* (Giessen 1893), 19.

εὐφροσύνη and not as a pointed αἶνος. One could no doubt read a political reference into it by assuming an appropriate historical date, but that would be gratuitous. Eustathius interprets it as a moralizing piece inculcating straightforwardness in friendship; but the circumstances in which the crab pronounces this moral make it ironic and deprive it of serious force. It is simply an amusing epigram, approaching the pregnant brevity of Sumerian or Assyrian 'one-liners' such as

A mouse, out of the way of a mongoose, entered a snake's hole. He said, 'A snake-charmer sent me. Greetings!'[17]

It is of so little consequence that it does not require even such an introduction as 'It is said . . .'.

The earliest example in Greek of a fable for which a source is specified is the one related in a fragment of Aeschylus' *Myrmidons* (fr. 139), the tale of what the eagle said on being shot with an arrow flighted with eagle's feathers. The source is not 'Aesop' (and of course it would be impossible for Aesop to be mentioned in a drama set at the time of the Trojan War) but 'the Libyan stories', μῦθοι οἱ Λιβυστικοί. These 'Libyan stories' are mentioned together with οἱ Αἰσώπειοι λόγοι by Aristotle, Quintilian, and others.[18] One or two late sources attempt to define the difference between the two categories, but their statements are contradicted by the material at our disposal. It seems there is no distinction to be drawn as regards content; Aesop and Libya are simply alternative labels. The 'Libyan story' seems originally to have been a fable or apophthegm I[115] put in the mouth of an unspecified Libyan. One such is quoted in the pseudo-Aristotelian *Oeconomica* (1. 6. 3, 1345a4–5): 'The Libyan, being asked what was the best kind of manure, said "the master's footsteps"' (meaning that the best way to promote good crops is for the master to exercise personal supervision). The dictum might just as well have been attributed to Aesop. Theon states that the only distinguishing feature of Λιβυστικοὶ λόγοι is that they are introduced by Λίβυς ἀνὴρ εἶπεν.[19] At a certain stage, however, the Greek taste for named sources and for identifying the πρῶτος εὑρετής

[17] Lambert (as in n. 12), 217; the lines 'illustrate presence of mind' (ibid. 338).
[18] B. E. Perry (ed.), *Aesopica* (Urbana, Ill. 1952), testt. 64, 87–92, 101; A. Hausrath, *RE* vi. 1719 f.
[19] *Progymn.* 3, ii. 73. 1–7 Sp.

led to the nomination of a particular individual, one Kybissos or Kybisses, as the author of the Libyan stories. The Peripatetic Chamaileon appears to have been the first to mention him.[20]

Aeschylus, then, knew a category of 'Libyan stories' and found it natural to include an animal fable among them; we cannot tell whether or not he had heard of Aesop. It was not only Libyans who were a source of amusing and instructive anecdotes: Timocreon of Rhodes is recorded as having used in his poems both a *Καρικὸς αἶνος*, an anecdote about a Carian fisherman's dictum (*PMG* 734; cf. Simon. *PMG* 514 = fr. 3 Poltera), and a *Κύπριος αἶνος*, a story of some pigeons in Cyprus who were destined to be burned alive in honour of Adonis but escaped, only to fall into another fire—Timocreon made pointed use of this in a poem about the banishment of Themistocles, *PMG* 730. Another of his songs began

> A smart Sicilian
> said to his mother . . .

I[116] (*PMG* 732). In Aristophanes' *Wasps* Bdelycleon refers to entertaining stories heard at the symposium, *Αἰσωπικὸν γελοῖον ἢ Συβαριτικόν* (1259). A little later (1427, 1435) Philocleon produces a couple of 'Sybaritic' tales, about what a man or a woman at Sybaris once said in a certain situation. Such stories are said to have already appeared in Epicharmus (fr. 222 K.–A.). Theon is able to name a particular Sybarite, Thouros, as the author of Sybaritic tales; this is exactly parallel to the development we have seen in the case of the Libyan tales, and it is possible that the same Chamaileon was responsible.[21] Another literary romancer, whose theory is preserved in Hesychius, claimed that Aesop travelled to Italy and that the *Συβαριτικοὶ λόγοι* were a local development from the Aesopic.

Theon also mentions Phrygian, Cilician, and Egyptian tales—for the Cilician ones he is again able to identify an author, Konnis—but they seem to be no more than further variations on the convention that a far-fetched anecdote or an apocryphal witticism is ascribed to an inhabitant of a distant country. No doubt particular countries had

[20] Hesych. λ 946 s.v. *Λιβυκοὶ λόγοι* (*κίβυντὸν* cod.; *Κυβισσὸν τὸν Λίβυν* Fabricius). The fragment is missing in the collections of F. Wehrli and D. Giordano, though noted by Alberta Lorenzoni, *Museum Criticum* 13/14 (1978/79), 321 f. See also Perry, *Aesopica*, testt. 63, 65, 89.

[21] Theon, *Progymn.* 3, ii. 73. 18 Sp. For Sybaritic tales see further Hausrath, *RE* vi. 1720 f.

particular associations, as in England a joke about a Scotsman will always be an example of ludicrous meanness, and a joke about an Irishman will always hinge on some marvellous collapse of logic; but we are not in a position to determine them.

It is in the second half of the fifth century that we begin to hear of Aesop. He appears from the beginning not only as an inventor of fables but as a man who had an eventful life and a violent death. Certain fables are associated with occasions in his life when he used them, or tried to use them, for his own ends. Herodotus (2. 134 f.) mentions him I[117] in connection with the famous courtesan Rhodopis, whom he identifies with the Doricha freed by Sappho's brother. Rhodopis, he says, was of Thracian origin. Both she and Aesop the *λογοποιός* were slaves to one Iadmon in Samos. It was another Samian, Xanthes, who took Rhodopis to Egypt. To prove that Aesop was Iadmon's slave, Herodotus adduces the fact that when the Delphians made proclamation that they wished to pay compensation for having (unjustly) taken Aesop's life, no one came forward to claim it except Iadmon's grandson, whose name was also Iadmon.

This is our earliest evidence about Aesop; and it is clear that we are already in the realm of legend. The linking of three notable persons, Aesop, Rhodopis, and Sappho, is suspicious in itself. If there was any justification for identifying the Doricha named by Sappho with Rhodopis, we do not know what it was.[22] The whole story of how the Delphians arraigned Aesop on a false charge and put him to death is, as Anton Wiechers showed, an aetiological myth connected with the pharmakos rite, or at any rate a story so strongly influenced by the pharmakos rite that no kernel of historical fact can be discerned in it; it also appears to be presented as a cause of the First Sacred War.[22] As for Aesop's servitude in Samos, it seems that this rested, at best, on the unsupported assertion of a Samian two generations later, that is, about the end of the sixth century. No one else at that time was able to say anything about the matter. I say 'at best', because there is no guarantee that even the second Iadmon, the grandson, and the Delphic proclamation are historical.

A variant version appears in the epitome of Heraclides Lembus' digest of Aristotle's *Σαμίων πολιτεία*; there is some reason to think that it derives from the fifth-century I[118] Samian historian Euagon or

[22] *Aesop in Delphi* (Beiträge zur Klass. Phil. 2, Meisenheim 1960).

Eugeon, though it may have been garbled in the process.[23] According to this, Aesop was a Thracian (as Herodotus says Rhodopis was). His first master was Xanthes or Xanthos (the man who Herodotus says took Rhodopis to Egypt), and he was set free by Idmon the Deaf—the name obviously corresponds to Herodotus' Iadmon. I suspect that the deafness of Idmon is to be connected with the dumbness of Aesop in the later so-called *Vita Aesopi* (1–5). The story there is that Aesop, in addition to all his other physical disadvantages,[53] was originally dumb, until, while still in the service of his first master (who is not named), he was miraculously cured by Isis. The reason for his dumbness is obvious. It is the essential precondition for the episode in which, falsely accused by two of his fellow-slaves of stealing figs which they have in fact eaten themselves, he succeeds in convicting the culprits without the use of words. He makes himself vomit, and indicates that the others are to be compelled to do likewise, whereupon it is seen where the figs have gone. After this Aesop gets his voice back, because the rest of the narrative depends on his skill with words. Now, to provide the conditions for the story, a deaf master will do as well as a dumb slave. Aesop might use a wordless demonstration not because he could not speak but because his master could not hear. So this was perhaps the function of Idmon in the Samian version, Aesop's verbal repartee with his master being all placed during his service to Xanthes/Xanthos. In the *Vita* Aesop's stay with Xanthos and the battle of wits between them form a major component of the work, which actually bears in the older recension the title 'The Book of Xanthos the Philosopher and Aesop his Slave'.

|[119] The earliest discernible sources for the story of Aesop, then, seem to be a Samian historian (who was also able to name the parents of Homer)[24] and Herodotus, who had a special connection with Samos; and they locate Aesop in Samos. Aristotle knows—perhaps from Euagon—of a fable which Aesop used in addressing the Samians in defence of a condemned revolutionary.[25] On the other hand there is the legend of Aesop's death at Delphi. Herodotus

[23] Heraclides Lembus, *Polit.* 33 Dilts; cf. Arist. fr. 573 and *Rhet.* 1393b23 ff.; sch. Ar. *Av.* 471; Euagon, *FGrHist* 535; testt. 5–6 Perry.

[24] *FGrHist* 535 F *2; for the mother's name see *CQ* 17 (1967), 445 (=above, p. 387).

[25] *Rhet.* 1393b23 ff. (=*Fab.* 427 Perry), cf. fr. 573.

presupposes it, and Aristophanes in the *Wasps* (1446 ff.) alludes to the story that Aesop was accused by the Delphians of stealing a cup and told them the fable of the eagle and the dung-beetle.[26] The Samian and the Delphian episodes are complementary parts of one narrative. Their connection is implicit in Herodotus: the Delphians, punished by the god for their injustice to Aesop, take steps to pay compensation to whoever may have the right to it, and a Samian comes forward to claim it. One further detail attested in the earlier period, by Plato the comic poet in his *Lakones*, is that Aesop's soul returned to earth.[27]

So: in the latter part of the fifth century something like a coherent Aesop legend appears, and Samos seems to be its home. It incorporated certain fables, at least one addressed to the Samians and one to the Delphians. There were probably others. Aristophanes introduces the Archilochean fable of the fox and the eagle with the words 'among the tales of Aesop there is one told of how . . .',

ἐν Αἰσώπου λόγοις
ἐστὶν λεγόμενον δή τι, τὴν ἀλώπεχ' ὡς
φλαύρως ἐκοινώνησεν αἰετῶι ποτε

|[120] (*Av.* 651–3). In itself, ἐν Αἰσώπου λόγοις might well be used of a simple collection of fables with no narrative framework. But in the *Peace* (129) Aristophanes uses the same phrase, ἐν τοῖσιν Αἰσώπου λόγοις, of the fable of the dung-beetle, which he himself in the previous year had mentioned as the fable that Aesop told to the Delphians after being accused of stealing the cup. In this case, at least, Aristophanes' Αἰσώπου λόγοι are a series of tales told by Aesop on different occasions in his life. There is no reason to think that in the other case they are something different, a repertory of fables without context.

This does not necessarily mean that whenever someone refers to an Aesopic fable in fifth-century Athens he is quoting from an established account of Aesop's life. The phrase Αἰσώπου λόγοι suggests a plurality of tales with only a loose unity, each one being an αἶνος which Aesop used on such and such an occasion. In the background there was a biographical legend, but this was a flexible frame within which new fables could easily be accommodated. The

[26] Cf. *Vita* 127–8, 135–9; Wiechers (as in n. 22), 7 ff.

[27] Fr. 70 K.–A. = test. 45 Perry, cf. testt. 46–7.

fables were told singly, probably, more often than in a continuous sequence. The Aristophanic passages I have cited are examples of this. And when we read *ἐν Αἰσώπου λόγοις ἐστὶν λεγόμενον δή τι*, this certainly sounds like oral material, not a book.

There is other evidence, still from Aristophanes, that may imply a more general attribution of fables to Aesop without reference to any particular occasion in his life. I have mentioned the passage of the *Wasps* where Bdelycleon speaks of entertaining stories heard at the symposium, *Αἰσωπικὸν γελοῖον ἢ Συβαριτικόν* (1259). (Note again that they circulate orally, they are not learned from a book.) Bdelycleon recommends using them to restore good humour in the event of a quarrel arising from drunken behaviour. In the same context (1226, 1238) there are allusions to *skolia* known to us from the collection prel[121]served by Athenaeus, and there is a temptation to take *ὁ καρκίνος ὧδ' ἔφα*, which occurs in the same collection, as an example of the kind of *Αἰσωπικὸν γελοῖον* that Bdelycleon means. However, he need not be referring to songs. He may mean anecdotes in prose, and these may or may not have referred to an occasion in Aesop's life. The same applies to the humorous fables (*Αἰσώπου τι γελοῖον*) that Philocleon in 566 says some defendants use in the courts. They were presumably used as *αἶνοι*, and Aesop's prior use of them might have been mentioned.

We seem to be on firmer ground in *Birds* 471–2, where Peisetairos tells the chorus, 'You are ignorant and incurious, and have never explored Aesop, who used to tell that the lark existed before everything else', etc. It does not matter whether or not this otherwise unrecorded fable (=447 Perry) was invented *ad hoc* by Aristophanes. What matters is that he is able to say that Aesop *used to* tell it, *ἔφασκε λέγων*. In other words a fable told by Aesop did not have to be linked to a single specific occasion. Perhaps this is already implied by Herodotus' description of Aesop as a *λογοποιός*, a story-maker, which is not a natural way of referring to someone who only used stories when he needed to persuade. It implies at least that the stories had independent value.

'You have never explored Aesop', *οὐδ' Αἴσωπον πεπάτηκας*. Does this expression imply a book? The author of the relevant entry in Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon* s.v. *πατέω* evidently thought so. He translates, 'thou hast not *thumbed* Aesop'. The closest parallel is in Plato's *Phaedrus* (273a), where Socrates notes that Phaedrus has explored carefully what Teisias has to say about rhetoric, *τόν γε Τεισίαν αὐτὸν πεπάτηκας ἀκριβῶς*, and immediately afterwards refers to what Teisias has written. This certainly supports the inference that fables of Aesop could be studied in a book of some kind, and it is difficult to see what *πατεῖν τὸν Αἴσωπον* l[122] might mean otherwise. The verb implies something more active than listening to stories.[28] [54] What form might such a book have taken? We need not take Aristophanes so literally as to argue that it contained stories that Aesop *used to* tell, as distinct from stories that he told on particular occasions. That would make the book into a fable collection of the Demetrian type, over a century before Demetrius. More probably the fables it contained were set in a biographical framework, a version of the legend to which Herodotus devoted a few lines and Euagon of Samos perhaps a few pages.

Do we, then, here catch sight of the *Volksbuch* beloved of the older critics? What is meant by a *Volksbuch*? A book, I suppose, whose author has been forgotten, and which continues to circulate because of the interest of its subject matter, and of which the text is subject to progressive change. The Byzantine Alexander Romance would be an example. But I doubt whether any book of this category existed in the classical period. If there was a book about Aesop and his fables, the probability is that it had a named author, even though no record of his identity now survives.

Perry rejected the whole idea of such a book, on the ground that people did not write on such frivolous subjects at so early a date, and did not write biographies:

> Nam semper fere ad res serias exponendas vel referendas, non ad meras facetias propagandas neque temere calamos suos illi sumpserunt qui saeculo quinto et prius operam *καταλογάδην* scribendo dederunt; neque mos erat eius aevi scriptorum ut libros totos de singulis viris quamvis insignibus conderent, sed de totarum gentium, civitatum, populorum, regnorum historia, vel de rebus philosophicis variisque scientiis.[29]

l[123] However, before we can accept such sweeping statements, there is at least one other area of literary tradition that we must consider, one that presents several analogies with the case of Aesop. I refer to the biographical tradition about Homer.

Wilamowitz in *Die Ilias und Homer* has an appendix entitled 'Zwei alte Volksbücher', in which he discusses firstly the *Contest of*

[28] Cf. M. Nøjgaard, *La Fable antique*, i (Copenhagen 1964), 474.
[29] *Aesopica*, 5.

Homer and Hesiod and secondly the pseudo-Herodotean *Life of Homer*. He does not, of course, suppose either of these documents to be old in its present form. But he shows that many of the stories they contain were current in the classical period, and he argues that both are descended from popular narratives of not later than the fifth century. As regards the *Contest*, more definite information became available a few years later, when a Michigan papyrus confirmed what Nietzsche had deduced, that the main substance of the extant *Certamen* derives from a work by the fourth-century rhetorician and essayist Alcidamas. Alcidamas certainly incorporated earlier legends about the deaths of Hesiod and Homer, as well as some pre-existing puzzle verses. But he may have invented the contest between the two poets, and I see no necessity to postulate a pre-Alcidamantine *Volksbuch* on the subject.[30]

The pseudo-Herodotean *Life of Homer* offers a closer analogy with the *Life of Aesop*. It gives an account of Homer's travels and eventual death, and it includes seventeen occasional poems which he improvised in various situations, the so-called *Homeric Epigrams*, just as the *Life of Aesop* includes fables which Aesop produced in various situations. I have emphasized the Samian connections of the Aesop legend, and it is interesting to note that pseudo-I[124]Herodotus devotes several pages to Homer's stay on Samos. As Wilamowitz observed, this section of the work is especially full and rich in content, with detailed allusion to Samian cults and institutions. Homer composes four poems there, including two of the longest and most interesting in the collection, the *Kaminos* or *Kerameis* and the *Eiresione*, the begging-song which Samian children subsequently sang as they went from house to house collecting gifts at the winter new moon. In other sources we hear of the Samian Creophylus who entertained Homer on Ios and was rewarded with the *Capture of Oichalia*, an epic later attributed to him but really Homer's work. Samos evidently made an important contribution to the Homer legend. I remarked earlier that Euagon wrote on the biography of Homer as well as on that of Aesop.

I will just mention one other point of contact between the Aesopic and the Homeric legends. Pseudo-Herodotus tells how, when Homer was on his way to Cyme, he was prevailed upon by the kinsmen of Midas, the late king of Phrygia, to compose an epitaph for that

[30] I discussed the question in *CQ* 17 (1967), 433–450 (=above, Chapter 25).

potentate; it is the famous epitaph that Simonides knew as the work of Cleobulus of Lindos. Unlike most of Homer's occasional compositions, this one also appears in the *Certamen* (12), with some extra details of the episode. There Midas' sons, who commission the verses, are named as Xanthos and Gorgos—we recall the Samian Xanthes or Xanthos whom Aesop served—and they reward Homer with a silver φιάλη, which he dedicates to Apollo at Delphi. Aesop was accused at Delphi of stealing a gold φιάλη that had been dedicated to Apollo. This is an integral part of the pharmakos myth.[31] Homer's cup, on the other hand, is functionless. It may have been suggested by the Aesopic legend, and the name Xanthos may come from the same source.

I[125] Wilamowitz assigned the pseudo-Herodotean *Life* in its present form to the late second or early first century BCE, and it can hardly be earlier than that, seeing that it mentions the *Battle of Frogs and Mice* and other burlesque poems of a type first attested in the late Hellenistic period.[32] [s5] But he claimed its contents to be 'alter ionischer Erzählungsstoff'. The best reason for thinking that it is based on a much older narrative is the fact that the *Epigrams* appear to be of classical rather than of Hellenistic date, and that most of them could only have been preserved in the context of a narrative, because they make no sense without explanation of the circumstances in which they were uttered. They are not like Aesopic αἶνοι which can be taken out of their context and presented as entertaining or instructive items on their own.

Wilamowitz's greatest successor and only true intellectual heir, Felix Jacoby, agreed that the pseudo-Herodotean *Life* was based with only slight modification upon an older text, which he regarded as certainly pre-Aristotelian, perhaps even fifth-century.[33] But for him this text was no *Volksbuch* but a product of sophistic learning, similar in status to Alcidamas' contest story, and like it drawing on earlier traditions. I suspect that this may be close to the truth. But it must be admitted that it is a conclusion based on subjective judgment rather

[31] See Istros, *FGrHist* 334 F 50; Wiechers (as in n. 22), 33, 36.

[32] For the date of the *Battle of Frogs and Mice* see H. Wölke, *Untersuchungen zur Batrachomyomachie* (Beiträge zur Klass. Phil. 100, Meisenheim 1978), 46–70. There is a fragment of a *Battle of Weasels and Mice* in a Michigan papyrus of the 2nd/1st century BCE (H. S. Schibli, *ZPE* 53 (1983), 1–26; my Loeb *Homeric Hymns* (etc.), 230–1, 258–63).

[33] *Hermes* 68 (1933), 10 = *Kleine philologische Schriften*, i (Berlin 1961), 11 f.

than on hard evidence. It is attested that the Homeridai told stories about Homer's life in the first half of the fourth century.[34] Some such stories are already alluded to by Pindar and Bacchylides. A number of fifth-century authors wrote about Homer's ancestry. It is l[126] perfectly plausible that someone before 400 should have constructed an extended account of Homer's career, uniting various scattered traditions and inventions, among which, as we have seen, Samian tradition and invention were prominent.

If so, we should have something of a parallel for the book about the life and death of Aesop whose existence in 415 BCE is suggested by Aristophanes' phrase *οὐδ' Αἴσωπον πεπάτηκας*. Another work in the same general category, if it existed so early, would be the *Symposium of the Seven Sages*. In his lives of the Sages Diogenes Laertius, after Lobon of Argos, quotes little gnomic *skolia* which each of them once sang.[35] Wilamowitz dated them on stylistic grounds to the fifth century, and noted that they presuppose a narrative about a symposium at which the seven were present—another 'altes Volksbuch', in his view.[36] J. F. Kindstrand, in his recent work on Anacharsis, claims that there is 'good reason' to suppose that the Seven Sages figured in literary works of a popular character even in the archaic period, probably in the form of an agon or symposium.[37] I cannot share this opinion. The Seven Sages are not mentioned as a group before Plato's *Protagoras* (343b), and their symposium presupposes the rise of dialogue literature—it may indeed presuppose Plato's *Symposium*. The *skolia* quoted by Lobon are composed in a facile dactyloepitrite characteristic of the fourth century.[38] The *Sympol*[127]*sium of the Sages*, then, is a little late for our purposes. But it is part of the same trend as the construction of biographical narratives about Homer and Aesop; here too a fictitious narrative served as a frame for noteworthy utterances by the persons in question. The Sages' wisdom was of a different style from Aesop's: adages and apophthegms were attributed to them, fables to him. But

[34] Isoc. 10. 65; Pl. *Rep.* 599e, cf. 600b.

[35] *SH* 521–6. Periander's song is not preserved.

[36] *Hermes* 60 (1925), 300 = *Kl. Schr.* iv. 388. On traditions of the Sages' symposium cf. O. Barkowski, *RE* iiA. 2252–4.

[37] *Anacharsis: The Legend and the Apophthegmata* (Studia Graeca Upsaliensia 16, Uppsala 1981), 77.

[38] See my *Greek Metre* (Oxford 1982), 139 f. Lloyd-Jones and Parsons consider them Hellenistic, and they may well be.

it is not surprising that in time he was brought into association with them. Alexis in his *Aesop* had at least Solon in dialogue with the fabulist, and later authors represent him as pitting his wits against the others too.[39]

Many individuals other than Aesop are reported to have made rhetorical use of fable on some single occasion: Stesichorus, Cyrus, Demosthenes, Demades, Eumenes, and so on.[40] Only Aesop, however, used it habitually. So when the story of Aḥiqar came to be translated into Greek in the early Hellenistic period, it was natural for this oriental dealer in fable-wisdom to become assimilated to Aesop. His name became known in Greece to some extent—even Theophrastus is credited with a book entitled *Akicharos* or *Akicharis*[41]—but his story survived only as an interpolation into the story of Aesop (*Vita* 101–10), with Aesop taking his place.

It is time to sum up. Fable came to Greece in association with wisdom poetry, but also as an autonomous form which could be employed in various settings, in iambos for example, or at the symposium, or in the law-courts. It was always capable of being used as an *αἶνος* to reinforce an l[128] argument or admonition, but it could also be used for pure entertainment. Its transmission was at first purely oral. Fables no doubt spread in swarms—anyone who knew one fable was likely to know several—but there were no formal collections. There was no particular person famous for inventing them. Sometimes, like other witticisms, they were ascribed to some nameless Libyan or to someone from some other distant country.

In the fifth century, probably in Samos, the legend of a repulsively ugly and worthless-looking slave, who was unjustly put to death by the Delphians in circumstances like those of the pharmakos rite, was developed into a fully-fledged novella in which the slave was a shrewd and witty fellow, given to impressing points on his superiors by means of apt parables. Once given this starting-point, the Greek instinct to attach anonymous compositions or achievements to any appropriate individual ensured that Aesop would attract fables.

[39] See testt. 33–8 Perry.

[40] See K. Meuli and T. Karadagli, as in n. 5.

[41] Diog. Laert. 5. 50 (Theophr. fr. 727. 13 Fortenbaugh). A translation of the 'stele of Akikaros' was foisted on Democritus (Clem. *Strom.* 1. 15. 69. 4–6 = DK 68 B 299, cf. *CR* 19 (1969), 142). Strabo 16. 2. 39 p. 762 (Posidonius fr. 133 Theiler) mentions Achaikaros as an influential prophet among the Bosporenes, parallel with Orpheus, Trophonius, the Indian Gymnosophists, the Persian Magoi, and others.[96]

Many fables which had hitherto had no fixed context became fables that Aesop had told on some occasion or other. By Aristophanes' time the *Αἰσωπικὸν γελοῖον* is a recognizable category of story, and there is apparently a book in which the inquisitive may read about Aesop's life and death, and his wit and wisdom. But the circulation of fables is still predominantly oral. Socrates, according to Plato, applied himself to the task of versifying the tales of Aesop, which he had in his head, not in a book, taking them in the order in which they occurred to him.[42] Demetrius' procedure a century later was probably much the same. But by then the number of available fables had grown larger; and Demetrius did not have to drink hemlock before he had finished.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

1. In the more recent translation in Jeremy Black and others, *The Literature of Ancient Sumer* (Oxford 2004), 289, the passage appears with a different and clearer sense, but looks less like a fable. It reads: 'By grasping the neck of a huge ox, you can cross the river. By moving along (?) at the side of the mighty men of your city, my son, you will certainly ascend (?).'
2. A fragment of Rhodopis' dedication at Delphi, mentioned by Herodotus, has probably been found (*SEG* 13. 364; L. H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* (Oxford 1961), 102); it dates from some two generations after Sappho. Cf. J. Boardman, in G. R. Tsetskhladze–F. De Angelis (edd.), *The Archaeology of Greek Colonisation* (Oxford 1994), 142.
3. He was *κακοπινὴς τὸ ἰδέσθαι, εἰς περισσείαν σαπρός, προγάστωρ, προκέφαλος, σιμός, λορδός, μέλας, κολοβός, κυλλός, γαλεάγκων, στρεβλός* (*Vita* 1). On the tondo of a cup in the Vatican of the mid fifth century BCE (Museo Gregoriano Etrusco inv. 16552; *ARV* 916. 183) he is portrayed as an emaciated elderly man with an outsized head, receding hairline, large nose, and pendulous beard; he is listening to the words of a fox.
4. I suspect that the odd use of *πατεῖν* to mean 'study' is a calque on Semitic *drš*. See *The East Face of Helicon* (Oxford 1997), 14 n. 46.

[42] Pl. *Phaed.* 61b *οὓς προχείρους εἶχον μύθους καὶ ἠπιστάμην, τοὺς Αἰσώπου, τούτων ἐποίησα οἷς πρώτοις ἐνέτυχον.*

5. The pseudo-Herodotean *Life* is probably to be dated between about 50 and 150 CE. See my Loeb *Homeric Hymns* (etc.), 301.
6. The name of [Ac]icar has been recognized on a third-century Roman mosaic from Trier. See D. Metzler in D. Ahrens (ed.), *Θίασος τῶν Μουσῶν. Festschrift für Josef Fink zum 70. Geburtstag* (Cologne–Vienna 1984), 97–107 with pl. 5. 1.

27

Fable and Disputation

In my recent book *The East Face of Helicon* I considered Mesopotamian and other West Asiatic influences on Greek literature of the archaic and early classical periods, down to the time of Aeschylus. In a much shorter study published thirty years ago I discussed oriental material in Hellenistic and Roman literature.[1] In the present brief paper I shall range more freely across the whole time-span. The material is not new, but a clearer perspective may emerge from the use of a wide-angle lens.

The two genres named in my title, fable and disputation, are distinct, though they can be placed in the same general category of entertaining, potentially popular narrative with thought-provoking content, and as we shall see, they have sometimes been assimilated to one another. Both remained productive in the Middle Ages; indeed, the disputation, by which I mean the argument between two non-human interlocutors as to which of them is superior, has remained productive in the Arab world into the present century.

By 'fable' I mean primarily the animal fable, though it is not essential that the participants are (all) animals. A story in which animals speak and interact does not in itself constitute a fable: the essential thing is that it should be a story constructed to make a point. Perhaps the oldest example is the one in the Sumerian *Instructions of Šuruppag* about the man who took a great ox by the neck and then found that he could not cross the river; the sage spells out the meaning of the story to his son Zi-ud-sura. In this case the fable is used as one element in a wisdom text, something that we find

Melammu Symposia 1 (2000), 93–7.

[1] 'Near Eastern material in Hellenistic and Roman literature', *HSCP* 73 (1968), 113–34.

later in the Hurro-Hittite *Song of Emancipation* and in the Aramaic *Aḥiqar*. More typically, the Mesopotamian fable resides in the so-called proverb collections or commonplace books.

In Graeco-Roman antiquity the fable form is especially associated with the legendary figure of Aesop, an ugly but eloquent Thracian supposed to have lived as a slave on Samos around 600 BCE and to have been unjustly put to death at Delphi. But fables had already appeared in Greek poetry before that time: not in the Homeric epics, but in Hesiod's *Works and Days* and in the seventh-century Ionian iambographers Archilochus of Paros and Semonides of Amorgos. Archilochus introduces one of his fables with the words 'this is a fable that men tell', αἶνός τις ἀνθρώπων ὅδε, indicating that it is material in oral currency, not derived from a specific source. In the fifth century, while fables were beginning to be attributed to Aesop, they were more often referred to by such terms as 'Libyan stories', 'Carian stories', 'tales from Sybaris', in other words, stories of a special sort originating from somewhere overseas, it was not too important where.[2]

There can be no doubt that the Greek tradition derives from the Near East. Independent origin is virtually excluded, because the fable is not a universal element of [94] human culture. It is found only in cultures that are historically indebted to Mesopotamia, and it evidently had a single historical point of origin there. The ways in which fables are used in the oriental and Greek traditions are parallel: as a pointed lesson for a particular addressee in a given situation; as an ingredient in a wisdom text; and in the mass in collections.[3]

What is more, many of the individual fables found in Greek have counterparts in oriental texts. Hesiod's fable of the hawk and the nightingale—a hawk, carrying off a nightingale in its talons, asked why she was screaming, and pointed out that it was foolish to struggle against one much stronger—is not known from oriental sources, though there are a couple of Sumerian ones which are

[2] See above, Chapter 26.

[3] See K. Meuli, *Herkunft und Wesen der Fabel* (Basel 1954) = *Gesammelte Schriften* (Basel 1975), ii. 731–56; M. Nøjgaard, *La Fable antique* (Copenhagen 1964), i. 431–41; B. E. Perry, *Babrius and Phaedrus* (Cambridge, Mass. 1965), pp. xi–xxxiv; T. Karadagli, *Fabel und Ainos. Studien zur griechischen Fabel* (Beiträge zur Klass. Phil. 135, Königstein 1981), 6–52.

similar in tenor.[4] However, Archilochus' fable of the eagle and the fox (or rather vixen) has a very similar plot to the story of the eagle and the snake in the Babylonian narrative poem *Etana*, and cannot be unrelated to it.[5] Other fables in the later Aesopic collections also have oriental counterparts.

What can we say or surmise about the transmission of this type of material from east to west? By the seventh century BCE there must have been quite a number of these fables known in Greece. Besides the Hesiodic and Archilochean examples already mentioned, we know of at least one other fable that appeared in Archilochus' epodes (the story of the fox and the monkey, frr. 185–7 West ≈ Aesop. 81 Perry), and of another related by Semonides (the heron and the buzzard, fr. 9 W.). As our evidence for the Ionian iambographers is so fragmentary, it is surely likely that other fables appeared in their work, to say nothing of all those that circulated orally but were never used by the poets.

Hesiod uses his fable as an element in a wisdom poem, and as that is a genuine oriental usage it is natural to infer that he made the acquaintance of fable in this connection, in the tradition of wisdom poetry. It is less easy to say how the iambographers came to know the fables that they retold. Archilochus, at least, used fables in order to criticize the conduct or pretensions of the person to whom his poem (or rather song) was addressed. This again is a genuine oriental usage. But must we infer the existence of some oriental tradition of satirical poetry that used fables and that somehow influenced the Greek poets? Were there stories of some wise man, a proto-Aesop or proto-Aḥiqar, who had responded with fables to various situations in which he found himself? Or could the fables have been transmitted by themselves, without being made to refer to any (actual or fictional) human situation? A brief versified fable appears in the collection of old Attic drinking songs preserved by Athenaeus, apparently as a self-sufficient, free-standing item:

> Now this is what the crab said
> as the snake in his claw he caught:
> 'A friend should be straightforward
> and think no devious thought.'[6]

[4] See *The East Face of Helicon* (Oxford 1997), 320. [5] See ibid. 502–4.

[6] *PMG* 892; translation from my *Greek Lyric Poetry* (Oxford 1993), 177. A fuller prose version of the fable appears in Aesop. 196 Perry.

Certainly the fable, like the folktale, is something that was not bound to any one literary form but could easily cross generic boundaries, be adapted from prose into verse, and so on. Already in the Old Babylonian[95] *Etana* the fable of the eagle and the snake, which must originally have been a self-contained moral story, was incorporated into the tale of Etana, king of Kish, and the eagle became identified with the one that carried Etana to heaven. Aeschylus put a fable in Achilles' mouth in one of his tragedies, probably as a comment on the hero's own predicament.[7] In Hellenistic times and later, epigrammatists and other poets versified Aesopic fables, just for the satisfaction of producing a neat little poem.

In two cases we can trace the substance of these later Greek poems back to oriental texts written centuries earlier. In the story of Aḥiqar—I quote here from the Arabic version, as the Aramaic is not preserved—the sage says, 'O my boy! thou art like the gazelle [in the Armenian version it is a goat] who was eating the roots of the madder, and it said to her, "Eat of me today and take thy fill, and tomorrow they will tan thy hide in my roots"'. In the Aesopic tradition it is a goat eating vine-shoots, and the vine says that it will still produce wine enough to pour as a libation when the goat is sacrificed. Leonidas of Tarentum made this into an epigram in the third century BCE, and a neater one is transmitted under the name of Euenus.[8] The second case is that of the little anecdote preserved on an Assyrian tablet from the year 716:[9]

> A wren, as it settled on an elephant,
> said, 'Brother, am I pressing your side? I will remove myself at the watering-place.'
> The elephant answered the wren:
> 'When you settled, I didn't know it—what do you amount to?—
> and when you arise I shan't know it.'

We have three Greek versions of this, all dating from the Roman period: one in prose, in the so-called Augustana collection of Aesopic fables, and two in verse, from Babrius and Mesomedes.[10]

[7] *Myrmidones*, fr. 139.

[8] Arabic *Aḥiqar* 8. 4, trans. J. Rendel Harris in R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (Oxford 1913), ii. 769; Aesop. 374 P.; Leonidas *epigr.* 32 Gow–Page (*A.P.* 9. 99); Euenus *epigr.* 3 G.–P. (*A.P.* 9. 75).

[9] VAT 8807 rev. iii 50–4, ed. W. G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (Oxford 1960), 216 f. (with the false reading *ni-ni-qu* for *diq-diq-qu*; corrected by R. Borger, *Orientalia* 33 (1964), 462).

[10] Aesop. 137 Perry; Babrius 84; Mesomedes poem 11 Heitsch.

Augustana	Babrius	Mesomedes
A mosquito alighted on a bull's horn and sat there for a while. When it was ready to leave, it asked the bull whether it now wanted it to go. The bull said, 'I neither knew it when you came, nor will know it if you depart.'	A mosquito alighted on a bull's curly horn and after a short stay whined, 'If I'm a weight and a pain on your neck, I'll get off and sit on a poplar by the river.' But he said, 'I don't care whether you stay or go; I didn't even notice when you came.'	On an elephant's ear a mosquito | with wings all aflutter alighted | and foolishly said, 'I will fly away, | for my weight you cannot support.' | But he smiled in amusement and said, | 'But I neither knew when you flew down, | nor when you fly off, O mosquito.'

The Assyrian anecdote is preserved with extraordinary fidelity across eight or nine centuries during which attestation of it is lacking. The wren becomes a mosquito; the elephant becomes a bull in two of the versions, but remains an elephant in the third. The place where the wren proposes to depart, *ina šiqi mê*, is reflected in Babrius' poplar by the river. And the big animal's reply, especially in the Aesopic version, is virtually a translation of the Akkadian: I didn't know it when you came, and I shan't know it when you depart. How are we to explain this survival? Presumably oral l[96] transmission; but in what context?

From fable I turn to a genre that may loosely be called dialectical. This is the disputation, in which two animals, two trees, or some other pair of (usually) non-human rivals, argue with one another about their respective merits. The type was well established in Sumerian tradition, perhaps originally as a court entertainment, and seems to have existed from the time of Shulgi. Herman Vanstiphout lists ten Sumerian texts of this category: Hoe vs. Plough; Summer vs. Winter; Tree vs. Reed; Heron vs. Turtle; Goose vs. Raven; Ewe vs. Wheat; Bird vs. Fish; Herdsman vs. Farmer; Upper vs. Lower Millstone; Copper vs. Silver.[11] The Akkadian examples include disputes between a tamarisk and a palm, a poplar and a laurel, and an ox and a horse.[12]

[11] In G. J. Reinink and H. L. J. Vanstiphout (eds.), *Dispute Poems and Dialogues in the Ancient and Mediaeval Near East* (Leuven 1991), 25 f.

[12] Lambert (as in n. 9), 150–85, where these works are inappropriately assigned to the category 'fable'.

This type of composition in Mesopotamian and other literatures formed the subject of a Symposium and Workshop at the University of Groningen in 1989, and the proceedings were published in a most instructive volume.[13] In it we see how the form was taken up and re-infused with vigorous life in Syriac (from at least the fourth century) and in the medieval Hebrew and Arabic traditions. Passing reference is made too to the Latin and West European vernacular literatures of the Middle Ages, where the type is also represented; there is a well-known Middle English example, *The Owl and the Nightingale.*

The classical Greek and Latin literatures are conspicuously absent from the Groningen volume, and the disputation of the sort we are considering was not at home in them. Yet there is a small number of relevant texts, all the more significant for the question of oriental origins from the fact of their isolation, their not representing an established genre. The most extended is the fourth *Iambos* of Callimachus, in which the poet relates what he says is an old Lydian story of a dispute between two trees, the Bay and the Olive, about which of them was the more important. The subject matter is closely comparable with that of the Babylonian dispute between the Tamarisk and the Palm. Formally too the narrative follows Mesopotamian schemata. It begins with the simple statement that one day the two trees had a dispute, just as the Sumerian disputation between the Hoe and the Plough begins with such a statement. The rivals speak in turn, each citing the uses to which men put it, and denigrating the other. The procedure in *The Tamarisk and the Palm* is very similar.[14]

In calling it an old Lydian tale, Callimachus perhaps means to associate it with Aesop, whom he elsewhere referred to as a native of Sardis.[15] In fact two or three cursory accounts of quarrels between trees occur among the Aesopic collections;[16] and Callimachus uses the story as he might have used an Aesopic fable, as a tale with a moral relevant to his own situation with regard to a poetic rival.

[13] Reinink and Vanstiphout, as n. 11.

[14] Call. fr. 194. 6 ff.; *The Tamarisk and the Palm* in Lambert (as n. 9), 151–64. The two works were first compared by H. Diels, *Internationale Wochenschrift für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Technik* 4 (1910), 993–1002. I quoted some parallel passages from them in *HSCP* 73 (1968), 118 f.

[15] Fr. 192. 16.

[16] Aesop. 70, 213, 413 Perry; Babrius 64. The disputants in the first of these, an oak and a reed, recall the Tree and Reed of one of the Sumerian texts.

Another Aesopic narrative concerns a dispute between Winter and Spring.[17] Once again we can refer to a close Mesopotamian antecedent in the Sumerian dialogue bel[97]tween Summer and Winter. The theme recurs again in the ninth or tenth century CE in one of the oldest of the extant Arabic disputations, where the interlocutors are Spring and Autumn.[18]

Ennius, who used Aesopic fables in two of his *Saturae*, devoted another to a dispute between Life and Death.[19] This is interesting because, whereas in most of the disputations previously mentioned it is not immediately obvious which party should have the advantage, and the disputation serves as a reasoned exploration of the relative merits and deficiencies of the two contenders, it would seem paradoxical to consider Death as possessing any plausible claims to be better than Life. But arguing for such paradoxes, for the rethinking of conventional values, was a specialty of Graeco-Roman dialectic from the time of the fifth- and fourth-century sophists. In fact one of these, Alcidamas, is recorded as having written an essay in praise of Death, in which he enumerated the evils that accompany life.[20]

The older oriental writers of disputations did not, so far as I know, pursue such paradoxes. Nevertheless, their compositions were an invitation to reflect on the properties of things that one commonly takes for granted, an invitation to weigh pros and cons, to compare and contrast. Much of the pleasure in reading them lies in this stimulation of the intellect. They can be seen as proto-sophistic works, reflecting a level of simple philosophical thinking that in the Greek environment could develop into a more enterprisingly 'sophistic' manner of argumentation.

The two genres that I have considered, fable and disputation, both have a compelling claim to be of Mesopotamian origin, and both have enjoyed enormous success in later cultures. The fable spread to India in the east, to Syria and Greece in the west; from Greece it passed on to the Romans, and from the classical literatures it was inherited by Byzantium, the Arabs, and the whole of western

[17] Aesop. 271 Perry.

[18] J. N. Mattock in Reinink and Vanstiphout (as n. 11), 155.

[19] Quintilian 9. 2. 36 (Enn. *Sat.* 20 Vahlen[2]). The fables: Gellius 2. 29 (Enn. *Sat.* 21 ff., ≈ Babrius 88); Varro, *De Lingua Latina* 7. 35 (Enn. *Sat.* 65, ≈ Hdt. 1. 141, Aesop. 11 P., Babrius 9).

[20] Cic. *Tusc.* 1. 116; Menander Rhetor, *Epideiktika* p. 32. 17 Russell–Wilson (Alcidamas T14 Avezzù).

Europe, where it remained productive at least down to La Fontaine. In the case of the disputation, the lines of transmission are not quite so obvious, as the form did not take proper root in the classical literatures and they do not provide a convincing link with the Middle Ages. It seems clear, however, that the disputation has enjoyed continuous popularity in the Middle East. If we were to imagine a disputation between the Disputation and the Fable, the former could claim the advantage of being inexhaustible, there being no limit to the subjects, material or abstract, that can be evaluated against each other. So we hear of an early twentieth-century Arabic disputation between the Telephone and the Telegraph, and of a Chinese one between Wine and Tea.[21] The Sumerians would have found such subject matter unfamiliar, but they would have at once recognized the form as their own.

[21] E. Littmann, 'Neuarabische Streitgedichte', in *Festschrift zur Feier des zweihundertjährigen Bestehens der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*, ii (Phil.-hist. Klasse), 1951, 64 f.; J. Bottéro in Reinink and Vanstiphout (as in n. 11), 7 n. 2.

28

Ion of Chios

In his thirteenth *Iambos* Callimachus answered those who criticized him for writing in many different genres. 'Who', he asks, 'has instructed poets, "You are to compose elegiacs, you hexameters, you have drawn tragedy in the divine lottery"? I think nobody' (fr. 203. 30–3). He went on in a fragmentary passage to cite the precedent of someone who did compose in all these genres, and the Diegesis informs us that the author he referred to was Ion of Chios. We know of no one he could have named more aptly. There were others in the fifth century who wrote in more than one genre: Sophocles, for instance, who wrote some lyric and prose in addition to tragedies, and Critias, who wrote hexameters, elegy, tragedy, and prose. But Ion wrote tragedy, comedy, dithyrambs, paeans, hymns, skolia, encomia, elegies, and epigrams, as well as prose works of more than one category. No wonder Callimachus picked on him to justify the πολυείδεια which was to be more common at Alexandria.

His output was not notable solely for its heterogeneity. Some of it earned admiration. He won prizes in tragic and dithyrambic competitions; his cosmological work is alluded to by Plato and Isocrates, and another disciple of Socrates, Epigenes, appears to have written a longer discussion of it;[1] Callimachus can take Ion as a respectable

BICS 32 (1985), 71–8. I was indebted to Professor D. M. Lewis for some valuable comments and references.

A. von Blumenthal, *Ion von Chios* (Stuttgart–Berlin 1939) is a useful comprehensive collection of Ion's fragments with commentary. I have preferred to cite from more recent partial collections: prose fragments from *FGrHist* (392), lyric from *PMG* (740–6, + *SLG* 316), elegiac from *IEG* (ii.[2] 79–82), and tragic from *TrGF* (i no. 19). For a new fragment see *ZPE* 50 (1983), 46; W. Luppe, *ZPE* 55 (1984), 8; A. Henrichs, *ZPE* 58 (1985), 1 and 7 f.

[1] Pl. *Soph.* 242cd (*FGrHist* IIIB Komm. [Noten] 131 n. 108); Isoc. 15. 268; my *The Orphic Poems* (Oxford 1983), 9 n. 14. Jacoby (as above) is against Linforth's

predecessor; Strabo names him as one of the three most distinguished Chiots, beside Theopompus and his opponent, the sophist Theocritus. His works continued to be read till the second or third century CE. His tragedies in particular made an impression. Strabo and Harpocration call him 'Ion the tragedian', and Pausanias, Pollux, and Philoponus do so even in citing his prose works. The well-known judgment by the author of *Περὶ ὕψους* (33. 5, 'would you rather be Ion of Chios or Sophocles?' with the following lines) is disparaging, but it is significant that he expects his readers to have some nodding acquaintance with Ion's plays, and that he picks him out from all the minor dramatists. Quotations from as many as eleven plays survive. In the canons of tragedians that appear in medieval manuscripts from the tenth century, Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides are accompanied by Ion and Achaios.[2]

But Ion claims our interest not just as a versatile and moderately successful literary man. He spent much of his life in Cimonian and Periclean Athens. He knew, or at least met, many important personalities—Cimon, Aeschylus, Archelaus, Socrates, Sophocles, Pericles—and he wrote about them, not as a historian or pamphleteer but as a diarist. Thanks to him we have glimpses of some of these people, their manners and their minds; glimpses whose interest and value is out of proportion to their duration.

At this point I present a tentative chronological scheme of Ion's life. I shall try to justify the details in what follows.

*c.*484–1	Born in Chios.
*c.*466	Arrives at Athens; meets Cimon.
464/2/0	With Aeschylus at Isthmian Games.
462	Cimon persuades Athenians to send help to Sparta.
451/48	Produces first tragedies.
?450	In Sparta with Cimon.
earlier 440s	Meets Archelaus and Socrates in Samos.
440	Meets Sophocles in Chios.
|[72] 439	Pericles' funeral speech after Samian war.
?435 ± 5	In Athens, in love with Chrysilla.
430s/earlier 420s	Composes *Ἐπιδημίαι*.

identification of the writer Epigenes with the pupil of Socrates, but whoever he was, he was certainly pre-Hellenistic.

[2] *TrGF* i. 53 f. Tzetzes inserts Arion, Thespis, and Phrynichus into the list.

420s	Composes *Τριαγμοί*.
428	Wins third prize in tragic competition.
422	Dies in Athens.
412	His son Tydeus killed in Chios.

The evidence relating to Ion's first arrival in Athens and meeting with Cimon is contained in Plutarch, *Cimon* 9. 1 = Ion, *FGrHist* 392 F 13:

συνδειπνῆσαι δὲ τῶι Κίμωνί φησιν ὁ Ἴων παντάπασι μειράκιον ἥκων εἰς Ἀθήνας ἐκ Χίου, παρὰ Λαομέδοντι. καὶ τῶν σπονδῶν γενομένων, παρακληθέντος ἆισαι καὶ ἄισαντος οὐκ ἀηδῶς, ἐπαινεῖν τοὺς παρόντας ὡς δεξιώτερον Θεμιστοκλέους· ἐκεῖνον γὰρ ἄιδειν μὲν οὐ φάναι μαθεῖν οὐδὲ κιθαρίζειν, πόλιν δὲ ποιῆσαι μεγάλην καὶ πλουσίαν ἐπίστασθαι. τοὐντεῦθεν, οἷον εἰκὸς ἐν πότωι, τοῦ λόγου ῥυέντος ἐπὶ τὰς πράξεις τοῦ Κίμωνος καὶ μνημονευομένων τῶν μεγίστων, αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἓν διελθεῖν στρατήγημα τῶν ἰδίων ὡς σοφώτατον· ἐπεὶ γὰρ κτλ.

The host Laomedon is unknown, and the form of his name, as transmitted, is un-Attic. Jacoby[3] speculated that he was a noble Thessalian living in Athens, apparently on the sole ground that Cimon had a son called Thessalos and thus 'a connection with Thessaly'. But 'Laomedon' may well represent an Attic Lamedon. The name is uncommon, but a Spinthon son of Lamedon is listed as a *bouleutes* of the deme Kydantidai in 335/4 (*IG* 2^2. 1700. 44). Later we find a *Λαομέδων Ἱεροκλέους Ἀθηναῖος* (*Inscr. de Délos* 1927, 103/2 BCE), and Laomedon also appears as a variant for Leodamas in the spurious documents interpolated in Demosthenes 18. 73 and 77 (cf. schol. 76). [Now that we have the Attica volume of the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* I can add a fourth-century *Λεωμεδων* (*IG* 2^2. 166), a second-century Laomedon (P. Strassb. 115. 2), and two second- to first-century Lamedons (*IG* 2^2. 2358. 10; 5714).]

The mention of Themistocles used sometimes to be taken to mean that he too was among the guests. That would put the occasion not later than about 471; but it seems to be a misinterpretation.[4] Cimon appears as a successful general with many triumphs behind him. He has not yet been ostracized (that was in 461), and Jacoby argues

[3] *CQ* 41 (1947) 16 = *Abhandlungen zur griechischen Geschichtsschreibung* (Leiden 1956), 167.

[4] Jacoby, *Hesperia* 14 (1945), 210 n. 193 = *Kleine philologische Schriften*, i. 519; *CQ* 41. 2 n. 7 = *Abhandlungen* 147 n. 16.

that his record has not yet been blotted by the serious charges laid against him during the siege of Thasos, probably in 464.[5] He was occupied at Thasos from 465. These considerations suggest 466/5 as the date of Lamedon's dinner party. This fits well with the statement that it was soon after Ion's arrival in Athens, for he was evidently there by 462, when Cimon persuaded the Athenians to send a force to aid the Spartans in their crisis: Plut. *Cimon* 16. 10 = Ion 392 F 14b, *ὁ δ' Ἴων ἀπομνημονεύει καὶ τὸν λόγον ὧι μάλιστα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐκίνησε, παρακαλῶν μήτε τὴν Ἑλλάδα χωλὴν μήτε τὴν πόλιν ἑτερόζυγα περιδεῖν γεγενημένην*. As a non-citizen, Ion was presumably not present at the assembly, but Cimon's striking metaphors must have been widely repeated at the time, and Ion might well have been told of them by the great man himself.

If, then, Ion came to Athens about 466, *παντάπασι μειράκιον*, his birth may be put *c.*484–481,[6] and he was around twenty at the time of the Spartan expedition. One further episode from this period of his life is recorded. He is at the Isthmian Games, watching a boxing match, and in the next seat is Aeschylus (Plut. *De prof. in virt.* 79e = Ion 392 F 22). One of the boxers is felled. The crowd roars. Aeschylus nudges Ion and says, 'See what training does for you! The one that's knocked down keeps quiet, and only the spectators cry out.' This must have taken place after Ion had found his entrée into Athenian society, but before Aeschylus' final departure to Sicily in 458. The Games that come into question are those of 464, 462, 460, or at a pinch 458.[7]

According to the *Suda* Ion started producing tragedies in the 82nd Olympiad = 451–448, that is, when he was about or a little over

[5] Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 27. 1; Plut. *Cimon* 14, *Pericles* 10. 6. Jacoby associates this with the Drabeskos disaster (Thuc. 1. 100. 3, 4. 102. 2, Diod. 11. 70. 5, 12. 68. 2, Paus. 1. 29. 4), but Cimon was not present at it (cf. Hdt. 9. 75, Paus. loc. cit.) and not blamed for it: the charge against him was that, bribed by Alexander, he refrained from exploiting his opportunity when the Athenians were favourably placed to press deep into Macedonia. But the trial does seem to have taken place before the end of the Thasian war if we can depend on Plut. *Cimon* 15. 2 *ὡς δὲ πάλιν ἐπὶ στρατείαν ἐξέπλευσε*.

[6] So already K. Nieberding, *De Ionis Chii vita et moribus*, and E. S. Koepke, *De Ionis Chii poetae vita et fragmentis* (both Berlin 1836). H. B. Mattingly in *Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean in Ancient History and Prehistory* (Festschrift Schachermayr, Berlin–New York 1977), 236, suggests that Ion came to Athens only in 462 and that he was born in 479: 'his naming could reflect the renewed enthusiasm for the "Ionian" cause in Chios, when the second Ionian Revolt from Persia [Hdt. 9. 104] began.'

[7] Aeschylus' interest in the Isthmian Games is reflected in his satyr-play *Θεωροὶ ἢ Ἰσθμιασταί* [which the use of the *σκηνή* indicates to have been a late work].

thirty. The date must come not from Ion's own writings but from the *Didaskaliai*. It is therefore not necessarily the date of his first attempt at writing tragedy, but of the first occasion on which he was granted a chorus. We cannot tell whether he had been in Athens continuously since the 460s, but he must have spent enough time there to become familiar with tragedy and its conventions and to gain the confidence to enter the competition himself. He is one of a number of metics who wrote tragedies in [73] the fifth century; the names of Pratinas of Phleious and his son Aristias, Neophron of Sicyon, Achaios of Eretria, Spintharos of Heraclea, and Hippias of Elis may be cited. Ion also competed with some success in the dithyrambic contest, which attracted many non-Athenian poets—Simonides, Bacchylides, Pindar, to name the three most famous.

Not long before or after his first tragic production, Ion seems to have been in Samos. Diogenes Laertius in his life of Socrates (2. 23 = Ion 392 F 9) says *Ἴων δὲ ὁ Χῖος καὶ νέον ὄντα (τὸν Σωκράτην) εἰς Σάμον σὺν Ἀρχελάωι ἀποδημῆσαι*, and it is hard to imagine a context for this piece of information unless Ion had met the two philosophers in Samos. He may have known Archelaus previously, as Archelaus was a friend of Cimon's and had addressed elegiacs to him (*IEG* ii.[2] 44). If Socrates was *νέος*, the Samian visit presumably fell within the 440s, and the earlier 440s rather than the later. G. L. Huxley has speculated that the philosophers were going to see Melissus.[8]

In 440 Ion was again—or still—in Ionia, but in his native island. The Athenians were gathering reinforcements to help them quell Samos, and they sent ships to Chios and Lesbos for this purpose, as Thucydides mentions (1. 116. 1). Sophocles was there as one of the strategoi, having been elected to the office, reputedly, in consequence of the success of his *Antigone*. For his encounter with Ion we have Ion's own words (*ap.* Ath. 603e ff. = Ion 392 F 6): *Σοφοκλεῖ τῶι ποιητῆι ἐν Χίωι συνήντησα, ὅτε ἔπλει εἰς Λέσβον στρατηγός, ἀνδρὶ παιδιώδει παρ' οἶνον καὶ δεξιῶι. Ἑρμησίλεω δὲ ξένου οἱ ἐόντος καὶ προξένου Ἀθηναίων ἑστιῶντος αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ κτλ.*

In the following year, after Samos was defeated, Pericles boasted of having taken the most powerful of all the Ionian cities in nine months, whereas Agamemnon had needed ten years to take a barbarian city, and Ion recorded the dictum (Plut. *Pericles* 28. 7 = Ion 392 F 16). Jacoby conjectures that Pericles made the boast on behalf of Athens, not on his own personal account, and that he did so in a funeral speech at Athens. He thinks that Ion might have heard of it only at a later date, after it had been distorted by Pericles' enemies.[9] I think it more likely that Ion picked it up at the time, whether at first or second hand, and that he had by then returned to Athens.

He was certainly back in Athens by 429, writing the plays with which he won third prize at the Dionysia of 428, when Euripides was victorious with the *Hippolytus*.[10] It was probably in the thirties or early twenties that he was captivated by the Corinthian hetaira Chrysilla (392 T 8 = fr. eleg. 31). Her heyday is roughly fixed by the allegation of Teleclides (a contemporary of Cratinus) in his *Hesiodoi* (fr. 18 K.–A.) that Pericles had fallen for her (whether or not it was true).

Ion outlived Pericles by seven years, as we know from the notice of his death in Aristophanes' *Peace* 835. It is a gentle passing acknowledgment of the existence of a man who had long been a friend of Athens, and about whom no one, so far as we know, ever had a bad word to say. He died somewhere near his sixtieth year. My guess is that he ended his days at Athens; he was hardly so prominent a person that his death overseas would have attracted notice, though this is hard to assess. The Athenian public knew him chiefly from having seen his plays produced on ten occasions. There are further allusions to him in comedy. He is parodied twice in the *Frogs*, long after his death,[11] and Diels conjectured that some other comic passage lies behind the phrase in the *Suda* entry, *υἱὸς Ὀρθομένους, ἐπίκλησιν δὲ Ξούθου*—that some comedian facetiously assimilated Ion to the mythical Ion, the eponym of the Ionians, by calling him the son of Xouthos.[12] I will add a further conjecture. There is a story that Ion celebrated a tragic (or simultaneous tragic and dithyrambic) victory by sending a jar of Chian wine to every Athenian citizen.[13] This has been taken as evidence of his great wealth. But it is not difficult to imagine that after the Chiot had won a victory at the Dionysia some comedian spoke metaphorically in a parabasis of the Athenians having been 'given a good draught of Chian wine',

[8] *GRBS* 6 (1965), 38.

[9] *CQ* 41. 14 f. = *Abhandlungen*, 164 f.

[10] Hypoth. Eur. *Hipp.* = Ion 392 T 6 = *TrGF* i, DID C 13.

[11] *Frogs* 706 with sch., 1425 with sch.; *TrGF* 19 F 41, 44.

[12] *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, i.[5] 285. But cf. Huxley, *GRBS* 6 (1965), 30 n. 5.

[13] Ath. 3f and sch. Ar. *Pac.* 835.

and that this was taken literally by a later commentator. [Cf. Ar. *Eq.* 538.]

One episode remains to be fitted into the chronological scheme: the symposium for which the elegiac fragment 27 was composed.

1[74] χαιρέτω ἡμέτερος βασιλεὺς σωτήρ τε πατήρ τε.
ἡμῖν δὲ κρητῆρ' οἰνοχόοι θέραπες
κιρνάντων προχύταισιν ἐν ἀργυρέοις· †ὁ δὲ χρυσός
οἶνον ἔχων χειρῶν νιζέτω εἰς ἔδαφος.†
σπένδοντες δ' ἁγνῶς Ἡρακλεῖ τ' Ἀλκμήνηι τε,
Προκλεῖ Περσαίδαις τ' ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχόμενοι
πίνωμεν, παίζωμεν· ἴτω διὰ νυκτὸς ἀοιδή,
ὀρχείσθω τις, ἑκὼν δ' ἄρχε φιλοφροσύνης.
ὅντινα δ' εὐειδὴς μίμνει θήλεια πάρευνος,
κεῖνος τῶν ἄλλων κυδρότερον πίεται.

Procles was the ancestor of the Eurypontid royal line at Sparta, and he was of course descended from Heracles and Alcmene. It seems clear that Ion's poem must have been performed at a Spartan occasion and in the presence of a Eurypontid king, whether or not the first line refers to him.[14] The king was almost certainly Archidamus, who occupied the Eurypontid throne from 469/8 to 428/7. But when did Ion drink with him? Many have followed U. Koehler, who put it in the 440s.[15] Plutarch, *Pericles* 8. 5, tells a plausible story of a conversation between Archidamus and Thucydides the son of Melesias. This should date from the period of Thucydides' ostracism (443–33), and Ion, Koehler suggested, might have been the writer who recorded it. There are no decisive arguments against the hypothesis. But we cannot guess why Ion should have gone to Sparta at that time or been Archidamus' guest, and Jacoby questions the likelihood of companionship between Ion and Thucydides. He prefers to suppose that the date is much earlier, 462; Ion had accompanied Cimon on his Spartan expedition, and the symposium took place in the Spartan camp before Ithome. 'It seems a tenable hypothesis that when [Cimon] took the field he attached his young friend to his staff.'[16]

Cimon certainly seems the most probable link between Ion and Archidamus, and if Ion was the source of Plutarch's story about the

[14] I believe that ἡμέτερος βασιλεύς refers to wine or to Dionysus. See *SGEI* 173.
[15] *Hermes* 29 (1894), 156–8.
[16] *CQ* 41. 9 = *Abhandlungen*, 156.

encounter between Cimon and the Corinthian general Lachartos,[17] it would become a little more probable that he had accompanied Cimon to Sparta in 462. But when Jacoby writes that the enthusiastic tone and simple style of the poem 'is well in accord with the general atmosphere and the age of the poet, who had hardly reached his twentieth year', I beg leave to doubt. I should characterize the tone as one of easy confidence. Is this really the voice of a youngster of eighteen or twenty, in unfamiliar surroundings far from home, admitted by the grace of fortune to the company of two of the most powerful men in Greece? It sounds to my ear like that of a somewhat maturer man, known and accepted by his companions, fully at home and at ease in his environment. And what do we know of the 'general atmosphere' before Ithome? That when the Athenians got there, the Spartans, τὴν τόλμαν καὶ τὴν λαμπρότητα δείσαντες, ἀπεπέμψαντο μόνους τῶν συμμάχων ὡς νεωτεριστάς, and that they went away again in no little bad humour.[18]

Can we then find a later occasion for Ion's poem? Cimon may have revisited Sparta during the period of his ostracism; he certainly went once more about 450 on Athens' behalf, when he negotiated the five-year truce. That must have been his last visit, and if we are to assume a Cimonian visit as the background to Ion's elegy, that is at once the latest and the most plausible date for it. There was a more useful role for the poet to play on that occasion than there had been in 462. He could enhance the euphoria of the symposium and so contribute something to the restoration of friendly contacts. And what could have been a more appropriate setting in which to sing of pouring solemn σπονδαί to all the king's ancestors?

We have been able to reconstruct something of the shape of Ion's life. Athens was his home from home. But although he spent long periods there, he did not sever his connections with his native Chios. He was there in 440; and in 412 the Chians had among them a prominent pro-Athenian citizen (perhaps an Athenian proxenos) called Tydeus the son of Ion, where it is probable that the Ion in question is our Ion.[19] One of Ion's prose works was the Χίου κτίσις,

[17] *Cimon* 17. 1–2; Jacoby, loc. cit. Ion could, of course, have heard the story from Cimon without having been present.
[18] Plut. *Cimon* 17. 3. Plutarch makes this the second of two expeditions, and the exact course of events is somewhat obscure. Cf. G. A. Papantoniou, *AJP* 72 (1951), 176–81.
[19] Thuc. 8. 38. 3. 'Dass Tydeus Ions sohn ein sohn des dichters wäre musste jeder attische leser des capitels annehmen. also hätte Thukydides sich anders ausgedrückt,

an account of his city's foundation and early history. The date of composition is unknown, but it must at all events count as the earliest prose work of its kind that has left any record. From the condensed summary of Ion's foundation-legend in Pausanias (7. 4. 8–10 = Ion 392 F 1) it seems that he knew nothing of a common Ionian migration from Athens, as in Pherecydes, Panyassis, Herodotus, and so on,[20] or at least he did not make the founders of Chios participants in it. First, according [75] to him, there were certain indigenous heroes, including the eponym Chios, born from local nymphs with willing assistance from Poseidon. Then various immigrants arrived from other places: Oinopion and his sons from Crete, a party of Carians, and some Abantes from Euboea. Later another Euboean, Amphiklos from Histiaia, came in obedience to a Delphic oracle. His great-grandson Hector expelled the Abantes and Carians and then, remembering something the oracle had said, joined the Ionian amphictiony.

No connection is made with Athens in Pausanias' summary, but Plutarch (*Theseus* 20. 2) writes *ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ τεκεῖν ἐκ Θησέως Ἀριάδνην, Οἰνοπίωνα καὶ Στάφυλον· ὧν καὶ ὁ Χῖος Ἴων ἐστί, περὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδος λέγων*

τήν ποτε Θησείδης ἔκτισεν Οἰνοπίων

(fr. eleg. 29). Whether or not Ion really attributed Staphylos as well as Oinopion to the union, Plutarch is certainly right to infer that where Oinopion (whom we know Ion regarded as a Cretan) is made a son of Theseus, his mother must have been Ariadne. A quite different version is ascribed to 'Hesiod':[21] here Oinopion is of neither Cretan nor Athenian lineage. The Cretan–Chian connection is represented by Orion, son of Poseidon and a daughter of Minos; he comes to Chios and finds Oinopion already ruling there. The affiliation of Oinopion to Theseus must be a fifth-century development. Ion is

wenn der Ion, den er zu nennen nicht nötig hatte, nicht wirklich der dichter war' (Wilamowitz, *Aus Kydathen* (Berlin 1880), 13 n. 14). Jacoby, *CQ* 41. 1 n. 9 = *Abhandlungen*, 145 n. 9, is a little less positive, but accepts the identification. Mattingly (as in n. 6), 237, speculates that Tydeus was named after a trilogy on the Theban cycle (he refers to Ion's *Argeioi*) had been warmly received at Athens. He notes that Tydeus' name might be supplied in an Attic proxeny decree of *c.*430, *IG* 1^3. 56. 4.

[20] See Jacoby on *FGrHist* 323a F 11.

[21] Ps.-Eratosthenes, *Catast.* 32 (Hes. fr. 148); but cf. W. Sale, *Rh. Mus.* 105 (1962), 138 ff.

quoted for this version, he was a notably pro-Athenian historian of Chios, and it seems very probable that he invented it. Cimon had brought the bones of Theseus from Skyros to Athens in 475, and it may have been from Cimon that Ion learned something of the true scope of Theseus' achievements.[22]

His *Epidemiai* was another pioneering work in terms of literary genre. Neither biography nor dialogue literature, it had something to do with the origins of both. The nearest parallel to it is perhaps Stesimbrotus (*FGrHist* 107) *Περὶ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ Θουκυδίδου καὶ Περικλέους*, written probably in the 420s, with its focus on personalities (including Cimon) and its use of anecdotes. But Stesimbrotus' work was political in tendency, and only partly based on personal acquaintance with the men concerned. Ion is interested in outstanding Athenians he has met, some of them during his visits to Athens, others during their visits abroad; the title *Ἐπιδημίαι* (unlikely to be Ion's own) was equally applicable in either case.[23] He seems regularly to have described the circumstances of the meeting. The subjects included statesmen, poets, and philosophers. The emphasis was on their character and personality as revealed in their public speeches (which were, of course, usually not otherwise recorded for posterity) or in their private conversation. If Ion's aim had been to write biography we could say that he anticipated the viewpoint of Plutarch, that 'it is not always the most famous deeds that reveal a man's good or bad qualities: often a trivial matter, a dictum or a joke, gives an impression of his character more clearly than battles with thousands of dead or tremendous military confrontations or sieges of cities'.[24] Certainly we are very glad to know that Cimon was a tall, handsome fellow with thick, curly hair and graceful manners, that he could sing respectably (unlike Themistocles) and make good conversation, and that he saw Athens

[22] Jacoby, *CQ* 41. 6 f. = *Abhandlungen*, 152 f., thinks that Ion was not the first to make Oinopion a Theseid. He relies on a questionable interpretation of a vase by the Lewis Painter, *alias* Polygnotus II (Vienna 1773; *LIMC* Theseus 312), which must be earlier (*c.*460). It shows on one side Athena with the victorious Theseus, on the other a woman handing two male children to a nymph. Even if she can be assumed to be Ariadne, there is no certainty that the children are Plutarch's Oinopion and Staphylos. They are at least as likely to be Demophon and Akamas: sch. *Od.* 11. 321 *Ἀριάδνη Μίνωος θυγάτηρ γυνὴ Θησέως, ἐξ ἧς Δημοφῶν καὶ Ἀκάμας.*

[23] See Jacoby, *CQ* 41. 15 = *Abhandlungen*, 166.

[24] *Alexander* 1. 2. See J. R. Hamilton, *Plutarch: Alexander. A Commentary* (Oxford 1969), pp. xxxvii ff.

and Sparta in 462 as the two legs on which Greece stood, or as a pair of oxen pulling one plough. We are glad to know that Aeschylus took part in the battle of Salamis, and that he attended the Isthmian Games, and could coin an epigram.[25] We are glad to know that Pericles was distant and supercilious; and that Sophocles was witty and playful in his cups, and stole a kiss from an attractive young slave-boy while embellishing his conversation with apposite quotations from older poets. All this we owe to Ion's book.

A hint of the work's formal structure is given by the way F 6 begins: *Σοφοκλεῖ τῶι ποιητῆι ἐν Χίωι συνήντησα, ὅτε ἔπλει εἰς Λέσβον στρατηγός*. 'Sophocles the poet I met in Chios': the emphasis indicates that Sophocles is one of a series, and that the book was arranged by personalities. We may see a reflection of the same method in the *oratio obliqua* of F 13, *συνδειπνῆσαι δὲ τῶι Κίμωνί φησιν ὁ Ἴων παντάπασι μειράκιον ἥκων εἰς Ἀθήνας ἐκ Χίου, παρὰ Λαομέδοντι*. Ion may have written something like *Κίμωνι τῶι Μιλτιάδεω συνεδείπνησα κτλ*. And similarly F 9 can be converted into 'I met Socrates when he came to Samos as a young man with Archelaus'. It looks as if the book was more an album than an integrated composition.

[76] For whom was it written? Not for an Athenian public: this much seems clear from the last sentence of the verbatim fragment about Sophocles (F 6): *τοιαῦτα πολλὰ δεξιῶς ἔλεγέν τε καὶ ἔπρησσεν ὅτε πίνοι. τὰ μέντοι πολιτικὰ οὔτε σοφὸς οὔτε ῥεκτήριος ἦν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἄν τις εἷς τῶν χρηστῶν Ἀθηναίων*. If we did not know better, we would think that Ion was writing a posthumous memoir. But we know that this was written between 439 and 422. Sophocles was very much alive and active; he was to outlive Ion by sixteen years. Ion must be writing for people who do not themselves know Sophocles and have no expectation of ever meeting him. Perhaps he was writing for Chians, or more generally for Ionians, who would be interested to know what these famous Athenians were like. Or perhaps he was consciously writing for posterity, aware that he had enjoyed the acquaintance of men who were great and, in their several fields, *ἀξιολογώτατοι τῶν προγεγενημένων*.

[25] And Ion may perhaps have been the source for the story that Aeschylus described his tragedies as *τεμάχη τῶν Ὁμήρου μεγάλων δείπνων* (Ath. 347e). If so, it was no doubt in the same context that he gave as his own opinion that Sophocles was Homer's only true pupil (*Vita Sophoclis* 20 = Ion 392 F 23).

While not writing history, he may have appreciated that he was making a contribution to historiography, and he may have been moving towards a philosophy of history in which these portraits had a meaningful place. His philosophical work, the *Triagmoi*, opened with the announcement (F 24 = DK 36 B 1)

ἀρχὴ δέ μοι τοῦ λόγου πάντα τρία, καὶ †πλέον τοῦδε πλέον ἐλάσσων† τούτων τῶν τριῶν. ἑνὸς ἑκάστου ἀρετὴ τριάς· σύνεσις καὶ κράτος καὶ τύχη.

Σύνεσις, κράτος, τύχη make a puzzling cosmic trinity. But are these not the qualities that the statesman, any man of action, needs in order to accomplish great things: intelligence, the power to act, and the happy conjunction of circumstances that rewards action with success? Ion was not indisposed to abstract reflection of this sort. We know that he composed a hymn to *Καιρός* (*PMG* 742), perhaps the earliest member of the set that includes Ariphron's hymn to *Ὑγίεια*, Aristotle's hymn to *Ἀρετή*, and the anonymous hymn to *Τύχη* (*PMG* 813, 842, 1019). We also hear that in a prose work (*Epidemiai*?) Ion *φησὶν ἀνομοιότατον πρᾶγμα τῆι σοφίαι τὴν τύχην οὖσαν ὁμοιοτάτων πραγμάτων γίνεσθαι δημιουργόν· αὔξουσιν ἀμφότεραι πόλεις, κοσμοῦσιν ἄνδρας, εἰς δόξαν ἀνάγουσιν, εἰς δύναμιν, εἰς ἡγεμονίαν* (Plut. *De fortuna Rom.* 316d = Ion 392 F 17). He had ample opportunity in his lifetime to observe the dramatic vicissitudes of fortune produced by the interplay of great men's *σύνεσις, κράτος*, and *τύχη*. It was left to Thucydides to write a history in which this concept was implicit. But Ion seems to have given it philosophical formulation and extended its reference to the cosmos as a whole. *Every* thing's virtue, he says, is based on the three properties of *σύνεσις, κράτος*, and *τύχη*. Some things give evidence of intelligent purpose, but do not always have the power to fulfil it. Other things prevail by power without intelligence; others again by contingency. The ideal would be a full measure of all three, but we may guess that Ion reserved that happy condition for God: a being so endowed would necessarily dominate the universe.

Ion was interested in Pythagoreanism,[26] and it is in line with this interest that he analyses the world in terms of a balance of abstract qualities—qualities, moreover, with a political significance. We think

[26] DK 36 B 2 and 4. Cf. Huxley, *GRBS* 6 (1965), 38 f.

ὁ γλυκὺς Ἱρίννας οὗτος πόνος, οὐχὶ πολὺς μέν,
ὡς ἂν παρθενικᾶς ἐννεακαιδεκέτευς,
ἀλλ' ἑτέρων πολλῶν δυνατώτερος· εἰ δ' Ἀΐδας μοι
μὴ ταχὺς ἦλθε, τίς ἂν ταλίκον ἔσχ' ὄνομα;

I[96] Her early death is the subject of two other epigrams, *A.P.* 7. 12 and 13, of which the first is anonymous and the second ascribed to Leonidas (98) or Meleager. It cannot have been reported in Erinna's poem, though it might have been foreshadowed in it in some way. 7. 12. 4 says that she was driven to Acheron by

Μοῖρα, λινοκλώστου δεσπότις ἠλακάτης.

The poet associates Erinna's distaff with Fate's, and he may have taken the association from Erinna herself, especially as the use of Ἠλακάτη as the title of her poem indicates that the distaff played a significant role in it.[3] From speaking of her life of spinning she might have gone on to reflect that the Fates were spinning meanwhile, and her youth passing by.[4]

The title is given by the *Suda* s.v. Ἤριννα: Τεία ἢ Λεσβία, ὡς δὲ ἄλλοι Τηλία· Τῆλος δέ ἐστι νησίδιον ἐγγὺς Κνίδου. τινὲς δὲ καὶ Ῥοδίαν αὐτὴν ἐδόξασαν. ἦν δὲ ἐποποιός ('hexameter poet'). ἔγραψεν Ἠλακάτην· ποίημα δέ ἐστιν Αἰολικῇ καὶ Δωρίδι διαλέκτωι, ἐπῶν τ'. ἐποίησε δὲ ἐπιγράμματα. τελευτᾶι παρθένος ἐννεακαιδεκέτις, οἱ δὲ στίχοι αὐτῆς ἐκρίθησαν ἴσοι Ὁμήρωι. ἦν δὲ ἑταίρα Σαπφοῦς καὶ ὁμόχρονος. This is the first source explicitly to make nineteen her age at death. Eustathius 326. 46 ff. follows the *Suda* closely, but also quotes *A.P.* 9. 190 as evidence; and the epigram is obviously the source of the last part of the *Suda* entry, from τελευτᾶι. The earlier part no doubt came from Hesychius of Miletus. Crusius, *RE* vi. 458, was therefore wrong to suggest that the title given by the *Suda* was simply derived from ἐπ' ἠλακάτηι in the epigram. (In any case there was no reason to infer a title from it.) The remark on the dialect mixture indicates that the *Distaff* had attracted scholarly interest, and this is confirmed by a further epigram, Antiphanes 9 (*A.P.* 11. 322), where the γραμματικῶν περίεργα γένη, the Καλλιμάχου πρόκυνες, are described as ἐπ' Ἠρίννηι κομῶντες. Controversy about the authenticity of the work is implied by Athenaeus 283d Ἤριννα ἥ ὁ πεποιηκὼς τὸ εἰς αὐτὴν ἀναφερόμενον ποιημάτιον, where 'the poem attributed to her', in the absence of further specification, can only be the *Distaff*.

We now turn to the fragments. The one substantial piece that has survived is PSI 1090 I[97] (=Mertens–Pack[3] 365), now dated to the second century CE.[5] It belongs to a series of poetic manuscripts produced at Oxyrhynchus at that period which combine a large, handsome format with a scholarly display of lectional signs. Only partial photographs have been published,[6] and current texts incorporate misreadings. I am much in debt to Mr P. J. Parsons, who has collated the papyrus in Florence, for the use of his transcript and notes and for lending me his full-size photographs of the whole. The transcript that appears below is my own, but it could not have been made without this assistance from him. I give first a diplomatic transcript showing (*a*) what can be seen on the papyrus, (*b*) a preliminary interpretation incorporating the most uncontroversial supplements.

[These are here omitted. See the edition by Lloyd-Jones and Parsons, *SH* 401.]

I[101] That the fragment belongs to the *Distaff* is beyond doubt. Erinna's name appears in 38, followed by mention of a distaff. The association of mother and ἔριθοι in 23 suggests another allusion to the wool-working activities of the house. The metre and dialect mixture agree with the statements of the testimonia. What was not clear before the discovery of the papyrus is that an important element in the poem was lament for Baucis, the friend whose death immediately after her wedding is the subject of two epigrams ostensibly by Erinna.[7] The import of *SH* 402 (Stob. 4. 51. 4) is now plain:

†τοῦτό κεν† εἰς Ἀΐδαν κενεὰ διανήχεται ἀχώ·
σιγὰ δ' ἐν νεκύεσσι, τὸ δὲ σκότος ὄσσε †κατέρρει.[8]

[3] Whether or not the title was bestowed by herself. Those scholars are wrong who alter Ἠλακάτη into Ἠλακάτα. Dialect poems are not normally known by dialect titles. See my note in *CQ* 20 (1970), 277 n. 3 (= *Hellenica* ii. 356 n. 3).

[4] A similar suggestion in A. and A. Cameron, *CQ* 19 (1969), 287 f.

[5] See Lobel in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, xxiv. 130.

[6] *PSI* ix; *Mnem.*[3] 6 (1938), facing p. 195.

[7] Below, p. 441. Such deaths were (or became) a commonplace theme, cf. *A.P.* 7. 182–6, 188, 711; G. Giangrande, *CR* 19 (1969), 2.

[8] 1 τουτόθεν Michelangeli: τουτῶ κῆς Meineke: τοῦτο μὲν J. Vara Donado (*Habis* 4 (1973), 76) 2 καταγρεῖ Bergk: καταρρεῖ Hecker.

Erinna's words cannot reach Baucis' ears any more than the light can reach her eyes. The alliterative fragment quoted by Athenaeus, loc. cit. (*SH* [404]),

> πομπίλε, ναύταισιν πέμπων πλόον εὔπλοον ἰχθύ,
> πομπεύσαις πρύμναθεν ἐμὰν ἀδεῖαν ἑταίραν,

must also refer to Baucis. Either the voyage is the crossing to Hades in Charon's vessel (cf. διανήχεται in 402, and *A.P.* 7. 12. 3, where Moira drives Erinna εἰς Ἀχέροντα διὰ πλατὺ κῦμα καμόντων), or Erinna is recalling a wish that she uttered on some earlier occasion.[9]

We must now consider the detailed interpretation of the papyrus fragment.

[This detailed discussion and the following speculatively supplemented text of lines 13–54 are here omitted.]

|[113] Another papyrus fragment that has been conjecturally ascribed to the *Distaff* is P. Oxy. 8, lines 4–7, apparently an item in a florilegium:

|[114] ἤνθομεν ἐς μεγάλας Δαμ[ά]τερος, ἐννέ' ἐάσσα[ι
πάσαι παρθενικαί, πάσαι καλὰ ἔμματ' ἔχοισα[ι,
καλὰ μὲν ἔμματ' ἔχοισαι, ἀρ[ι]πρεπέας δὲ καὶ ὅρμ[ως
πριστῶ ἐ[ξ ἐ]λέφαντος, ἰδῆν ποτεοικότας αι̣τ̣[

A girl or woman is speaking, in hexameters of mixed Doric and Aeolic dialect, recalling something 'we' did—whether hours or years before, one cannot tell. This much suits Erinna. But the ascription cannot be sustained, for Erinna would have ἦλθομες not ἤνθομεν, ἐοῖσαι not ἐάσσαι. ἐάσσα belongs to the dialect of Arcadia and Messene. It was not established in any literary dialect, and may therefore reflect the author's native speech. If so, we think of Anyte of Tegea, who is known to have written poetry in other genres besides epigram. Pausanias 10. 38. 13 calls her τὴν ποιήσασαν τὰ ἔπη, and this presumably refers to hexameters.[10] Great Demeter suits Arcadia well; she and Kore were worshipped at Tegea as καρποφόροι.[11] Anyte's epigrams, however, are written in a straightforward literary Doric, with ἐπελθών transmitted in 11. 3 (*A.P.* 7. 202); the isolated ἔχοισαν in 8. 3 (*A.P.* 7. 649) comes in an epitaph upon a girl with the Aeolic name of Thersis. If the hexameters are Anyte's, we must suppose that she admitted a much more distinct Aeolic element into her language in that metre; she may have modelled herself on Sappho, like Erinna, or, more probably, on Erinna herself.[12]

I regard the three epigrams preserved under the name of Erinna as the work of others. Two of them are epitaphs for Baucis:

1 (*A.P.* 7. 710)

> στάλα καὶ Σειρῆνες ἐμαὶ καὶ πένθιμε κρωσσέ,
> ὅστις ἔχεις Ἀΐδαι τὰν ὀλίγαν σποδιάν,
> τοῖς ἐμὸν ἐρχομένοισι παρ' ἠρίον εἴπατε χαίρειν,
> αἴτ' ἀστοὶ τελέθωντ' αἴθ' ἑτεροπτόλιες,
> χὤτι με νύμφαν εὖσαν ἔχει τάφος, εἴπατε καὶ τό,
> |[115] χὤτι πατήρ μ' ἐκάλει Βαυκίδα, χὤτι γένος
> Τηλία, ὡς εἰδῶντι, καὶ ὅττι μοι ἁ συνεταιρὶς
> Ἠρινν' ἐν τύμβωι γράμμ' ἐχάραξε τόδε.

2 (*A.P.* 7. 712)

> νύμφας Βαυκίδος εἰμί· πολυκλαύταν δὲ παρέρπων
> στάλαν τῶι κατὰ γᾶς τοῦτο λέγοις Ἀΐδαι·
> "βάσκανός ἐσσ', Ἄιδα". τὰ δέ τοι καλὰ σάμαθ' ὁρῶντι
> ὠμοτάταν Βαυκοῦς ἀγγελέοντι τύχαν,
> ὡς τὰν παῖδ', ὑμέναιος ἐφ' αἷς ἀείδετο πεύκαις,
> ταῖσδ' ἔπι καδεστὰς ἔφλεγε πυρκαϊᾶι,
> καὶ σὺ μὲν ὦ Ὑμέναιε γάμων μολπαῖον ἀοιδάν
> ἐς θρήνων γοερὸν φθέγγμα μεθαρμόσαο.

If these were genuine inscriptions from Baucis' tomb they would reflect the fact that it was set up by her husband or father-in-law, who might have accepted a couple of poems from Erinna to put on it but not the statement that she, that querulous Cinderella who would not attend properly to her work, had caused them to be inscribed. It is significant that neither Baucis' father (1. 6) nor her καδεστάς (2. 6) has a name. The reason is that the author or authors of the

[9] So A. Körte, *Gnomon* 15 (1939), 494: 'Da Baukis nicht in Telos heiratete and starb, [S. Wilamowitz, Sappho and Simonides 230.] konnte Erinna in ihrem Trauergedicht anführen, mit welchen Geleitswünschen sie die Freundin in ihre neue Heimat hatte ziehen lassen.' Wilamowitz's inference was based on the epigrams; but see below, p. 441 f. For the rhetorical appeal to an aquatic creature cf. Philoxenus, *PMG* 822 (sch. Theoc. 11. 1).

[10] See A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams* (Cambridge 1965), ii. 90.

[11] M. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, i. (3rd edn., Munich 1967), 477 ff.

[12] Nossis uses *-οισα* freely in epigram (4. 1, 5. 1, 7. 3 v. l.; rest. in 12. 1). Her open interest in love makes her a more Sapphic figure than the rather sexless Anyte. The epitaph which links her name with Sappho's, however, (11, *A.P.* 7. 718) may not be her own work. Sappho's dialect is aped later by Julia Balbilla, Damo, and the surely fictitious 'Melinno of Lesbos'.

epigrams did not know the names. He/they knew only what was known throughout Greece from the *Distaff*: the wedding, the death, and Erinna's friendship. To compose a fictitious epitaph for a literary person was a common enough exercise. Erinna's celebrated poem provided excellent material for poets who were visited by the desire to write epitaphs more frequently than their friends and relations died. Naturally epitaphs for Baucis were written in the person of Erinna.

The phrase *βάσκανός ἐσσ', Ἀΐδα* (2. 3) is quoted as Erinna's in the epitaph on her by Leonidas or Meleager (*A.P.* 7. 13). Meleager, at least, knew epigrams under Erinna's name (*A.P.* 4. 1. 12), and that he accepted her authorship of *A.P.* 7. 712 would be no surprise. But I think there is a good chance that it is not a quotation from there but a phrase from the *Distaff*, copied in both epigrams. A man who writes an epitaph on Erinna is likely to have her famous poem in mind. *Ἀΐδα* is redundant straight after *Ἀΐδαι*.

The third epigram ascribed to her, *A.P.* 6. 352, is an expression of wonder at a lifelike portrait of a girl called Agatharchis. This is a type of poem otherwise peculiar to Nossis (6–9, *A.P.* 6. 353–4, 9. 604–5), and I consider that *A.P.* 6. 352 is to be transferred to her. |[116] Confusion of ascriptions between one poetess and another also occurred with *A.P.* 7. 190, which in the Anthology is headed *Ἀνύτης, οἱ δὲ Λεωνίδου*, but is alluded to by Pliny (*HN* 34. 57) under the name of Erinna.

We have surveyed the evidence, direct and indirect, bearing on Erinna's poetic activity. It remains to assess her position in literary history. The basic fact for antiquity was the existence of the *Distaff*. We have no reason to think that anything was known of Erinna beyond what was to be learned from the poem. Athenaeus' reference to *Ἤρινναν ἢ ὁ πεποιηκὼς τὸ εἰς αὐτὴν ἀναφερόμενον ποιημάτιον* shows that not everyone took the poem at its face value. One of the questions we must still consider is whether we should.

The picture of the unsophisticated young island girl pouring forth her heart in spontaneous poetry has appealed mightily to scholars. Before the discovery of the papyrus, Wilamowitz asserted that this 'siebzehnjähriges Mädchen' (*sic*), writing 'in ihrer heimischen Sprache'—here already are two tendentious modifications of attested facts—'wird ganz ohne Überlegung gedichtet haben, wie es ihr natürlich war'. In antithesis to the growing domination of prose and rhetoric 'tönt wie ein frischer Lerchentriller die Stimme der

Jungfrau, die in einem entlegenen Winkel ein Gedicht auf das Werkzeug ihrer täglichen Arbeit macht'.[13] After the papyrus was known, Körte wrote in similar vein: 'Aber das merkwürdigste ist doch, dass im IV. Jahrh. ein so junges Mädchen auf einer entlegenen Insel es wagte, alles, was ihr Herz bewegte, ganz unbefangen and ohne Anlehnung an irgendwelcher Muster in einem Gedicht von dreihundert Versen auszusprechen'.[14] For Bowra, the poem was 'a genuine cry of grief ... a true record of her own feelings'.[15] Delightful. But unsophisticated teenage girls in real life do not compose polished hexameter poems which rapidly enter the national canon. A truer verdict has been delivered by U. W. Scholz: 'Erinna war sicherlich nicht die "naïve", "ohne Überlegung" schreibende Dichterin. Ihr Werk bedeutet ein grosses Talent, aber auch viel Arbeit, Fleiss and Feile. Asklepiades von Samos hat dies in dem Oxymoron *γλυκὺς πόνος* (AP 7,11) richtig erfasst.'[16]

|[117] It is probably true to say that the *Distaff* would not have reached the public if it had not been written for it. It catered for the artistic tastes of the fourth century: the interest in domestic life and ordinary people, and the sense of romance that responded to themes like a girl yearning for marriage but kept at the loom by an unsympathetic mother, or a new bride carried off by Hades. Antimachus had tuned traditional Ionian verse-form to the new mode in his elegiac *Lyde*, with its autobiographical framework involving a story of love cut short by death. The south-east Aegean, Ionian and Dorian, was precisely the region where refined elegiac and hexameter poetry was cultivated in the generation or two preceding the foundation of the Museum at Alexandria: Colophon (Antimachus, Hermesianax), Ephesus (Zenodotus), Samos (Asclepiades), Miletus (Philiscus), Cos (Philitas, Theocritus), Rhodes (Simias, Antagoras, Apollonius), Crete (Rhianus). Erinna's 'entlegene Insel' is right in this area, midway between Cos and Rhodes. If we can believe Eusebius that she was active *c.*353/2, she

[13] *Hellenistische Dichtung*, i. 108–10. 'Bei Suidas heisst es, sie schrieb *Δωρίδι καὶ Αἰολίδι*. Wenn wirkliche Aeolismen vorkommen, so hatte sie sich an Sappho gehalten, begreiflich bei einer Dichterin, vielleicht unbewusst' (109 n. 2). Sappho, yes; unconsciously, no.

[14] *APF* 10 (1931), 23.

[15] In *Greek Poetry and Life: Essays presented to Gilbert Murray* (Oxford 1936), 341, = C. M. Bowra, *Problems in Greek Poetry* (Oxford 1953), 167.

[16] *Antike und Abendland* 18 (1973), 39.

antedated most of the poets mentioned, but she was no isolated flower blooming in a cultural desert.

Hexameter poetry, at least at the literary level, was traditionally written in Ionic, even by Boeotians and Dorians. Only Alcman and Sappho had written non-Ionic hexameters.[17] An unsophisticated amateur essaying a poem in the metre would have striven to give it the correct dialect colouring. With the novel blend of Aeolic and Doric the author of the *Distaff* is not discarding tradition but taking up a special position in relation to it. The Doric element is meant to convey that she is an ordinary person, a homely little Telian maid, not a *Μουσάων θεράπαιν' ὀτρηρή*. The Aeolic element is meant to echo Sappho and so emphasize the female sex of the writer. Both elements are intended to define the poetic persona more piquantly, and the aim is certainly achieved.

We are dealing, then, with an author whose undoubtedly exceptional *ingenium* is married to considerable *ars*, who deliberately sets out to move us by the dramatic evocation of a distressing situation and to charm us with a thesaurus of allusions to children's games, playthings, and superstitions. Was this author really a nineteen-year-old girl whose daylight hours had been spent at the loom and the spindle? Or was the *Distaff* not rather a brilliant pseudepigraphon: formally similar to a situation monologue such as Theocritus 2 and 3, a veritable *εἰδύλλιον*, but presented to the public as an actual girl's lament? There is so much that does not ring quite true. A girl brought up on an island with no large |[118] town, in a household dominated by spinning and weaving, and forced to devote herself to it from dawn to dusk, and yet so versed in classical poetry as to be able to compose one of the most accomplished and original poems of the century. A girl capable of philosophic reflection about her life and prospects, and able to articulate her thoughts in three hundred first-rate hexameters dashed off while everyone else is burning her best friend. A girl who finds it necessary to emphasize her sex by borrowing from the language of Sappho. A girl who lives just beyond the reach of observation, not in one of the poetic centres like Cos or Rhodes but in one of the little islands that few people stop at; not in the time of all the known poets active in those parts around

[17] To introduce Doric forms in Alcm. *PMGF* 77 and 80, where Ionic ones are transmitted, is a dubious procedure. However, there is evidence for them in 26.

the end of the fourth century, but just a little earlier; a girl who vanishes from the earth as soon as her masterpiece appears.

Literary forgeries abounded in the fourth century; and it had already been discovered how much interest a woman's name on a book could arouse. The most famous of ancient handbooks *περὶ ἀφροδισίων* was in circulation under the name of the courtesan Philaenis, but some people knew that it was really written by an Athenian sophist called Polycrates.[18] We must also remember the taste for dramatic songs representing a woman in distress. Alcaeus' *ἔμε δείλαν, ἔμε πάιcαν κακοτάτων πεδέχοιcαν* (fr. 10) may have been an early example. Euripides certainly did much to popularize them (cf. *Frogs* 1331 ff.). The so-called Locrian Songs were famous by the time of Clearchus (Ath. 639a); the specimen that we possess (*PMG* 853) portrays an adulteress anxious to get her lover off the premises. Theocritus contributes his Simaetha. In the following century there is the Grenfell fragment (*Coll. Alex.* 177), the song of a woman locked out of her lover's house. In another little song Helen complains that Menelaus, after going to the trouble of sacking Troy, has deserted her—a sensational twist to the old story, worthy of Euripides. Erinna's lament is not of the same sort as these, but they help us to appreciate the reasons for its instant success with the public.

She is a pretty creation, and some people will regard that as a reason for believing in her. But alas, he who holds that

> 'Beauty is truth, truth beauty,'—that is all
> Ye know on earth, and all ye need to know,

subscribes to four falsehoods. The truth about Erinna, I suggest, is that one of those poets of Cos or Rhodes who flourished towards the end of the fourth century or very early in the third |[119] composed the *Distaff* and brought it forth as the work of a young girl who had lived and died on a nearby island shortly before. Asclepiades acclaimed it, Theocritus was influenced by it, others composed epitaphs for Baucis, and it enjoyed all the success that its author could have hoped for. What a pity that such a gifted poet had to conceal his name.

[18] Aeschrion, *epigr.* 1 (*A.P.* 7. 345). Other sex manuals were claimed to be by Niko, Kallistrate, Elephantine, and even Helen's handmaid Astyanassa (*Suda* α 4261).

30

The Way of a Maid with a Moke: P. Oxy. 4762

In volume lxx of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (2006) Dirk Obbink has published an intriguing literary fragment concerning a woman's sexual desire for, and intercourse with, a donkey. The text was written in the third century on the back of a document. There is a negligible trace of a first column and a fairly complete second one, which, however, consists of only fifteen short lines.

The piece has attracted comment and discussion by a number of scholars.[1] In preparing the present study I have used the high-resolution image on the Oxford website (www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk) and also re-examined the papyrus itelf with a microscope. I begin by giving an improved transcript.

	δειν[ο]cφλεγομαι[	
	ρευμαμηκειδ̣[	̣[, not ι̣[
	ιδητεκνωμενη[	η[incomplete but certain
	τιποτεμενυς̣ις̣[ ]ι̣[	cς or cε ς[: possibly θ[
	—	
5	ονονφιλουca ̣[	Possibly αῳ; a suprascript?
	.[.]ν̣ταωcποτεσυν[	Not γ[, ρ[; possibly ρ[
	. . .]πες'αυτωικαι[	
	αι̣[..]υμενηλεγει[	

ZPE 175 (2010), 33–40 (with a revision: see n. 13).

[1] I shall refer to W. Luppe, *ZPE* 158 (2006), 93–4; A. Barchiesi in L. Graverini–W. Keulen–A. Barchiesi (edd.), *Il romanzo antico. Forme, testi, problemi* (Rome 2006), 206–9; R. May in *Ancient Narrative* 8 (Groningen 2010), 59–83; G. Zanetto in G. Bastianini and A. Casanova (edd.), *I papiri del romanzo antico. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Firenze, 11–12 Giugno 2009* (Florence 2010), 51–63; A. Stramaglia, ibid. 176–85; R. Hunter, ibid. 226–30; W. Lapini, *ZPE* 174 (2010), 45–6.

	οϋωπαχεακαιμεγα[	
10	ληcτινωcδοκοcμε [	
	νεκαταμεικρονμη[	
	—	
	ολην̈ecωβαληc̣τιπο[	
	—	
	ουκεcτιτουτοαλλα [	
	τι·ουδεπαλ̣ιτουτ̣ο [	λ̣ι, not ν
15	αλλααλλο̣τι̣ανδρα[	τι̣ rather than τι̣̇ or τε

2. The letter after δ is a clear ε. Obbink describes it as 'a straight-backed vertical stroke (with angled serif at top) widening slightly at mid-level before the break below, as though the juncture of two strokes: α, η, λ not excluded'. He nevertheless suggests supplementing δι̣[ὰ cέ. (Luppe's δι̣[ὰ τοῦτ(ο) would be much too long for the line.) But the 'angled serif' (not a feature of other iotas) is the cap of the ε, and the widening at mid-level is the join of the crossbar.

The words in 2–3 have the appearance of belonging to an iambic trimeter, like the two recognized by Peter Parsons in 9–12. It will need a syllable before ῥεῦμα, and there is in any case room for two (or at most three) letters at the end of 1. The definite article (one of the suggestions in ed. pr.) gives desirable sense: I[34] 'the flow has come upon me', meaning, as Luppe and Stramaglia have understood, the spontaneous vaginal lubrication caused by the speaker's sexual arousal.[2] There is a clear connection of sense with κνωμένη['itching' or 'scratching myself', which is evidently part of the same sentence.

But what are the intervening words? Of the possible articulations of ιδητε—ἴδητε, ἴδη(ι) τε, ἴδ' ἦ(ι) τε,[3] a vocative -ίδητε, a nominative -ίδη τε—the first remains the most natural and the easiest to accommodate, though it raises the questions of who are the persons addressed and how the subjunctive is to be construed.

As to the addressees, the woman can scarcely be addressing the donkey as one of a class, 'you donkeys'. Nor is it easy to believe that

[2] The expression could not have been understood as referring to a cold sweat, as Obbink takes it (though as an alternative he hints discreetly at the correct interpretation by citing Jeffrey Henderson, *The Maculate Muse* (New Haven 1975), 145–6). For ἧκω of a physical condition coming upon one cf. e.g. Soph. *Aj.* 185, *Phil.* 758.

[3] So Luppe, desperately, followed by May 71 n. 32. He continues with κνωμένη [εἰμί, which makes too long a line. I do not consider Stramaglia's ἤδη τε; ἤδη was unlikely to have been miswritten as ιδη, and it gives no attractive sense anyway.

she is about to have sex with him in the presence of other persons to whom she has just been speaking. But a viable solution has been indicated by May (71 n. 32), who, although she rejects the reading ἴδητε, notes that the presence of more than one other person 'may indicate a possible mime performance', 'elements of a performance for an audience'. There are possible examples of audience address in mimes in P. Oxy. 219 (*a*) 20 and 3700. 18 (vocative ἄνδρες in both cases).[4] For reference to what the spectators are actually seeing, compare Eur. *Or.* 128 (Electra is alone on stage between Helen's exit and the chorus' entry) εἴδετε, παρ' ἄκρας ὡς ἀπέθρικεν τρίχας, | σώιζουσα κάλλος; with Willink's note; Men. *Perik.* 127 (in the delayed prologue of Agnoia) τῆς παιδός, ἣν νῦν εἴδετε | ὑμεῖς; Alexis fr. 113. 1 ὁ μὲν οὖν ἐμὸς υἱός, οἷον ὑμεῖς ἀρτίως | εἴδετε, τοιοῦτος γέγονεν.

As for the subjunctive, we must decide whether it is a subordinate or a main clause. To make it a subordinate clause we should have to take δε[in 2 as a delayed connective belonging to τὸ] ῥεῦμά μ' ἥκει, and then supplement ὡς, ἵνα, ὅταν, or the like. This gives no good sense, and the delayed δέ is unconvincing. But how can we get a main clause? We do not want μὴ ἴδητε, that makes no sense either. Obbink calls the subjunctive 'voluntative or anticipatory', 'I would have you see that I am . . .', but this is not an adequate grammatical explanation. However, there are examples in Hellenistic and later Greek of the aorist subjunctive being used in a jussive sense.[5] There is an apparent classical example that has vexed the grammarians at Soph. *Phil.* 300 φέρ', ὦ τέκνον, νῦν καὶ τὸ τῆς νήσου μάθῃς, where the hortatory φέρε helps it.[6] We may find similar assistance here, account for the δε[, and complete our trimeter, by supplementing δε[ῦτε. Beside Matth. 21: 38 δεῦτε ἀποκτείνωμεν αὐτόν and 28: 6 δεῦτε ἴδετε, a δεῦτε ἴδητε looks quite within the realm of the possible. The speaker is then lifting her dress and inviting the audience to view the visible evidence of her arousal, or her self-stimulation if she is scratching her 'itch'. For such salacious ostentation compare again Herondas 2, where the brothel-keeper calls upon one of his girls to display her intimate parts to the audience (65–70):

> δεῦρο, Μυρτάλη, καὶ σύ·
> δεῖξον σεωυτὴν πᾶσι· μηδέν' αἰσχύνευ·
> νόμιζε τούτους οὓς ὁρῇς δικάζοντας
> πατέρας ἀδελφοὺς ἐμβλέπειν. ὁρῇτ' ἄνδρες
> τὰ τίλματ' αὐτῆς καὶ κάτωθεν κἄνωθεν,
> ὡς λεῖα ταῦτ' ἔτιλλεν ὠναγὴς οὗτος.

Roman crowds enjoyed seeing *mimae* stripped (Val. Max. 2. 10. 8; Lact. *Inst.* 1. 20. 10).

[35] **4.** There is a mis-spelling in νυς ι, but it is not clear whether ς was written for σσ or ι for ει. In any case we assume νυσσ-. Obbink reads νύσ<σ>εις, rendering 'why ever do you prick me?' (with the pain of desire). It may be better to read the third person, νύσσει. The speaker does not seem yet to be addressing the donkey, cf. 7 αὐτῶι. And 'whatever is it that pricks me so?' is a more sensible question than 'why ever do you prick me?'

After ει Obbink prints an undotted sigma. What is visible is the left side and top of a roundish letter, with something of a bend where the side and top meet; it is quite similar to the ς in 1, except that the top curves down to the right edge more decisively, as if it were going to make a complete circle. It looks too large for ο; θ may be possible, though nothing of the crossbar is detectable. Following this, Obbink reports . .[, 'part of an upright, short horizontal at top-line'. There is in fact a gap before the upright which may have contained a whole letter. If the upright had any attachments, they were to the left. Of the short horizontal I cannot descry any sign, and I do not see how τ̣ο̣[ν is a possible reading. In any case ὄνον is probably better without the article. The woman is remarking on the strangeness of her infatuation with *a* donkey, not *the* donkey. If we start from the ς, seeking a word that will construe with ὄνον φιλοῦσα, a plausible candidate will be ς[α]ί̣[νω, giving the sense 'I'm making up to a donkey'. The verb suggests an ingratiating physical approach, so φιλοῦσα probably 'kissing'.[7] For the phrasing σαίνω . . . φιλοῦσα cf. Soph. fr. 885 σαίνεις δάκνουσα.

[4] In Herondas 2 the audience no doubt assumes the role of the ἄνδρες δικασταί (1, 49, 61) to whom the brothel-keeper addresses his defence speech (=ἄνδρες, 14, 26, 38, 68, 84, 92).

[5] Ludwig Radermacher, *Neutestamentliche Grammatik* (2nd edn., Tübingen 1926), 166–7; Edwin Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit* ii. 1 (Berlin–Leipzig 1926), 229–30; Schwyzer–Debrunner 316; Basil G. Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek Non-literary Papyri* (Athens 1973), 250–3.

[6] See A. C. Moorhouse, *The Syntax of Sophocles* (Leiden 1982), 223.

[7] Cf. [Luc.] *Asin.* 51 (~ Apul. *Met.* 10. 21) εἶτά με καὶ ἐφίλησε καὶ οἷα πρὸς αὐτῆς ἐρώμενον καὶ ἄνθρωπον διελέγετο.

τί ποτέ με νύσσει; is another rhythmical phrase, half a trimeter, but it does not continue to become a whole verse. We seem to have a composition largely made up from a medley of metrical and semi-metrical units; cf. Hunter 228–30, who observes that 1 *δεινῶς φλέγομαι* could be an anapaestic or iambic metron. Perhaps the paragraphos after 4 marks off a more metrical from a less metrical passage, as at 12 it follows the two consecutive trimeters. In the Fragmentum Grenfellianum there are paragraphoi at the beginning and end of the pure dochmiac passage 23–32 (as well as in other places). In P. Oxy. 3010 the verse section 14–33 is marked off by paragraphoi, though there it is also a speech being marked off from the narrative. That is prosimetrum of the kind found in P. Turner 8 and associated with Menippean satire: clear alternation of prose and verse passages.[8] It is something different from what we have in P. Oxy. 4762, which may be characterized as semi-metrical.

5–6. The accusative masculine participle characterizes the donkey in some way. After *φιλοῦσα* there is another reasonably certain *α*, then a group of three traces that Obbink describes as 'two converging diagonals at lower left suggesting *α* more than *λ*, and above this a tiny oblique with a horizontal protruding from the middle: a corrected suprascript to *λ*?' For the third trace he gives >, interpreted as a line-filler. At the beginning of 6 he reports a 'short horizontal stroke at top-line as *γ* or top of *ε*, *c*'. He takes the participle to be *ἀλ̣ι̣γ[ο]ῦντα*, following a suggestion by Daniela Colomo. Luppe modifies this to *ἀρι̣γ[ο]ῦντα*, and Stramaglia reports that Colomo, after re-examining the papyrus, allowed that this could be read. László Horváth in *CR* 58 (2008), 409, proposes *αἰ̣ι̣ρ[ο]ῦντα* (meaning what?), claiming that the narrow *ι* would account better than *λ* for the line-filler. However, I am not convinced by the supposed line-filler (either here or at 15, where Obbink finds another one); the spacing is too cramped. The three traces together occupy the area of a single letter and should, I think, somehow combine as parts of one (perhaps with a suprascript). The sharp lower left corner and the retroflex right side may suit *ω*, though there is no exact match in the other preserved omegas.

The traces of the first letter of 6 appear incompatible with *γ* or *ν*. The top is not horizontal but curls down, as if the top of a small loop. At the left it joins the top of a vertical, the full height of which is

[8] Cf. M. W. Haslam in the P. Turner volume, 37.

visible under the microscope. At the bottom end the vertical kinks up into a rising diagonal. Least unacceptable, perhaps, is *ρ*, though one would expect the tail to be longer, and its upward kink is anomalous, unless it be a linking stroke to the following letter.

The only meaningful interpretation that I can make of the traces is *αω̣ι̣ρ[ο]υντα* with a suprascript *ι* over the *ω* to make it into *αἰ̣ω̣ρ[ο]υντα*. *αἰωροῦντα* yields no convincing sense (hardly 'who holds me in l[36] suspense'). *ἀωροῦντα*, however, is plausible, a rare verb but attested in lexica with the apt sense 'be uncaring': Hesych. *α* 8988 *ἀωρεῖν· ὀλιγωρεῖν*; *Suda α* 2857 *ἀωρῶ· τὸ ἀλογῶ*; ps.-Zonaras *ἀωρῶ· τὸ ἀλογῶ καὶ οὐ φροντίζω*.

The subordinate clause *ὥc ποτε cυν[. . .]πεc' αὐτῶι* will depend on *ἀωροῦντα*, 'uncaring of how once . . .'. I follow the usual assumption that the verb is a double compound of *πίπτω*, but it is to be noted that it is not necessarily third person, as *ἔπεcα* for *ἔπεcον* is common in late Greek. The woman must still be speaking, apparently recalling a previous encounter of some kind between her and the donkey, known to the audience and of a kind that ought to make the donkey feel warm towards her. There are seven possible compounds that would fit the space: *cυνανέ-*, *cυναπέ-*, *cυνδιέ-*, *cυνειcέ-* (Obbink), *cυνενέ-*, *cυνεξέ-*, *cυνυπέ-*. (Luppe's *cυν[κατέ]πεc'* is too long, and one expects *συγ-*.) Most of them give no plausible sense. The two worth considering are *cυν[ανέ]πεc'* and *cυν[ενέ]πεc'*. *cυνεμπίπτω* would have the general sense of 'fall in with'. *συναναπίπτω* means 'lie down beside', mostly in innocent senses, especially of reclining together at table; see G. W. Lampe's *Patristic Greek Lexicon* s.v., and LSJ s.v. *ἀναπίπτω*. It is found with sexual reference in two third-century defixiones from the Athenian Agora.[9] This looks likely to be the word we need. But it is clear from what follows that the woman has not had sex with the donkey before, so perhaps the allusion is to a shared meal. In [Luc.] *Asin.* 47–8 (~ Apul. *Met.* 10. 16–17) the donkey Lucius is introduced to the human dining room and taught to behave appropriately: 48 *καὶ πρῶτον μὲν κατακλίνεcθαί με ἐπὶ κλίνης ὥcπερ ἄνθρωπον ἐπ' ἀγκῶνος ἐποίηcεν*. The woman with whom he later has sex, however, is not of that company and only appears in the narrative at a later point.

[9] D. R. Jordan, *Hesperia* 54 (1985), 223–7 nos. 7. 7, 17; 9. 14 = *SEG* 35. 219, 221.

In 4–7 we can again find a run of iambic rhythm that apart from a hiatus[10] would fit into trimeters of the comic variety: *caίνω ὄνον φιλοῦc' ἀωροῦνθ', ὥc ποτε | cυν[ανέ]πεc' αὐτῶι.*

7–8. Here is the only phrase in the text that cannot be spoken by the woman. It appears to show that her utterances are all being reported by someone else. But there is a way of avoiding this conclusion and keeping open the possibility that we are dealing with a mime or similar text in which the woman is the central or sole character, speaking her part before an audience. It is to take *καὶ αἰ[δο]υμένη λέγει* as a kind of stage direction, specifying that the following line, in which the woman admires the wonderful size of the donkey's organ, is to be spoken bashfully, or perhaps reverently or in awed tones. I have not found any such explicit stage direction in other mime texts, but there are notes of speaker change (P. Oxy. 413 and 3700, P. Lit. Lond. 97, etc.) and in one text directions for drums to sound (P. Oxy. 413). Such annotations are not written in for the casual reader but for the guidance of those staging or performing the pieces. In any case *αἰ[δο]υμένη* seems preferable to Obbink's *αἰ[το]υμένη* 'asking for herself' (her next sentence is not a request) or Stramaglia's *αἰ[ρο]υμένη* 'captivated' or Lapini's *ἁ̣π̣[λο]υμένη* 'stretched out'.

9. *ουω* is corrected by a suprascript that is presumably *α*, *sc.* *οὐᾶ*. This is Latin *uāh*, an exclamation appropriate to astonished admiration, 'wow!'[11] It occurs in a mime at P. Berol. 13876. 30 (doubled), and should perhaps be restored for *ου* in P. Oxy. 413. 198 (=6. 117 Cunningham). LSJ cites other examples, and Zanetto 59 quotes some more from the *Vita Aesopi* (G). It is presumably monosyllabic by nature, so to scan the trimeter it may be necessary to duplicate it, *οὐᾶ <οὐᾶ>*, as in P. Berol., loc. cit. But possibly it could be pronounced in a long-drawn-out way that made it equivalent to two syllables, as one might say for emphasis 'ww-ow!'

παχεῖα, μεγάλη: it is uncertain what feminine noun is to be understood. Obbink assumes *ψωλή*. He rejects *cάθη* on the ground that it is reserved for 'small or normal-sized organs'. This was not the case for Archilochus, fr. 43 *ἡ δέ οἱ cάθη . . . ὅcη τ'* (v.l. *ὥcτ'*) *ὄνου Πριηνέως | κήλωνος ἐπλήμυρεν ὀτρυγηφάγου*. Cf. Jeffrey Henderson's note on Ar. *Lys.* 1119–20. But it is doubtful whether the word was still current in the Roman period; it is not attested after the fourth century BCE apart from scholiastic and grammatical texts. A more promising possibility may be *caύρα*, literally 'lizard', used for 'penis' four times by the I[37] second-century epigrammatist Straton and probably to be understood in *A.P.* 12. 216 where he addresses his uncooperative member with feminine predicate, *νῦν ὀρθή, κατάρατε, καὶ εὔτονος*.[12]

10–11. *μένε· κατὰ μικρόν, κτλ.* The woman and donkey are now in sexual contact, and her words, coming in short, choppy phrases, give graphic hints of the action from moment to moment. If the metrical character of the line requires avoidance of the hiatus in *μὴ ὅλην*, then *μη[δὲ*, not *μή[τε*. (I presume that *scriptio plena* would have been used at the end of the papyrus line.) But Obbink may be right that nothing was written after *μη*; the style of the sentence favours the asyndeton, and two extra letters would make the line abnormally long. If *δ* had followed the *μη*, we should expect to see a corner of it. Luppe claims that the crossbar of *η* is prolonged, leading towards a *θ*, but he was misled by the photograph: the apparent prolongation is not ink but a crease in the papyrus.

12–15. As the attempt to achieve penetration proceeds, the woman is bewildered by novel sensations and alarming doubts as to the possibility of the thing.

In 14 *πάλι* has hitherto been misread as *πᾶν*.

15. Obbink gives *ἀλλὰ ἄλλο̣τ̣ε̣; ἀναι-* > (line-filler). The *ε̣* cannot be excluded, but I think it was more likely *ι*, i.e. *ἄλλο τι*. After it a high point (as in 14) has been discerned by Lucio Del Corso and endorsed by Colomo (Stramaglia 177), but in my opinion it is quite uncertain and, in view of the spacing, only possible if *ι* is read.

ανδρα[: I owe this new reading to W. B. Henry, who discovered it by straightening out a crease in the papyrus.[13] Less likely *ἄνδρα[*, *ἀνδρα[ποδ-*, than *ἂν δρά[σειας*.

The question of the genre of the piece remains unsettled. Obbink noted that the admixture of verses might point to mime or farce. But

[10] There is unfortunately not enough room at the end of 4 for *c[α]ί[νω δὲ*, though the particle would not be unwelcome in itself.

[11] Not to be confused with *οὐαί*. There is a curious ambivalence between the two in Obbink's note.

[12] See Walter Steinbichler, *Die Epigramme des Dichters Straton von Sardes* (Frankfurt am Main 1998), 111, 118.

[13] I accordingly omit two paragraphs of the original article in which I wrestled with incorrect readings.

the narrative frame that seemed to be implied in 8, and the known association of the woman–donkey–sex motif with romance, led him to publish the fragment under the heading 'Narrative Romance'. Zanetto (54–6) argues strongly that romance is unlikely, given the comparatively low linguistic and expressive register; there is nothing to indicate that the donkey is a transmogrified man, as in pseudo-Lucian and Apuleius, and it is not he but the woman who is the focus of attention. As elements typical of mime Zanetto notes the mixture of prose and verse, the vigorous personality of the protagonist, the erotic theme, the amount of direct speech; and 'la presenza della *paragraphos* fa pensare a un testo destinato a una lettura marcata, recitativa'. (One may say the same of the elision of vowels in 2, 7, 10.) But the apparent narrative frame precludes, in his view, 'un copione mimico in senso stretto'. He sees it rather as a racy popular narrative of similar character to the *Vita Aesopi*. May (71–81) thinks it may be one of Aristides' *Milesian Tales*.[14] Stramaglia, without being so specific, also sees it as a self-contained story from a collection designed for entertainment and marked by an erotic component.

I remain dissatisfied with the view that this is a narrative text. I have suggested above that the one apparently narrative phrase, 7–8 *καὶ αἰ̣[δο]υμένη λέγει*, is open to a different interpretation, as a direction for performance. I find it especially strange, if the episode is being related by a narrator, that when the l[38] woman begins having sex with the donkey, he does not describe what she did but continues to report only what she said. After her admiring comment on the size of the animal's penis, we should have expected him to go on, 'and with that, she approached the donkey and began trying to take his member into her'. Instead we remain in the mimetic mode. It is the same at the beginning of the fragment. In a narrative we would expect, 'she was infatuated with the donkey, totally on fire, overcome by physical lust', not '(she exclaimed) "I am on fire, the wetness is on me"', etc. Except for those three words *καὶ αἰ̣[δο]υμένη λέγει*, the whole thing has the appearance of a dramatic performance. There is, moreover, what is plausibly taken as an allusion to spectators (3 *ἴδητε*).

If we assign it to the genre mime, should we suppose that it involved a real live donkey? May (72) notes that animals could take part in mimes, or people could dress up as animals in them. A real donkey is hardly a possibility in the required role; its behaviour would be too unpredictable, and the outcome was all too likely to be disastrous. (The risks of having animals on the operatic stage are notorious.) An actor in donkey costume is more readily conceivable. But I think it most likely that it was a solo performance by the woman. She might have used a stuffed or model donkey as a prop;[15] this would give humorous point to her complaint of its being uncaring of her attentions. Or the donkey was left to the spectators' imagination. In any case I picture a cabaret artiste, perhaps in an odeon or a tavern, delighting an audience with her mimetic evocation of the raunchy scene.

'Mime' is perhaps too imprecise a term. We hear of various types of public entertainment in the Hellenistic world that involved a performer combining song or recitation with some degree of role-playing.[16] We may think in particular of the forms known as *μαγωιδία* and *λυσιωιδία* (which some authorities considered the same). These were solo performances by a man or woman playing various unseemly roles: an adulteress, a procuress, a drunk serenading his mistress, and so on. There was aulos accompaniment, and the texts were in some sense sung. The Fragmentum Grenfellianum belongs somewhere in this area of literary history.[17] It is a semi-metrical monody portraying a woman distraught with unrequited love, arriving at night at the door of the man who has jilted her and addressing her plaints to him. The text is formatted as for oral delivery, with elision of vowels where metre requires it and segmentation by double points, spaces, and paragraphoi. The scenario, if *demi-mondain*, is rather more decorous than that of our new fragment, which dates from some four centuries later, but again we find a semi-metrical, formatted text and a woman dramatically in the grip of a passion designed to engage and stimulate an audience.

[14] Obbink and Barchiesi had mentioned this possibility, though it was observed that there was no evidence for a donkey story in Aristides' work.

[15] For props in mime see especially P. Berol. 13927 = no. 15 in I. C. Cunningham's collection of *Fragmenta Mimorum papyracea* in his Teubner Herodas (1987), 36–61, where the requisites for seven successive scenes are listed. Those for scene 3 include a sucking-pig and a puppy.

[16] See I. C. Cunningham, *Herodas. Mimiambi* (Oxford 1971), 5–11; *AGM* 378, with references.

[17] O. Crusius, *Phil.* 55 (1896), 353–84; U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *NGG* 1896. 209–32 = *Kl. Schr.* ii. 95–120; cf. Elena Esposito, *Il Fragmentum Grenfellianum (P. Dryton 50)* (Bologna 2005), 19–25.

Was there aulos accompaniment here? If so, it might perhaps have filled in the missing parts of the incomplete trimeter verses while the actress paused.

What was the source of the bawdy subject matter? Perhaps it was after all the Lucius novel, which was evidently well known from the first century on.[18] But the motif of a woman having sex with a donkey was not unique to the novel. It had a long prehistory. It is depicted in Egyptian representations going back to the XXIInd Dynasty (tenth to eighth centuries BCE).[19] The grand penis of *Equus asinus* always impressed, and it was taken as an embodiment of the hyperbolic sexual performance that immoral women were supposed to delight in. The prophet Ezekiel portrayed Samaria and Jerusalem as two sisters, Aholah and Aholibah, who had grown old in lechery (23: 19–20):

> In the days of [Aholibah's] youth, when she played the whore in the land of Egypt and was infatuated with her lovers there, whose members [lit. 'meat'] were the members of asses and whose deluge [of semen] was the deluge of horses.

[39] In the same century Archilochus, in the fragment I quoted above on line 9, described a man's organ as 'overflowing like (v.l. as big as) that of a Prienian stall-fed ass'. We do not know the context, but it was most likely a description of one of the orgies in which, according to the poet, the daughters of Lycambes had indulged. To the male imagination (I cannot speak for the female) the idea of a lustful woman pleasuring herself with a donkey was exciting, and it no doubt gave rise to pornographic fantasies at more than one period. And what would it be like for the male partner! What if a man could have the donkey's experience—have his human soul and senses and sensibilities located in the donkey's body? That is explicitly the situation of the narrator in [Luc.] *Asin.* 15 (~ Apul. *Met.* 3. 26): *ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὄνος ἤμην, τὰς δὲ φρένας καὶ τὸν νοῦν ἄνθρωπος ἐκεῖνος ὁ Λούκιος, δίχα τῆς φωνῆς.*

The practical difficulty of such a union could not be ignored, and this added to the fascination of the stories. We find it addressed in more than one way. In pseudo-Lucian and Apuleius (and their common model) the man imprisoned in the ass's body is afraid that his outsize member will rupture the eager woman, with fatal

[18] See especially Stramaglia 180–3.

[19] Ibid. 181 with literature.

consequences; but glory be, she turns out to have such a capacious vagina that she accommodates him without problem. In our papyrus it is the woman who is apprehensive, despite her compulsion to go ahead, and we hear her telling the donkey to take it gently and not put it all in. (Whether the animal is supposed to be a metamorphosed man or not, she speaks as if he is able to understand her words.) But then, to her consternation, progress is made, bit by bit, until he achieves full penetration; the fantasy could hardly stop short of that. The theme of the incommensurate organs is entertainingly developed in a story related by the thirteenth-century Persian mystic and poet Rumi, to which Graham Anderson drew attention.[20] A maidservant trained a donkey to have sex with her, and to prevent his getting too far in she carved a gourd into a sort of muzzle that fitted over his penis and left only a manageable portion of it exposed. By this means she enjoyed joyous intercourse with the donkey again and again. Her mistress noticed that the animal was becoming thin and listless. One day she peeped through the door and saw what was going on. She decided she would like some of that herself; it was her donkey, after all. Sending the girl away on a long errand, she arranged herself on a chair under the donkey as she had seen the girl do, and pulled him into her. Unfortunately she did not know about the gourd device: she used no protection, and that was the end of her.

Such picaresque tales must have enjoyed extensive oral circulation in the ancient Near East and the Hellenistic world, only occasionally surfacing in one or other of the literary forms that were able to make use of them. It would not be surprising if a woman–donkey–sex tale had found a place in Aristides' *Milesiaka*. Later, as we know, a romance was written that incorporated the motif in combination with a metamorphosis. Our papyrus brings us another version in the script for a cabaret act.

Finally, the text restored and interpreted as suggested above and arranged by cola, with translation.

[20] *Ancient Fiction: The Novel in the Graeco-Roman World* (London 1984), 201–2. He knew the text from R. A. Nicholson (ed., tr.), *The Mathnawí of Jalálu'ddín Rúmí* (London 1925–40), vi. 82–7. It can now be more conveniently read (though evidently in a different recension) in Coleman Banks, *Rumi: Selected Poems* (Penguin Classics, London 2004), 181–2.

δεινῶς φλέγομαι·
[τὸ] ῥεῦμά μ' ἥκει· δε̣[ῦτ'] ἴ̈δητε κνωμένη[ν.
τί ποτέ με νύσσε̣ι;
c[α]ί̣[νω] ὄνον φιλοῦc' ἀ̣ωρ[ο]ῦ̣νθ' ὥc ποτε
cυν[ανέ]πεc' αὐτῶι.

(καὶ αἰ̣[δο]υμένη λέγει·)

οὐᾶ, παχεῖα καὶ μεγάλη 'cτὶν ὡc δοκόc.
μένε, κατὰ μικρόν, μὴ ὅλην ἔcω βάληιc.
τί ποτε;
οὐκ ἔcτι τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ τί;
οὐδὲ πάλι τοῦτ̣ο·
ἀλλ' ἄλλο̣ τ̣ι ἂν δρά[cειαc

l[40] (Or: οὐδὲ πάλι τοῦτ̣', ἀλλ' ἄλλο τι·
ἄνδρα[ ])

I'm badly on fire; the wetness is on me: see here how I'm aroused! What is it goading me? I'm making up to a donkey with kisses, uncaring though he is of how once I lay down with him.
(*Bashfully:*) Wow, it's fat, it's big as a plank! Hold on—gradually, don't put it all in! What on earth?! No way! What then? No, not that either. But there's something else you might do . . . (Or: No, not that either, but something else: a man/men . . . .)

31

'Longinus' and the Grandeur of God

In the famous ninth chapter of *Περὶ ὕψους*, following the lacuna, we find 'Longinus'—or L, to use Donald Russell's convenient abbreviation—giving examples of sublimity achieved by conceptual power (*τὸ περὶ τὰς νοήσεις ἀδρεπήβολον*, 8. 1), and initially examples from descriptions of divinities and their doings (9. 5–9). Five illustrations are given, mainly from the *Iliad*. (I leave aside the counter-example from the pseudo-Hesiodic *Scutum*, which illustrates failure.) They are:

1. Eris grown to fill the whole space between earth and heaven (*Il.* 4. 442 f.).
2. The immense stride of the gods' horses (*Il.* 5. 770–2).
3. The terrific noise of the gods' battle, which alarms Hades down below (*Il.* 20. 60a–5).
4. Poseidon's passage from Samothrace to Aegae and his chariot journey across the sea (*Il.* 13. 18–19+27–9).
5. The Jewish God's creation of light and of the earth (Gen. 1: 3+9).

L did not collect these examples directly from their original sources. Quotations of the Homeric passages in other authors and comments on them in the scholia[1] show that they were current in rhetorical tradition. In the case of the fourth passage L himself acknowledges that it had been discussed by many before him. Perhaps some or all of them had been used in Caecilius' work on sublimity,

D. Innes, H. Hine, and C. Pelling (edd.), *Ethics and Rhetoric: Classical Essays for Donald Russell on his Seventy-Fifth Birthday* (Oxford 1995), 335–42. References are listed at the end of the chapter.

[1] See Russell (1964), 90–2; Bühler (1964), 20–33; Mazzucchi (1992), 167–72.

which L aimed to supersede (1. 1). As for the citation of Genesis, phraseological parallels in L's work with Philo and Josephus[2] indicate his acquaintance with some Jewish Greek writing.[3]

|[336] On the other hand, he is not mechanically recycling stock material from his predecessors. It is characteristic of him that his own enthusiasm is engaged by it. He personally feels the effects that he ascribes to the passages he quotes, and he does his utmost to define these effects and persuade others to feel them.[4]

What is it that so impresses him about those particular representations of the divine? In his preface he has written (1. 4):

οὐ γὰρ εἰς πειθὼ τοὺς ἀκροωμένους ἀλλ' εἰς ἔκστασιν ἄγει τὰ ὑπερφυᾶ· πάντη δέ γε σὺν ἐκπλήξει τοῦ πιθανοῦ καὶ τοῦ πρὸς χάριν ἀεὶ κρατεῖ τὸ θαυμάσιον, εἴγε τὸ μὲν πιθανὸν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ἐφ' ἡμῖν, ταῦτα δὲ δυναστείαν καὶ βίαν ἄμαχον προσφέροντα παντὸς ἐπάνω τοῦ ἀκροωμένου καθίσταται.

For grandeur produces ecstasy rather than persuasion in the hearer; and the combination of wonder and astonishment always proves superior to the merely persuasive and pleasant. This is because persuasion is on the whole something we can control, whereas amazement and wonder exert invincible power and force and get the better of every hearer.[5]

As Russell succinctly puts it, 'whatever *knocks the reader out* is "sublime"'.[6] This counts for more than realism (*τὸ πιθανόν*) or charm (*τὸ πρὸς χάριν*). What sort of things in the natural world knock us out and fill us with awe? Above all, those that are huge and beyond the measure of human things; for (35. 2)

ἡ φύσις . . . εὐθὺς ἄμαχον ἔρωτα ἐνέφυσεν ἡμῶν ταῖς ψυχαῖς παντὸς ἀεὶ τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ ὡς πρὸς ἡμᾶς δαιμονιωτέρου.

Nature . . . implanted in our minds from the start an irresistible desire for anything which is great and, in relation to ourselves, supernatural.[7]

[2] Norden (1954), *passim*; Russell (1964), xxix f., xl f., 72 f., 93 f., 185, 187 f., 191 f.; Bühler (1964), 34; Mazzucchi (1992), 173.

[3] There can be no question of his being a Jew himself in view of the detached manner in which he alludes to *ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων θεσμοθέτης, οὐχ ὁ τυχὼν ἀνήρ*, the inaccuracy of his quotation (especially of verse 9), and the limitation of his biblical reference to the first few sentences of the Torah.

[4] Cf. the remarks of Gibbon quoted by Russell (1964), 89; Bühler (1964), 24.

[5] Trans. Russell (1965).

[6] Russell (1965), xiii. Cf. *π. ὕψ.* 15. 2 *τῆς μὲν ἐν ποιήσει (φαντασίας) τέλος ἐστὶν ἔκπληξις, τῆς δ' ἐν λόγοις ἐνάργεια.*

[7] Trans. Russell (1965). 'Irresistible' renders the same Greek word as 'invincible' in 1. 4 quoted above.

Hence we are struck with wonder and astonishment (*θαυμάζομεν, ἐκπληττόμεθα*) by the sight of mighty rivers such as the Nile, the Danube, or the Rhine, and even more by the Ocean; by the great fires of heaven, and the tremendous ejaculations of Etna (35. 4).

In depictions of the divine, accordingly, it is not surprising to find L being particularly impressed by passages which evoke a sense of vastness. His comments on them underline this.

1. Eris grows heaven-high: this, L suggests, gives us the measure of Homer as much as of the goddess.

|[337] 2. A single leap of the gods' steeds takes them as far as a man on a cliff-top can see to the misty horizon. L introduces the quotation with the words *ὁ δὲ πῶς μεγεθύνει τὰ δαιμόνια;* 'How does Homer make the divine big?' And he continues: 'He measures their gallop by a cosmic distance. Anyone might reasonably comment, in view of the surpassing scale of the description, that if the divine horses take two such strides in succession they will find no more space in the world.'

3. The theomachy makes Hades afraid that his horrid realm will be torn open to the light of day. L comments as if this were actually happening.[8] The effect, he says, is to involve the whole universe in the battle, *πάνθ' ἅμα, οὐρανὸς ἄιδης, τὰ θνητὰ τὰ ἀθάνατα.* The enlargement of the picture is certainly awesome (*φοβερά*, 9. 7), though L has reservations about the propriety of portraying the gods in such turmoil and disunity, unless the battle is to be interpreted allegorically.

4. He approves more of passages that represent divinity as *ἄχραντόν τε καὶ μέγα . . . καὶ ἄκρατον*, unsullied *and* great, and unadulterated. A new criterion appears here, that of purity, that is, being above the vicissitudes of our mortal world of strife; but *greatness* is still important. The passage quoted in illustration begins with the wooded mountains of Samothrace trembling under Poseidon's mighty tread as he departs; then it jumps a few lines to his driving across the sea from Aegae to Troy, with the creatures of the deep sporting about his chariot and the joyous sea parting before him. There are two interesting things about the text of the quotation. After the first line (*Il.* 13. 18) L has interpolated a verse which actually belongs immediately before his previous excerpt (*Il.* 20. 60). There

[8] Bühler (1964), 26.

too Homer had been speaking of Poseidon shaking mountains, and the similarity of contexts has somehow caused L (if not a predecessor who quoted both passages together) to transfer a line from one to the other.[9] Then after 13. 19 he has surprisingly omitted the lines

> τρὶς μὲν ὀρέξατ' ἰών, τὸ δὲ τέτρατον ἵκετο τέκμωρ,
> Λὶγάς, ἔνθά τέ οἱ κλυτὰ δώματα βένθεσι λίμνης
> χρύσεα μαρμαίροντα τετεύχαται, ἄφθιτα αἰεί.

The completion of the god's journey in four giant strides is exactly what we should have expected L to focus on, especially after his I[338] remarks about passage 2, where he may have been influenced by this passage. Did he pass over it because it came too close to the point he had already made? Or has the quotation suffered abridgment in the transmission?

5. The point of the Genesis quotation is once again the colossal, superhuman scale of divine activity and power. The whole element of light comes into being at God's command, and the whole earth.

That, then, is one factor involved in L.'s response to these passages: the sense of vastness. What else is to be said?

If a literary description (or anything else) is to astonish, it must above all confront us with something out of the ordinary. If the Nile amazes the Greek, it is because he knows no such rivers in his own country. An Egyptian from the Delta would no doubt be more thrilled by a Greek mountain. We can appreciate that L might well be impressed by the Jews' creation story once it had come his way. Here at least was something quite unlike anything to be found in the Greek classics. It was not just a grand conception, but one untarnished by any touch of the conventional or familiar.

The Homeric passages too are out of the ordinary. They go beyond the routine mechanisms of the epic *Götterapparat*; each has its own memorable individuality. They certainly do not reflect normal Greek conceptions of the gods and their workings.

The fact is that they all derive, by whatever means, from Near Eastern poetic tradition.

[9] The uncanonical line which he quotes before *Il.* 20. 61, on the other hand, should be regarded as a plus-verse of the type familiar in the pre-Aristarchean Homeric tradition; such verses sometimes do appear in quotations in writers of the early Roman period, such as Strabo, who are drawing on Hellenistic sources.

1. (*Il.* 4. 442 f.) Homer's Eris οὐρανῷι ἐστήριξε κάρη καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ βαίνει. It was an ancient motif in Mesopotamian hymns that the extent of a deity's power in heaven and earth was expressed in terms of his or her physical size. A Sumerian hymn to Inanna makes the goddess say

> When I raise my hand, it encompasses [lit. 'completes'] the heaven.
> I am the queen: my hand has no hand to rival it.
> When I lift my foot, it encompasses the earth.
> I am the queen: my foot has no foot to rival it.[10]

In another she declares:

I[339] Heaven placed a crown on my head,
Earth put a sandal on my foot.[11]

Similarly in an Akkadian hymn to the healing goddess Gula, dating from the late second or early first millennium. She says of her consort Ninurta:

> He wears the heavens on his head, like a tiara,
> He is shod with the earth, as with [san]dals.[12]

The Mesopotamian commonplace no doubt lies behind (pseudo-) Isaiah 66: 1, where Yahweh declares

> The heavens are my throne, and the earth my footstool.

The idea of a divine being stretching all the way from earth to heaven also appears in Ugaritic poetry of the fourteenth century BCE. Here it is applied to a god's gaping mouth, which his victim cannot avoid: 'one lip to the earth, one lip to the heavens.'[13] But in some ways the nearest parallel to Homer's verse is to be found in Psalm 73: 9, where it is said of the arrogant:

> They have set their mouth in the heavens,
> and their tongue walks upon the earth.

[10] Haupt (1881), 127 f. (+ an unpublished Neo-Babylonian duplicate), kindly translated for me by Dr J. A. Black.

[11] Zimmern (1913), no. 199 iii 17 f.; Römer (1989), 647. The translation above has again been supplied by Dr Black.

[12] Foster (1993), 497 (lines 133 f.). I have substituted 'earth' for Foster's 'underworld': *erṣetu* can mean the underworld, but it is the ordinary word for the earth, especially as the correlate of *šamû* 'heavens'.

[13] *KTU* 1. 5 ii 2 (Baal Epic; the voracious god is Mōtu, Death); 1. 23. 61 f.

The structure here is remarkably close to Homer's; even the variation of tenses matches.[14] And as in Homer, the subject is not a deity of cult but the graphic symbol of a human excess. The psalm is of post-exilic date, but no one will suppose the verse in question to derive from Homer rather than from older Hebrew models.

2. (*Il.* 5. 770–2) The huge leap of the gods' horses may be taken together with the similar motif of the god who crosses the sea with three or four giant strides.[15] Again we find a parallel in a recurrent formula of Ugaritic poetry. In the Baal Epic the goddess 'Anat announces her intention of going without delay to visit El, the father of the gods:

> I leave Uġar for the most distant of the gods,
> and Inbab for the most distant of the spirits—
> |[340] two footfalls below the earth's springs,
> three loping strides.

The divine smith Kothar uses the same expression in responding with alacrity to a summons from El.[16] The motif may also be found in several Hittite mythical narratives which are translated from Hurrian originals. In the text which H. A. Hoffner has entitled *The Song of Silver*, two gods go on a journey together: 'They went forth, they made the journey *1-anki*.' The adverb, formed from the numeral 1, normally means 'once'; in this phrase it is understood to mean 'at one go'. It appears with the same verb in the story of the serpent Ḫedammu, when the personified Sea goes in response to a summons from Kumarbi, the father of the gods; twice again in the *Song of Ullikummi*; and again in the story of the Sun-god, the Cow, and the Fisherman.[17]

3. (*Il.* 20. 60a–5) The din of the gods' fighting alarms Hades in the underworld; he is afraid the earth may be broken open and the grim mansions of decay, which the gods abhor, exposed to view. Beside the Homeric passage we may put Hesiod, *Theogony* 850–2 (cf. 681, 841), where Hades and the Titans in Tartarus tremble at the noise of Zeus'

[14] The Hebrew is: שתו בשמים פיהם ולשונם תהלך בארץ:

[15] Besides *Il.* 13. 20 f. quoted above, we may refer to Hera's peak-hopping progress from Olympus to Lemnos in 14. 225–30 and Apollo's single-stride *démarche* in Pind. *P.* 3. 43. Later imitations in Statius, Claudian, and Nonnus are noted by Bühler (1964), 24.

[16] *KTU* 1. 3 iv 33–6; 1. 1 iii 20. For 'footfalls' and 'loping strides' I follow the interpretation of Caquot–Sznycer–Herdner, which seems philologically well founded.

[17] Hoffner (1998), 50, 53, 58, 63, 86.

combat with Typhoeus. A series of oriental poetic texts must be compared:

(i) In the Akkadian *Descent of Ishtar* the goddess Ishtar goes down to the underworld and demands that the gatekeeper let her in (16–20):

> If you do not open the gate and I do not get in,
> I will strike the door, I will break the bolt,
> I will strike the door-frame, I will overthrow the doors;
> I will bring up the dead, they will devour the living;
> above the living the dead will multiply!

Here as in Homer we have the dangerous potentiality (not realized in the event) that the hitherto unbroken boundary between the upper and lower worlds will be breached, and the ghastly realm of death, which should be sealed away, will spill out into the light. The same threat by a goddess recurs in a briefer form (without the door-smashing) in two other poems: *Gilgamesh* vi. 96–100 and *Nergal and Ereshkigal* (Standard Babylonian Version) v 9′–12′and 25′–27′.[18]

|[341] (ii) In another Akkadian poem, *Erra and Ishum*, Marduk, here represented as king of the gods, recalls how he once rose up in his wrath and sent the Flood upon the earth: the heavens trembled, the stars changed their stations, and *the nether world quaked* (i. 135).

(iii) In Job 26: 5–13 we find a hymnic recital of Yahweh's accomplishments, including references to the ancient myth of his defeat of the marine serpent Rahab (12–13). It is in the context of this theomachy, probably, that verses 5–6 had their original setting:

> The mighty dead writhe in torment below, the waters and their inhabitants < >:
> Sheol is naked before him, and there is no covering for Abaddon.

Here again we have the motif of the underworld (Sheol, Abaddon) being stripped open and laid bare to the sky.

4. (*Il.* 13. 18–29) We have already dealt with Poseidon's four-stride journey to Aegae, where he has his golden mansion in the depths. It remains to deal with his drive across the sea, with the creatures of the deep coming forth from their lairs to acknowledge their lord:

[18] It has been compared with Helios' threat in *Od.* 12. 382 f. to go down and shine for the dead if Zeus does not agree to what he wants—again a reversal of the upper and lower worlds.

ἄταλλε δὲ κήτε' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
πάντοθεν ἐκ κευθμῶν, οὐδ' ἠγνοίησεν ἄνακτα,
γηθοσύνῃ δὲ θάλασσα διίστατο.

The god was clad in gold, he held a golden whip, and his steeds' manes were of gold (24–6); probably we should imagine the whole chariot and harness to be of gold, or gold and silver, like Hera's in 5. 724–31. Even if L did not quote lines 24–6 (they are not in the manuscript text), we may assume that the golden equipage was part of the picture in his mind.

In the Ugaritic Baal Epic (*KTU* 1. 4 iv 1 ff.) the sea-goddess Athirat orders her attendant Qodesh-Amrur to prepare a donkey to take her to El (the Canaanite gods had not learned to manage horses).

> Qodesh-Amrur heard,
> he saddled an ass, he yoked a donkey;
> he put on reins of silver, a harness of gold.

And a Neo-Babylonian text describes the accoutrements of the Sun-god's chariot kept at Sippar, with its gold reins and other equipment of silver and bronze.[19]

[342] As for the rejoicing sea and sea creatures, a Sumerian hymn supplies the requisite parallel.[20] The poet celebrates the water god Enki's temple at Eridu, where in ancient times the Euphrates broadened out into the Persian Gulf. Built of silver and lapis lazuli, plated with gold, the temple stands on the water's edge with its foundations in the Abzu, the subterranean freshwater ocean; this in itself may make us think of Poseidon's golden palace in the watery depths at Aegae. Now compare Homer's description of the god's journey forth from that palace with the Sumerian account of Enki's excursion from his temple seaward:

> When Enki arises, indeed the fish arise in the waves.
> He steps to the Abzu, a (splendid) sight,
> he brings joy to the Engur.[21]
> In the sea there is numinous awe at him,
> in the mighty river there is terror at him.

[19] Pinches (1928), 132 f. The motif was not exclusively Near Eastern; cf. the Vedic hymn quoted in West (1988), 155 [= *Hellenica* i. 42].

[20] Al-Fouadi (1969), 73 f., lines 80–5, 90–2. Dr Black has again provided me with a fresh translation.

[21] Engur is a synonym of Abzu.

> The river Euphrates arises before him (as before) a fierce south wind . . .
> As he departs from the temple of Eridu,
> the river responds to (lit. takes counsel with) its master:
> its voice [is . . .] the voice of a calf, the voice of a sweet(-natured) cow.

Just as in Homer, the fish greet the god, the sea itself rejoices, the water heaps itself up before 'its king'.[22]

Perhaps L's juxtaposition of Homer and Genesis in this section will now appear a little less strange. These five passages, these choice examples of τὸ περὶ τὰς νοήσεις ἀδρεπήβολον in the portrayal of the grandeur of God, all had their sources not in Greek but in Near Eastern inspiration; and however successfully Homer (or some predecessor) accommodated the oriental motifs in the evolving tradition of Greek epic, they continued to stand out as individual and remarkable by contrast with normal Greek ideas about the gods. In valuing ἔκπληξις above τὸ πιθανόν and τὸ πρὸς χάριν, L set a premium on just that element in which oriental poetry sometimes excels, as opposed to those in which Greek poetry nearly always does.

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[22] Cf. also *Il.* 14. 392, where the sea surges up against the Achaean camp as Poseidon leads the Greeks to battle.

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32

Magnus and Marcellinus: Unnoticed Acrostics in the *Cyranides*

1. Pp. 28–9 Kaimakis (from Harpocration)

Μάκαιρα βοτάνη, τῶν θεῶν ἡγήτρια,
Ανασσα, πᾶσιν ἐν φυτοῖς δυνάστρια,
Γαίης κρατοῦσα, οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἀέρος,
Νόον λύουσα βοτρυηφόρωι πότωι
<Ολ>ως <τ'> ἔπειτα πᾶν μέλος, ποιοῦσα δέ
Υπνον, κτλ.

5 *ὡς ἐπιλύειν* codd.: e.g. correxi. Bacchus est *λυσιμελής* (Hedylus, *epigr.* 12) et *λυσίφρων* (*Anacreont.* 49. 2)

2. Pp. 42–3 K.

Μακάρταθ' Ἑρμῆ, ζωιόν ἐστι σὸν μέροψ·
Αγνωστος αὐτοῦ δ' ἐστὶ <πᾶσιν> ἡ φύσις.
Γένος γὰρ ἀνδρῶν, <καί> τις ἡμίθεος σοφῶς
Νοῶν, φρενήρης <πάντα> καὶ μύστης θεῶν,
Οὐκ ἄν ποθ' εὕροι τοῦτ', ἀλλὰ πταίσειεν ἄν·
Υπέρθεος γάρ ἐστιν ἥδε ἡ φύσις.

2–4 supplevi 5–6 *ἀλλά* contra metrum. *πταίσειεν ἀνυπέρθετος* codd.: correxi

3. Pp. 50–1 K.

†***Μαιδνας ἀκιδνοχαρῆ καὶ δεινὰ βροτοῖσιν ἅπασιν***
Αὐτὸς <ὃς ἐμ>φορέει Κρονίδης καὶ φάος ἐν ἄστροις,
Γαίαι καὶ κτίσε χρυσὸν ἰδ' ἄργυρον, ἐξολεθρεύειν
Νοῦσον καὶ πενίαν δεινὴν δεσμοῖς ὕπ' ἀνάγκης.
Οὐκ ἄρα πᾶς αἰὼν ἀγαθός, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἀνάγκαι
Σείων γαῖαν ἅπασαν ἰδ' οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντα

CQ 32 (1982), 480–1.

Μαστίζων μοίραισι, βροτοὺς ἄγχων ὑπ' ἀνάγκης,
Αὐτὸς ἄναξ Κρονίδης· εἷς κοίρανος εἰν ἑνὶ κόσμωι
Ρόμβοις ἀφθάρτοισι κυλινδόμενός <τε> πορείαις
Κυκλίσκων τά<δε> πάντα ἀπ' ἀντολίης ἐπὶ δυσμάς,
Επταπόροις Ἄρκτοις δυσὶ συγκινούμενα πάντα.
Λυσομένη ψυχή, ἀρκείσθω ὅσσα σὺ κάμνεις·
Λυσιπόνου καιροῦ, εἰ καὶ μέγα, ἔγγισαι ὄντως·
Ισθι θεόν, γίνωσκε ἐν ἀέρι καὶ νεφέλαισι
Νοῦσον ὑπερφυγέουσ' ὄλβον οἰκήσασ' ἐκολάσθης.
Ω ψυχή, σὺ μάκαιρα καὶ ἀθάνατος τότ' ἐοῦσα κτλ.

1 fort. *Μαῖραν*, nam Sirius (ut Hesiodus docet, *Op.* 586) debiles viros facit ad venerem (*ἀκιδνοχαρῆ*), idemque febres immittit; cf. 2 *φάος ἐν ἄστροις*. Pro *ἅπασι* malim *ἅπαντα* 2 *φορεῖ* vel *ἐφόρει* codd.: supplevi 3 *κτήσει χρυσὸν καὶ* codd.: correxi 11 *ἑπταπόλοις* codd.: correxi. Stellae eminent vii in Ursa utraque; etiam Pleias *ἑπτάπορος* audit ex eadem causa 13 *λυσιπόνου* scripsi pro *λυομένου* 14 *ἴσθι*, v.l. *εὐθύς*; possis *ἰθύ* 15 *ὄλβον* scripsi pro *εἰς ὃν*

4. Pp. 96–7 K.

Μὴ κάμνε θνητῶι σώματι, ψυχή, χρόνον
Αρχὴν τέλος <τ'> ἔχουσα· οἵδε γὰρ μόνηι
Γαίηι τὸ σῶμ' ὃ <νῦν> φορεῖς λύπην ἔχειν
Νόσοισι πικραῖς καὶ νόμοις κρατούμενον,
Οὐ μὴν μόνοισιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κρίσεις ἔχειν.
Σὺ δ' αὐτὰ κάμνεις πάντα καὶ λυπουμένη.
Μυριώνυμε θεὲ {θεῶν}, ἄκουε κἀμοῦ τῶν λόγων·
Αναξ ἁπάντων ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος μόνος
Ρητῶς ἅπαντας ὀνομάζων καὶ βλέπων
Καὶ θεῶν ἀείδων ἀγγέλους καὶ δαίμονας.
|481 *Εἰς <γὰρ σ>εαυτὸν εἶπας ἐκ θεῶν δαίμονας*
Λαλεῖν ἅπαντα ὅσσα ἔκτισας μόνος
Λόγοισι θείοις, ἀγγέλους ἡμῶν ἀεί.
<Ισω>ς δὲ κἀγώ εἰμι συμπαθὴς †αὐτοῦ
Νόμοισιν αὐτοῦ καὶ νόσοις καὶ ἱλαρίαις.
Ω Μοῖρα σεπτὴ κτλ.

1 *ψυχή* post *κάμνε* codd.: traieci 2 *μόνηι* codd.: correxi 5 *νόμοισι τούτοις* codd.: correxi 7 *θεῶν* seclusi 11, 14 supplevi

I note only my own emendations; others (not affecting the acrostics) I have taken from R. Ganszyniec, *Byz.-neugriech. Jahrb.* 2 (1921), 445 ff., or D. Kaimakis, *Die Kyraniden* (Meisenheim 1976).

The Magnus who composed these poems, if not identical with the Alexandrian Harpocration from whom the compiler of the *Cyranides* took them, might possibly be the fourth-century physician from

Nisibis (*PLRE* i, Magnus 7) who practised in Alexandria. We know from Libanius that he was in Egypt in 364 and 388. Palladas' epitaph on him (*A.P.* 11. 281) bears the heading *εἰς Μάγνον ἰατροσοφιστήν* in the manuscripts, and Eunapius (*Vit. Soph.* 20) represents him as more notable for eloquence than for effectiveness as a healer. The emphasis on the power of wealth to counteract sickness in the third poem (3 f.) would suit a professional doctor, though he is clearly not one whose methods are rigorously scientific. Against the identification with Magnus of Nisibis is the fact that the latter is presumably the author of the epigram about Galen in *A.P.* 16. 270, which suggests a more accomplished versifier than the author of the acrostics.

Without a firm identification for Magnus it is hardly profitable to speculate about the identity of Marcellinus. It may, however, be worth pointing out that the historian Ammianus Marcellinus, besides being a contemporary of Magnus of Nisibis, himself served at Nisibis in 354 (and passed through it again a few years later); and that both men appear as recipients of letters from Libanius.[1]

[1] Amm. 14. 9. 1, 18. 6. 8; Lib. *Epist.* 843, 1063.

33

The Eighth Homeric Hymn and Proclus

It is universally recognized that the *Hymn to Ares* stands apart from all the other poems in the Homeric collection, and that it was composed centuries later than any of those that can be assigned to a particular period with any degree of confidence. Many older scholars classed it or even printed it with the Orphic Hymns, which are transmitted together with the Homeric Hymns as well as with the hymns of Callimachus and Proclus. But the similarity with the Orphic Hymns is only superficial. It merely consists in the stylistic feature of accumulated epithets, a common characteristic of late hymns. There are three reasons for not lumping the *Hymn to Ares* with the very homogeneous Orphic series. First, the Orphic Hymns are courteous invocations of different gods to come to a ceremony described as τελετή or τελεταί, while the *Hymn to Ares* is an intensely personal prayer for the poet's own soul. Secondly, the Orphic collection already contains a hymn to Ares (65), and duplications are avoided. (There are a number of hymns to Dionysus, but then he bears a different title in each case, Liknites, Trieterikos, etc.) Thirdly, in the Homeric hymn Ares is addressed as a planetary god. In the Orphic hymn to Ares this aspect is totally absent, and the same is true of the hymns to Hermes, Aphrodite, Zeus, and Kronos.

All the same, an accident of transmission does seem the only likely explanation of the presence of the hymn in the Homeric collection. Our collection must descend from the one that was in circulation in late Hellenistic times as 'the Hymns of Homer'. (See T. W. Allen–W. R. Halliday–E. E. Sikes, *The Homeric Hymns* (Oxford 1936), pp. lxvii f.) It is improbable on grounds of style and content that the *Hymn to Ares* existed so early, let alone got itself adopted as a work of

CQ 20 (1970), 300–4.

Homer. Nor is it probable that it could have somehow slipped in from the big world at a later period. The hymns of Homer should by that time have been no more subject to additions than those of Callimachus.

In that case, the *Hymn to Ares* ought to come from one of the other hymn collections transmitted with the Homeric Hymns. It is not Callimachean, it does not belong with the Orphic Hymns. That leaves Proclus.

A number of parallels with the hymns of Proclus have been noticed, and it has sometimes been assumed that the hymn was influenced by Proclus or influenced him. I do not know of anyone who has proposed that it is by him.[1] But I shall show that the parallels of thought and language are more extensive than has been realized, and that the hymn is so like Proclus in technique that its ascription to him is not only a possibility but something more.

First some general comparisons. Proclus' hymns, like the *Hymn to Ares*, are personal, not cultic. He prays for the deliverance of his own soul from the evils that threaten it (1. 40–1, 3. 15, 4. 11, 5. 14, 6. 6, 7. 33). Except in the sixth hymn, there is a regular pattern by which the first part of the hymn is devoted to predication of powers and functions (listed epithets in 1. 33–4, 6. 1–3, 7. 3–4, 40) or references to myth, and the second part to prayers. The transition occurs near the middle in hymn 3, before the middle in 4 and 5, a little after it in 1, 2, and 7. The *Hymn to Ares* shows the same structure, with the transition in l^{30} the middle. Metrically no distinction can be established between it and the other seven. All are Nonnus-like without being as strict as Nonnus.

The most striking parallels are:

Ares 1–3 Ἄρες ὑπερμενέτα, βρισάρματε, χρυσεοπήληξ,
ὀβριμόθυμε, φέρασπι, πολισσόε, χαλκοκορυστά,
καρτερόχειρ, ἀμόγητε, δορυσθενές.

Procl. 7. 3–4 ἀρσενόθυμε, φέρασπι, μεγασθενές, ὀβριμοπάτρη,
Ἀλλὰς Τριτογένεια, δορυσσόε, χρυσεοπήληξ.

Common to both are the elements χρυσεοπήληξ, ὀβριμο-, -όθυμε φέρασπι, -σσόε, δορυ-, and -σθενές.

Ares 6–8 πυραυγέα κύκλον ἑλίσσων
αἰθέρος ἑπταπόροις ἐνὶ τείρεσιν, ἔνθά σε πῶλοι
ζαφλεγέες τριτάτης ὑπὲρ ἄντυγος αἰέν ἔχουσιν.

Procl. 2. 15–17 *ἔνθά σέ φασι*
ψυχὴν ἀενάοιο πέλειν κόσμοιο θεείην,
εἴτε καὶ ἑπτὰ κύκλων ὑπὲρ ἄντυγας αἰθέρι ναίεις.

ἑπτάπορος was known to Proclus from the Chaldaean Oracles (fr. 164 des Places).

Now for the more detailed comparison. I shall take the *Hymn to Ares* line by line, noting Proclan parallels (a few from his prose writings) underneath. An asterisk marks words and phrases occurring in the same metrical position as in the *Hymn to Ares*. Many of the parallels listed are of no individual significance, but in the mass they will show how extensively the diction of the Hymn agrees with that of Proclus.

Ares 1–3: see above. The seven surviving hymns of Proclus all begin with *κλῦθι/κλῦτε/χαῖρε* or *ὑμνέομεν*. But only in two cases could the god's name have been put in the initial position. Here Ἄρες suggests itself as an opening, and *κλῦθι* follows in line 9.

4 *Νίκης εὐπολέμοιο πάτερ, συναρωγὲ Θέμιστος.*

Filial relationships are referred to in Procl. 2. 2–3, 3. 2, 6. 1, 7. 1–2.

5 *ἀντιβίοισι τύρανν', δικαιοτάτων ἀγὲ φωτῶν.*

7. 50 *κάρτος ἐπ' ἀντιβίοισι. In Tim.* i. 34. 22 D. *τῇι Ἀρεϊκῇι τάξει τῇι πρυτανευούσηι πάσας τοῦ κόσμου τὰς ἐναντιώσεις καὶ τὴν ἑτερότητα τοῦ παντός.* 2. 20 **δικαιοτάτοισι βελέμνοις* (again superlative as a metrically useful equivalent for the positive). *ἀγός* was known to Proclus from the Chaldaean Oracles (frr. 61b [where ᾱ-], 179 test.), and interpreted by him as connected with Ares.

6–8: see above. Additional parallels:
πυραυγέα κύκλον ~ 1. 6 *ἐριφεγγέα κύκλον*; *in Tim.* ii. 48. 23 *ὁ μὲν Ἄρης πῦρ οὐράνιον.*
ἑλίσσων ... ἑπταπόροις ~ 1. 48 *μοιριδίοισιν ἑλιξοπόροισιν ἀτράκτοις* (=the planetary circles).
αἰθέρος ... ὑπὲρ ἄντυγος ~ 1. 5 *ὑπὲρ αἰθέρος ἕδρην* (cf. E. Pfeiffer, *Studien zum antiken Sternglauben* (Leipzig 1916), 110).
αἰὲν ἔχουσι ~ 3. 17 **αἰὲν ἔχουσι*, 4. 9 *αἰὲν ἔχοι.*

9 *κλῦθι βροτῶν ἐπίκουρε, δοτὴρ εὐθαρσέος ἤβης.*

1. 2 **κλῦθι φάους ταμία*, 4. 5 **κλῦτε σαωτῆρες μεγάλοι*; *κλῦθι* or *κλῦτε* also 1. 1, 5; 2. 19; 4. 1, 14; 7. 1, 31, 51.

10 *πρηῢν καταστίλβων σέλας ὑψόθεν ἐς βιότητα*
ἡμετέρην.

1.38 **πρηΰνων* (in a prayer). 1. 8–10 *ζωσάμενοι δὲ πλάνητες ἀειθαλέας σέο πύρσους ... ζωογόνους πέμπουσιν ἐπιχθονίοις ῥαθάμιγγας.* Prayers for spiritual l[302] light: 1. 40, 4. 6, 7. 33, 1. 4 *ὑψόθεν ἁρμονίης ῥύμα πλούσιον ἐξοχετεύων.* 6. 4 *τεύχετε δ' αἰγλήεσσαν ἐμοῦ βιότοιο πορείην.* 7. 37 *εἰ δέ τις ἀμπλακίη με κακὴ βιότοιο δαμάζει.* 47 *δὸς βιότωι πλώοντι.* 5. 12 *ἡμετέρην* = 'my'. (Cf. R. Keydell, *Nonni Panopolitani Dionysiaca* (Berlin 1959), i. 55*.)

11 *καὶ κάρτος ἀρήιον, ὥς κε δυναίμην.*

7. 50 (*δὸς*) *κάρτος ἐπ' ἀντιβίοισι.* 4. 7 (*νεύσατ'*) *ὄφρα κεν εὖ γνοίην.* Similar use of optative in 1. 32.

12 *σεύασθαι κακότητα πικρὴν ἀπ' ἐμεῖο καρήνου.*

6. 5–6 *κακὰς δ' ἀπελαύνετε νούσους ἐκ ῥεθέων.* 7. 44 *ἀπέλαυνε *πικρῶν ἀγελάσματα νούσων*, 46 *παῦσον ὅλην *κακότητα.* 3. 10 *καὶ ἐμεῖο πολυπτοίητον ἐρωήν* (*σέο, σεῖο* for *σός* 1. 8, 27; 2. 20; 7. 22, 25, 33, 45). 7. 16 **κάρηνα.*

13 *καὶ ψυχῆς ἀπατηλὸν ὑπογνάμψαι φρενὸς ὁρμήν.*

Prayers for purity 1. 35, 40 f., 2. 19 f., 3. 10 ff., 5. 14, 6. 6, 7. 33 ff.; talk of the soul also 1. 29, 2. 5, 4. 11, etc. 3. 10 *ἐμεῖο πολυπτοίητον ἐρωὴν παύσατε.*
ἀπατηλόν ~ 3. 12 *μηδέ μ' ἀποπλάγξειεν ἀδεισιθέων γένος ἀνδρῶν.* 7. 25 **φρένας.*

14 *θυμοῦ τ' αὖ μένος ὀξὺ κατισχέμεν ὅς μ' ἐρέθησι.*

In Tim. i. 148. 3 *ὁ δὲ θυμὸς Ἀρεϊκός*, 163. 6 *ἑκάστη τοῦ τόπου μερὶς ὑποδέχεται ψυχὰς τὰς αὐτῆι προσφόρους, ἡ μὲν Ἀρεϊκὴ τὰς θυμοειδεστέρας κτλ.* Cf. 79. 9, iii. 69. 21, 355. 14. 1. 25 *ὕλης *δ' αὖ.* 7. 34 *μένος δ' ἔμπνευσον ἔρωτι ... 38 πολλαῖσιν ἐρίχθομαι ἄλλοθεν ἄλλαις πρήξεσιν οὐχ ὁσίαις, τὰς ἤλιτον ἄφρονι θυμῶι.*

15 *φυλόπιδος κρυερῆς ἐπιβαινέμεν· ἀλλὰ σὺ θάρσος*
δὸς μάκαρ.

2. 21 *οὐχ ὁσίων παύουσα πόθων κρυόεσσαν ἐρωήν.* 4. 10 *κρυερῆς γενέθλης*, 12 *Ποινή τις *κρυόεσσα.* 1. 43 *εὐκλείης τ' ἐπίβησον ἐμέ.* 33 *ἀλλὰ θεῶν ὥριστε.* 2. 14 *ἀλλὰ θεά.* 3. 10 *ἀλλὰ*

θεαί. 4. 13 ἀλλὰ θεοί. 5. 12 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμετέρην ὑποδέχνυσο πότνα θυηλήν. 1. 46 δὸς ἄναξ. 7. 32 f. *δὸς δέ μοι ὄλβιον ὅρμον . . . *δὸς ψυχῆι φάος ἁγνόν.

16 εἰρήνης τε μένειν ἐν ἀπήμοσι θεσμοῖς.

1. 23 ἁρμονίης παναπήμονος. 7. 43 καὶ *ἀπήμον' ὑγείην. 1. 43 προγόνων τ' ἐνὶ *θεσμοῖς Μουσάων . . . δώροισι μελοίμην. 12 Ὡράων κατὰ θεσμόν.

17 δυσμενέων προφυγόντα μόθον κῆράς τε βιαίους.

5. 15 (also last line of hymn) γηγενέος *προφυγοῦσαν ὀλοίιον οἶστρον ἐρωῆς.

So much for style and diction. On the question of the hymn's historical appropriateness to Proclus, I applied to Mr. Alan Cameron. I quote from his reply:

> If Hom. *h.* viii had been transmitted as Procl. *h.* viii, I would certainly have accepted it as authentic without question. What is so striking in Hom. *h.* viii is the feeling of personal weakness and sinfulness that so characterises Proclus' hymns.

He goes on to refer to ἀντιβίοισι at Procl. 7. 50 paralleling *Ares* 17, pointing out that Proclus had his enemies, particularly the Christians; Marinus (*Vita Procli* 15, cf. 19) tells of clashes with the authorities, which on one occasion made it necessary for Proclus to depart to Lycia for a year. 'Most interesting of all, however', Mr Cameron continues,

> is the dual aspect of the prayer (in the Homeric hymn): dispel weakness on the one hand, but keep me from strife on the other. Not only does this suit Proclus' position very well, it is a position of many late Neoplatonists, whether revealed in their writings or in their acts. There is an interesting parallel in Simplicius' commentary on Epictetus' *Enchiridion*, pp. 65–6 ed. Dübner, which I think alludes [303] to Justinian's closing of the Academy in 529. S.'s theme is that philosophers should on the one hand not knuckle under and lose their self-respect, while on the other not provoke the authorities by untimely παρρησία, i.e., like Hom. *h.* viii 16–17, steer a middle course, δυσμενέων προφυγόντα μόθον.

If the hymn had been transmitted under the name of Proclus, I think that not only Mr Cameron but everyone else would have accepted it as Proclus' without ever calling its authenticity in question. Let us return to this matter of the transmission. It will be allowed in principle that an accident of the sort I postulate is a possibility. But a more definite hypothesis ought to be offered. The manuscripts of the Homeric Hymns may be grouped as follows:

1. M, written not long before or after 1300,[52] is the only manuscript to antedate the fifteenth century, with one disputed exception (Pfeiffer, *Callimachus*, II. lvii). It contains the end of hymn 1 followed by hymns 2–18. 4 (with hymns 10 and 11 transposed); none of the others contains any part of hymns 1–2. It does not contain Proclus.
2. The main tradition is represented by twenty-four manuscripts containing hymns 3–33 (or a portion of this series); they fall into three classes, *f*, *p*, and *x*. Seventeen of the twenty-four contain Proclus, and in twelve of these (ten *p*, two *x*) Proclus immediately precedes the Homeric Hymns. This was presumably the situation in Ψ, the twelfth/thirteenth-century common archetype for the Callimachean, Orphic, and Proclan Hymns. (*f*, *p*, and *x* correspond to *h*, φ, and θ in Orpheus, O, α, and δ in Proclus, α, β, and ε in Callimachus.)
3. A recension called *z* is represented by three manuscripts which contain hymns 8–18 followed by part of 3. They thus have the *Hymn to Ares* in first place. One of them contains Proclus (without heading, as in *x*), following the Homeric and Orphic Hymns.

The order of hymns in the ancient collection seems to have been based on a simple principle: long hymns first, the short ones at the end.[53] As things are, the position of the relatively long *Hymn to Pan* (19) is anomalous. If 19–33 once followed after 7, the anomaly would vanish; the 48-line *Hymn to Pan* would follow the 59-line *Hymn to Dionysus*.

The following hypotheses may be suggested. The original order was 1–7, 19–33, 9–18. A medieval copy fell gradually to bits. First the leading quires, containing 1–2, came away, and were lost to the main tradition descending through Ψ. The other sections that became separated contained 3–7, 19–33, and 9–18. On the assumption of twenty to twenty-two verses to the page and a two-line space for each heading, this could represent forty-eight, six, and two leaves respectively, i.e. six whole quires and a seventh from which the two last leaves became detached.

These two leaves were the first to go. They were not lost but tucked away elsewhere, probably in another book. Later on, the rest of the quire came away. A collector of hymns, such as produced Ψ, then copied, in the order in which he came upon them, Hom. 3–7, Procl. 1–8, Hom. 9–18, 19–33. In a second copy Proclus was removed and put at the front, but Procl. 8 was inadvertently left behind to become Hom. 8. This was the order in Ψ, reflected in the main families *f*, *p*, and *x*.

It must have been the conventional order at the time when M was copied, a century or so later than Ψ.[2] This was a period when old manuscripts were [304] being rediscovered; and the scribe of M, or a predecessor, found a damaged book that contained hymn 1 (or part of it; cf. Allen–Halliday–Sikes, p. xx), 2, and a good number of the rest with a text that differed somewhat from Ψ (which indicates that it was not identical with the disintegrating copy I have described above). He copied it, but also used a Ψ manuscript and followed the latter's order of hymns, thus including the *Hymn to Ares*. He stopped copying before the end of 18.

The status of *z* may best be judged from that representative of it which also contains Proclus and the Orphic Hymns, namely Harleianus 1752. In those collections too it represents an eccentric recension, having Orph. 15–17, 36, 34, 66, 46, 32, 37, 7–9, 86 (with omissions), followed by Procl. 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1, 7. Keydell, *GGA* 204 (1942), 77 ff., showed that this recension was due to Georgios Gemistos, known as Plethon (*c.*1355–1451). In one of the Orphic Hymns it preserves four true readings independently of Ψ (*CQ* 18 (1968), 291 n. 2). Quandt, *Orphei Hymni* (Berlin 1955), 20*, points out that in the Homeric Hymns it is most closely related to *f*, and that *f*, alone of the hyparchetypes, has a descendant that was copied in the east. *f* and *z*, therefore, are the two sources most likely to preserve traces of something separate from the main Ψ tradition. Assume that Plethon, possessing a copy descended from the disintegrating manuscript at the stage when it contained hymns 3–7, 19–33, acquired an ordinary Ψ manuscript and decided to copy what was in the second and not the first, namely 8–18; then he began on 3. Then you have a precise explanation of the order of hymns in *z*, and one that ties in neatly with the development assumed to account for the order in Ψ.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

1. A. Matthiae, *Animadversiones in Hymnos Homericos* (Leipzig 1800), 98, observed the strong similarities with Proclus' hymns: 'Nam et Proclus in hymnis a numinibus, quae celebrat, semper petit, ut mentem ipsius et animum regant, a pravis et opinionibus et cupiditatibus inhibeant, contra verum perspicere et animum rationi obedientem reddere concedant; sunt etiam nonnulla in dictione consimilia, quae in notis adscripsimus; stilus autem in nostro hymno paulo mollior, quam in Procli versibus.' But he is unwilling to ascribe the hymn to Proclus: 'quae vero hucusque de eo disputavi, non ita accipi velim, quasi vel ipsius Procli sit, vel ad ejus hymnorum exemplar compositus; imo ante Proclum iam fuisse, qui numina mythologica ex suae quisque disciplinae placitis et decretis celebrarent, dubitari nequit.' That the hymn pre-dates Proclus has been argued more recently by T. Gelzer, *Mus. Helv.* 44 (1987), 150–67; he attributes it to Porphyry or his circle.
2. M is now dated to the first quarter of the fifteenth century.
3. Subordinate groupings are also observable: 9–14 are hymns to goddesses; 15–17 to deified sons of gods (Heracles, Asclepius, Dioscuri); 27–30 again to goddesses, leading again (after the hymns to Sun and Moon) to the Dioscuri.

34

Two Regius Professors of Greek

For more than half a century, from 1936 to 1989, the Regius chair of Greek at Oxford was occupied by the subjects of the two obituaries that follow. The first lecture I ever attended at Oxford was one by Dodds on the *Agamemnon*; I can still recall him intoning the anapaestic entry of the chorus, *δέκατον μὲν ἔτος τόδ' ἐπεὶ Πριάμου μέγας ἀντίδικος* . . ., with his slightly eccentric pronunciation. (Zeus was Zöss.) His predecessor, Gilbert Murray, was still alive and was sometimes to be seen at meetings of the university Classical Society. On one occasion I heard Murray read a paper in that forum, his subject being the authenticity of the *Rhesus*. Three years later I was privileged to have some private tutorials with Dodds on Homer. By the time he retired in 1960 I had started my graduate studies under Lloyd-Jones, of whom I have recorded some personal reminiscences in *Hellenica* ii, Chapter 14.

Dodds had been an undergraduate at University College, Oxford ('Univ.'), where I was later a Fellow, and my obituary of him is from the *University College Record*, 7: 5 (1979), 229f. The one for Lloyd-Jones appeared in *The Times* for 9 October 2009.

ERIC ROBERTSON DODDS

Dodds came to Univ. in 1912 from Campbell College, Belfast, after being expelled for 'gross, studied, and sustained insolence to the Headmaster'; he was sent down (in effect, if not formally) in 1916, having given offence by his outspoken sympathy for the Irish rebels. Twenty years later he returned to Oxford as Regius Professor of Greek at the instance of his predecessor, Gilbert Murray. It was scarcely a

triumphal return. Most people had regarded Maurice Bowra and J. D. Denniston as the leading claimants for the chair, and viewed the outsider with suspicion. Freddie Wells[1] was one of those who supported and encouraged him at this difficult period. But by the time he retired in 1960 the excellence of Murray's choice was universally recognized. Univ. elected him an Honorary Fellow in that year.

There was nothing showy about his scholarship, but each of his books and articles, whose subjects range from Homer to the Neoplatonists, is a model of thoroughly digested, relevant learning, balanced judgment, and lucid presentation. It is hard to think of any book written this century which has so significantly influenced our whole view of ancient Greek civilization as Dodds's *The Greeks and the Irrational* (1951). This was a book that reflected his own lifelong interest in the human spirit's stranger faculties and more wayward behaviour, an interest that led to his Presidency of the Society for Psychical Research. Not that he glorified the irrational as such: he sought to investigate it in the most rational way, and he was sometimes able to make beneficial use of it, as when he cured minor ailments by hypnotism, delivered a Scottish farmer from I[230] supernatural harassment by reciting a Greek chorus, or banished by the force of his eye a huge bear encountered on a Canadian mountain. Like Socrates, he occasionally felt his personal will overruled by something contrary, which he externalized as his 'daemon'.

His power of rational comment upon the irrational would have made him a splendid Professor of Poetry. He was close to poets—Yeats, Eliot, and especially Auden and MacNeice, who chose him as their literary executors; and he published a volume of poems himself,[2] interesting now for the light they shed on his early outlook. One of their preoccupations is with the idea of shy, individualistic souls imprisoned in coarse, conformist bodies and fitfully revealing themselves through the eyes. Prose, however, suited him better after the turbulence of youth had settled. His autobiography *Missing Persons* (1977), besides being a fascinating, candid record of a long and not uneventful life, is a masterly piece of writing, and he was rewarded for it by the Duff Cooper Memorial Prize for Literature.

The jacket of that book presents a fine portrait photograph, showing the domed cranium, the prominent ears and sagebrush

[1] [A. F. Wells, Fellow in Classics at Univ. from 1936 to 1966.]
[2] *Thirty-two Poems*, Constable, 1929 (mostly written years before).

eyebrows, the ironic amusement of the old man who has been through and seen through the world's folly. It does not record his strong, unmusical Irish voice, or his extraordinary battened-down laugh, which went something like 'Ho; ho.—Ho.' And one must read the book to find the earlier Doddses, the Missing Persons of the title, beginning with the young hothead who seriously planned to strip, tar, and feather his headmaster. But however Dodds changed, there seems a greater unity in his life than his own account may suggest. In one of his youthful poems he wrote:

> So near I have seen it, the peace of the quiet-hearted,
> Waiting me there in the twilight under low skies:
> I have seen, but the will is the Other's—O heart, what ways uncharted
> Are yet to sail before the secret life grow wise?

Fifty years later he was safe in the harbour descried so long before. The rebellious, tactless boy, brought up on tales of what the English had done to his people at Drogheda and Wexford, ended his days in fame and honour at Cromwell's Marston headquarters, respected by all who knew him as the calmest and wisest of men.

SIR HUGH LLOYD-JONES

Hugh Lloyd-Jones was one of the liveliest and most celebrated Greek scholars of the last half century. Born in 1922, he was educated at Westminster, where it was the zeal of the headmaster, J. T. Christie, that converted him to classics from modern history. His undergraduate career at Christ Church was interrupted by the war, in which he learned Japanese (it was found that classicists learned it twice as fast as others) and served in the Intelligence Corps in India. He took Greats in 1948, with several university prizes to his credit, and was at once made a Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, where he created a singular impression by his wild and unkempt appearance, his brilliant and sometimes fantastic conversation, and his excoriating attacks on scholars, which he delivered without regard for established reputations. It was in Cambridge that he met Frances Hedley, a classical student at Newnham, whom he married in 1953; the marriage was dissolved in 1981. In 1954 he returned to Oxford as the first holder of the E. P. Warren Praelectorship at Corpus Christi.

The post did not carry a heavy teaching burden, and it allowed him to make progress with his own work and to recuperate from a serious attack of tuberculosis; its unusual conditions, which required the Praelector to reside within the College and not to teach any women or lecture in their presence, were circumvented by various devices. Lloyd-Jones was now building up his reputation by important publications on Greek tragedy, and in 1960 he was chosen at the early age of 38 to succeed E. R. Dodds in the Regius chair of Greek, which he was to occupy with distinction for the next 29 years.

His appointment had a wonderfully bracing effect on classics at Oxford. Even the dullest undergraduates found their interest aroused by the spectacle of a lecturer whose subject animated him with such a spectrum of visible passions. His advanced seminars attracted the best graduates in the university (as well as some dons), and he swiftly and accurately assessed their quality and did all in his power to assist the worthy, many of whom went on to distinguished academic careers of their own. Delighted to recognize merit in others, he was as extravagant with his praise as with his censure: the vehemence of his language sometimes led people to discount his judgments, but they were usually sound. He did much to improve Oxford's international contacts by arranging graduate exchanges and visits from foreign scholars as well as by his own travels in Europe and the United States to give lectures or attend conferences.

In the year of his appointment to the chair he published his first book, a critical edition of Menander's newly-discovered comedy *Dyskolos* which eclipsed all rivals. In the following decades scores of articles and reviews rattled from his typewriter (on which he seldom bothered, if indeed he knew how, to set a left-hand margin or install a new ribbon). Tragedy, Menander, and Hellenistic poetry were his chief fields of activity, but he ranged widely in Greek poetry, besides writing pieces on the history of scholarship and on classical influences on nineteenth- and twentieth-century intellectuals. He had the ambition to interpret Greek religion, though his interest in it did not extend much beyond its literary manifestations. This interest found issue notably in *The Justice of Zeus* (1971), in which he essayed a connected account of Greek ideas of divine justice from Homer to the time of the sophists. His other books include a translation of Aeschylus' *Oresteia*, a three-volume Loeb edition of Sophocles' plays and fragments, five volumes of collected papers, and two major critical editions made in collaboration with other scholars, the

monumental *Supplementum Hellenisticum* with Peter Parsons (a collection of some 1,185 stray fragments of Hellenistic poetry from papyri and other sources, 1983) and what is now the standard text of Sophocles with Nigel Wilson (1990).

Many subjects tempted his pen, and when they were peripheral to his true interests he could write hastily and carelessly. His scholarship was not of the sort that proceeds from laborious collation of manuscripts or the systematic collection and analysis of data. He applied his critical faculties and his acute feeling for Greek directly to the texts with which he was concerned, paying due regard to previous scholarship but disdaining the parades of erudition with which many scholars inflate their footnotes. At his best, when he really threw himself into something, he produced work that was thorough, penetrating, and dazzlingly right.

He was a Fellow of the British Academy and a member of five foreign academies, and held honorary doctorates from Chicago, Tel Aviv, Göttingen, and Thessalonica. His retirement from the Regius chair in 1989 was recognized with a knighthood. In 1982 he had married Mary Lefkowitz, professor of Humanities at Wellesley College, Massachusetts, and his latter years were spent at their Wellesley home.

The worst vice in a scholar, in his view, was to be boring, and of that he was never guilty. He was an immensely stimulating companion. He talked as if he took it for granted that you shared his extensive knowledge of European history, literature, and art, his opinions of colleagues, and his detestation of socialism and Christianity. (He sometimes claimed to believe in the Greek gods.) Even the prim soon learned to enjoy his outrageous remarks: they were simply too outrageous to offend, nor were they meant to. He was always eager to hear or to retail the latest news about people, good, bad, or scandalous, and while he was sometimes capable of discretion, it was not to be relied on. His considerable charm was not founded on good looks, his appearance having something in common with Tenniel's Jabberwock. The effect was enhanced by the peculiar postures and gestures in which his nervous energy found continuous expression. Shoulders hunched, a talon tensed now before him, now half behind him, scowling like some oriental demon, prowling like one of his beloved cats, or scrabbling among the piles of books and pamphlets that littered his room, he was a fascinating and unforgettable figure, unlike anyone else.

35

Obiter Dicta

The book is only doing its best to reflect a traditional conception of 'the Classics'. But I for one wish that we did not still label ourselves with that quaint label, which seems to say to the world 'our study is concerned with the great writers who ought to form the basis of your education'. I wish we had a name corresponding to *Altertumswissenschaft*, that would strengthen the conception of the study of antiquity as a unity and as a science.

The Oxford Magazine, 1968 Trinity 7, 390.

A scholar needs three things: learning, combinatory ability, and discrimination. N— possesses the first in plenty, the second in superabundance, the third, unfortunately, hardly at all.

History of European Ideas 18 (1994), 808.

The Indo-European warrior hero is not generally much interested in sex or involved with women. He is mostly represented as unmarried . . . it can only detract from the atomic ferocity of his heroic persona if he is represented with a wife sharing his daily life. Richard Strauss could cast himself as the central figure both of a *Sinfonia Domestica* and of *Ein Heldenleben*, but it is not a convincing conjunction.

Indo-European Poetry and Myth, 432.

In Greek music, as in other aspects of early Greek culture, we are faced with the complex product of Indo-European inheritance, Aegean and oriental environment, and Hellenic art and craft. It is our duty and delight to investigate all three of these elements.

Ancient Greek Music, 390.

Thousands of cuneiform tablets lie waiting for people to read them, while budding Hellenists are taught to seek the unity of Pythermus.

CR 17 (1967), 269.

It is understandable that it should be the most scholarly scholars, so to speak, who show the least interest in non-Greek material. They are used to operating with texts whose language and background they have learned

to understand at the cost of much effort. In a foreign field they feel incompetent, and especially where fools have rushed in, they fear to tread. It is easiest to put up the barriers, and to persuade themselves that what they know and can manage is all they need to know and manage.

Early Greek Philosophy and the Orient, 170.

We must not think of Greek literature as *beginning* in the eighth century but as *coming into view*. . . . Of course not all branches of literature are of equal antiquity; but we must not judge their age simply by when they first appeared in written form.

K. J. Dover *et al.*, *Ancient Greek Literature*, 10, 11.

The basic premise, that a relative chronology of epic poems can be established from comparison of the degree of linguistic development they show, seems to me very questionable. So much depends on the skill of the individual poet and his ability to manipulate the traditional language or his ambition to extend it.

Gnomon 35 (1963), 11.

The work of Milman Parry and his followers brought a gale of fresh air into Homeric studies, but as is the way with gales, it blew indiscriminately, causing destruction and confusion as well as exhilaration.

The Making of the Iliad, 3.

Oral poetry has inspired much anal prose.

Inédit.

Epic composition is basically teleological. That is, the poet is for much of the time looking forward to what is to come later and planning for it.

The Making of the Iliad, 49.

The fact that σῶμα is never used of the living body in Homer does not mean that the poets were unacquainted with the word or the concept. This sort of argument is taken to an extreme by Krafft: 'Hesiod sah den "Körper" schon als innere Einheit, ohne aber von Anfang an ein Wort dafür zu haben. Er kommt über die homerischen (traditionellen) μέλεα, γυῖα und εἶδος allmählich am Ende der Erga zu dem neuen Begriff σῶμα' (p. 39). I do not think anyone has yet remarked on the further advance made by Archilochus, who saw beyond the Homeric (traditional) γλουτοί the inner unity of the πυγή.

CR 15 (1965), 159.

I believe that the understanding of many works of literature would benefit from trying to see them more from the author's viewpoint and paying greater attention to his train of thought and the problems of construction and expression that he faced.

Hesiod. Works and Days, v–vi.

The Greeks' appreciation of nature in the archaic and classical periods is sometimes underrated, perhaps because they have left no poems or essays devoted to it. Greek literature is predominantly anthropocentric.

K. J. Dover *et al.*, *Ancient Greek Literature*, 21.

Profound thoughts are not created by presenting simple thoughts obscurely.

CR 15 (1965), 222.

A god's functions are as wide as the needs of his worshippers.

Hesiod. Theogony, 277.

An ancient god is a complex entity, a compound made up from some or all of the following: a name, or rather a cluster of names and titles; a poetic persona; a mythology; a doxology; an iconography; a constituency, defined by geographical or social factors; a set of prompts, I mean situations and occasions when the god is brought to mind; a 'dromenology', that is, a repertory of cult activities.

The East Face of Helicon, 54.

[Historical linguists,] whom some may view as the unreadable in pursuit of the unpronounceable.

Indo-European Poetry and Myth, v.

Boldness in speculation is a quality that critics will find in most of my work. For some it is a term of censure: these are people who are always ready to denounce a speculation as 'mere' speculation. I should reserve the expression 'mere speculation' for cases where the hypothesis is not guided by particular indications, or has no special explanatory value. It will be found that many of the stones that I throw have the attractive property of killing two birds.

'Forward into the Past' (Premi Balzan 2000, Sintesi panoramiche).

In his discussion of the question why modern stemmata seldom show more than two manuscripts as direct copies of one exemplar, Maas missed the main reason: that any two manuscripts considered in isolation can be taken for brothers, but the appearance of a third almost invariably complicates the issue.

Erasmus 17 (1965), 180.

Sometimes one sees a conjecture dismissed simply on the ground that all the manuscripts agree in a different reading. As if they could not agree in a false reading, and as if it were not in the very nature of a conjecture that it departs from them.

Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique, 59.

He propounds the rule that 'toute conjecture inutile est fausse' [every unnecessary conjecture is false]. This is tantamount to saying that a passage *must* be sound if it is not demonstrably corrupt. A more fatuous standpoint can hardly be imagined.

Studies in Aeschylus, 370.

Neitzel's argument, if I follow him correctly, seems to be that because tens of thousands of bad conjectures have been made and a relatively small number of good ones, the modern emender has an overwhelming statistical probability against him. This is like saying that because most violinists cannot play Paganini's *Caprices* adequately, no violinist should undertake to play them, as his chances of success are statistically very slight.

Studies in Aeschylus, 371–2.

It is not in itself of much importance whether the editor of a classical text is 'conservative' or 'bold'. . . . What is of more moment is whether he regards the acceptance of the transmitted text and its rejection as equally serious matters.

Erasmus 17 (1965), 180.

The editor should be prepared to print an emended text where he judges that an emendation is certain or highly probable.[3]

[3] Following the traditional usage of my native tongue, I use 'he' as the default pronoun, unmarked for gender, for an unidentified person who may be of either sex. I do not mean to imply that the *Gāthās* are unlikely to be, or had better not be, edited by a woman.

Iran 46 (2008), 122.

In my view, where different interpretations of a sentence are possible, it is the job of the translator or commentator to try to determine which one corresponds to the author's intention. To credit him with deliberate ambiguity or multivalence is merely an excuse for indecisiveness, or for showing off the commentator's resourcefulness.

The Hymns of Zoroaster, 35.

It cannot be emphasized too often that in attempting to solve a textual crux one must start from the likely meaning of the passage, from what the author seems to have wanted to express. In defining the likely meaning, one must have regard to the immediate context, the sentences preceding and following, so that a logical train of thought emerges.

Lexis 17 (1999), 44.

Σαπφοῦς βαιὰ μέν, ἀλλὰ ῥόδα. Two thousand years after Meleager, Sappho's flowers are yet sparser: some rose, but mostly lobelia.

CR 27 (1977), 161.

[Pindar] does not follow any fixed pattern in constructing an ode, and one is often left with the impression of a suitcase filled rather at random.

K. J. Dover *et al.*, *Ancient Greek Literature*, 46.

It is significant that of the sixteen lacunae marked in Pearson's OCT of Sophocles, all except three are guaranteed by responsion. Only two are of complete trimeters in dialogue, and one of these is betrayed by the ruin it causes in stichomythia. Did scribes make omissions so much more frequently when copying strophic passages? It is likelier that their omissions in dialogue, being generally omissions of whole lines, more frequently escape detection.

BICS 25 (1978), 118.

As in other departments of scholarship and other fields of human activity, so in dealing with myth one learns not by being told how but by seeing it done. So let him who can, do; for he who does, teaches.

Bulletin of the Council of University Classical Departments 6 (1977), 5.

No branch of study can continue to advance, or at any rate to be interesting, without being invaded from time to time by the virus of brilliant hypothesis and magnificent generalization. These provoke antibodies, there is a trial of strength, and the organism emerges either subjugated or immunized. Nock's breadth of vision and awareness of counter-evidence to almost any thesis made him a natural commander of the antibodies.

The Spectator, 10 June 1972, p. 897.

You can always find something in Hesychius.

Hesiod. Theogony, 238.

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